THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 34, FLORIDA

Box 347
College of Liberal Arts

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1947
Southern Regional Council

November 5, 1947

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
South Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am anxious to learn if there are any Fellows of the South Regional Council in Miami.

The enclosed sheet may give you some indication of my reasons for desiring this information. It summarizes precisely the courses which I am offering and expect to offer through the Department of Human Relations at the University of Miami.

It was my privilege to know Dr. Guy Johnson quite well--as a matter of fact, he was on my graduate committee several years ago at the University of North Carolina.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon W. Lovejoy

Gordon W. Lovejoy
Professor of Human Relations

GWL:rh

NEW COURSE IN HUMAN RELATIONS

The Department of Human Relations offers students an opportunity to learn about the many inter-race and inter-faith activities characterizing to an increasing degree, contemporary life in the United States. From these activities arise some of the serious racial and religious problems confronting our democratic society, and, therefore, basic to every course offered in this department is the belief that learning to live together within the spirit of our national motto "One From Many" is the greatest single challenge facing us today. With this thought in mind, courses in the Department of Human Relations are recommended especially to students entering law, teaching, the ministry, social work, or other occupations dealing with people of varied creeds and races.

For the fall semester of 1947 only one course in the department is being offered - "Patterns of Human Relations 201". It is described below. In the near future additional courses will be offered. These may well include ones entitled "American Minority Peoples", "Techniques and Materials in the Teaching of Human Relations", "Community Action Programs", "Field Studies (Special Research Projects", and "Workshops in Human Relations".

Students should note that "Patterns of Human Relations 201", may be taken as an elective or as credit in sociology.

For additional information about the Department of Human Relations contact either Dean H. Franklin Williams, College of Liberal Arts, or Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy, Professor of Human Relations.

201 - Patterns of Human Relations -- 8:30 MWF - Room 623 - New Campus

A general survey of the human relations problems characterizing majority and minority groups in the present-day United States. Emphasis is placed upon the diverse racial and cultural backgrounds of the American people in an effort to show how inter-group tensions arise. Consideration is given also to the various action programs operating to lessen these tensions. Extensive use is made of current films and written materials. Visits to several local places of interest are contemplated.

Credit in this course may be used to satisfy three hours of the basic sociology requirements.

Prerequisite: Sophomore standing or permission of the instructor.

#286

Johnson, Guy E.

November 20, 1947

Dr. Guy Johnson
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

I did not know quite how to handle this letter.

Will you tell me something about him? If he should be a "Fablow" say so and I will unroll the works.

Please return Lovejoy's letter and attachment.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures 3

GSM:ee

MP

November 21, 1947

Mr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Professor of Human Relations
The University of Florida
Coral Gables 34, Florida

Dear Mr. Lovejoy:

My apologies in delay for not answering your letter of November 5. We have had the annual meeting of our Council, and that has had us all spinning.

Our only Florida Fellow, I regret to say, is Mr. Chester Cowart, 610 West Duval Street, Jacksonville, Florida. He works at the Afro-American Life Insurance at Jacksonville, Florida.

We are very much interested in your new courses. Are you using any of the pamphlets which Guy put out? As one of our valued members you have had them. Could we supply you with additional copies of any of them as materials for your students? We would attach our usual slight charge.

I dare say that Guy would like to nominate you to become one of our "Fellows". I hope that in that event you would be good enough to accept. We make of too little use of our Fellows, but do try to find the money to bring them in for a meeting at least every two years. They are also a considerable resource for us in getting spot information.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures 2

GSM:EE

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

Nov. 26, 1947

Dear George:

Thanks for passing on the letter from the lady at the Commonwealth Fund in New York. I have just written her a letter giving her my favorable opinion of the NAACP.

Thanks also for the note, etc., concerning Lovejoy of University of Miami, Florida. Lovejoy is one of our UNC Ph.D.'s. He is a gentleman, a scholar, and a veritable dynamo. Get him to be a Fellow of SRC, by all means! I am returning his letter and memo.

Let me say again that I thought the annual meeting was very good. I believe there was a general feeling that much good is being accomplished and will be accomplished.

Here's hoping you are having a little season of rest and Thanksgiving at this time. My regards to all at SRC.

Sincerely yours,

Guy

Guy B. Johnson

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Johnson: If I recall correctly, you have other Nominees for Fellows -?

Here's list of those from Miss Hamilton.

Believe you were going to "screen" them - or something - before sending invitations ?

I still have the draft of letter you thought OK for writing them.

RR 3/26/47

NR

We'll hold off on new appointments until Dr. Mitchell has considered how far we should expand the number of Fellows.

WBJ

NOMINATIONS FOR FELLOWS

from Miss Josephine Hamilton:

Mrs. Jay S. Goodman
315 Lindsay Avenue
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mrs. Stanton E. Smith
203 Morningside Dr.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mr. Clarence B. Robinson
424 N. Greenwood Ave.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mr. Julian C. Brown
727 Flinn St.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mrs. Margaret Locker
Elizabeth Apt.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Miss Frances Tuernan
Central High School
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mrs. T. E. Wright
Robert E. Lee Apt.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

use this

The Rev. R. W. Turner (individual letters)
Emmanuel Church
Warrenton, N. C.

Dear Mr. Turner:

It is a pleasure to tell you that you have been nominated as an Honorary Fellow of the Southern Regional Council by Miss Margaret Fletcher, St. Mary's House, Greensboro, North Carolina.

The purpose of these Fellowships is to enlist the assistance ot a selected group of Southerners who have shown exceptional talent for constructive leadership. Fellows who are not Council members at the time of the election automatically become members and have all the rights and obligations of members except that they are exempted from payment of dues.

On November 14 and 15 the Honorary Fellows met in Atlanta for their first annual conference. The December issue of New South, copy of which is enclosed, carries portions of he reports as given by each Fellow at this meeting.

Please fill in the sheet headed "How Fellows Can Serve the Council,". and enclose it with your reply. I hope you will accept membership as a Fellow.

Sam Rice 9-Dec

Telephone Memorandum

To _____

Date _____ Time _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT YOU WERE CALLED BY

Name _____

of _____

Phone _____ Extension _____

Message _____

_____

RE Gordon Lovejoy

Dr. Mitchell:

A search through correspondence with Dr. Johnson, Mr. Lovejoy and the Fellows in general discloses no invitation to Mr. Lovejoy to be a Fellow.

Please note last paragraph of your ltr to Dr. Guy Johnson of November 20. Apparently he did not return correspondence, as requested.

EB

Mr. Mitchell, check file re Fellowship

THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 34, FLORIDA

College of Liberal Arts

November 26, 1947

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You may be quite certain that in the event I am nominated to become a Fellow of the Southern Regional Council, I shall be honored to accept the appointment. To me, that would be a distinct honor.

I know your pamphlets very well and have used them as a basis for much of my lecture material in both Southern Regional Sociology and race relations course. Next semester I hope to use them once again. At that time, I shall place an order for some.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon W. Lovejoy

Gordon W. Lovejoy
Professor of Human Relations

GWL:rh

March 18,1948

Dr. A. D. Beittel
Chairman, Alabama Division, SRC
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

The By-Laws of the Southern Regional Council provide that there shall be 100 Honorary Fellows of the Council; at present there are only 43. In setting about increasing the number, we want to provide some measure of equitable distribution by states. At present Alabama has two Fellows, whereas she should have seven. The two are Dr. T. Ruth Brett, Box 445, Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Box 31, Tuskegee Institute.

Attached are some suggestions for nominating Fellows. If you will set up a special committee, or place the matter in the hands of your executive committee, or in some other way nominate eight or ten young Alabamians as Fellows, the Fellows Committee of the Council will then choose five additional Fellows from Alabama from that group. Fellows function within their respective states as well as in the Council as a whole.

If we can be of any further help to you in this matter, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 18, 1948

Mr. J. M. Dabbs, Chairman
South Carolina Division, SRC
Rip Raps
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

The By-Laws of the Southern Regional Council provide that there shall be one hundred Honorary Fellows of the Council; at present there are only forty-three. In setting about increasing the number of Fellows, we want to provide some measure of equitable distribution by states. South Carolina now has three Fellows, whereas she should have seven.

South Carolina Fellows are Howard J. Kester, Penn School, St. Helena Island, Frogmore; John Avery Potts, Avery Institute, Charleston; Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly Boyd, 537 Palmetto Street, Spartanburg.

Attached are some suggestions for nominating Fellows. If you will set up a special committee, or place the matter in the hands of your executive committee, or in some other way nominate six or eight South Carolinians as Fellows, the Fellows Committee of the Council will choose four additional Fellows from South Carolina from that group.

As you probably know, Fellows function within their respective states, as well as in the Council as a whole.

If we can be of any further help to you in this matter, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

mp

March 18, 1948

The Rev. Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer
Chairman, Mississippi Division of SRC
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

The By-Laws of the Southern Regional Council provide that there shall be one hundred Honorary Fellows of the Council; at present there are only forty-three.

In setting about increasing the number of Fellows, we want to provide some measure of equitable distribution by states. Mississippi now has three Fellows, whereas she should have eight. The three are Dr. Dorothy Dickins, Mississippi Experiment Station, State College; Dr. W. H. Pipes, Alcorn A. & M. College, Alcorn; and Mr. V. L. Wharton, Millsaps College, Jackson.

Attached are some suggestions for nominating Fellows. If you will set up a special committee, or place the matter in the hands of your executive committee, or in some other way nominate eight or ten Mississippians as Fellows, the Fellows Committee of the Council will choose from that group five Fellows.

As you probably know, Fellows function within their respective states, as well as in the Council as a whole.

If we can be of any further help to you in this matter, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

March 18, 1948

Dr. William H. Gray
Vice-Chairman, Florida Division, SRC
Florida A. & M. College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

The By-Laws of the Southern Regional Council provide that there shall be 100 Honorary Fellows of the Council; at present we have only 43. In setting about increasing the number of Fellows, we want to provide some measure of equitable distribution by states. At present Florida has only one Fellow--Chester W. Cowart, 610 West Duval Street, Jacksonville. She should have seven Fellows.

Attached are some suggestions for nominating Fellows. If you will set up a special committee, or place the matter in the hands of your executive committee, or in some other way nominate ten or twelve Floridians as Fellows, the Fellows Committee of the Council will then choose six additional Fellows from Florida from that group. Fellows function within their respective states as well as in the Council as a whole.

This office has already received three suggestions for Florida Fellows, which we will pass on to your for consideration. They are (1) Miss Caroline Lee Gillespie, Apt. 3, 632 Riverside Avenue, Jacksonville. Miss Gillespie is an executive in the Jacksonville Chapter of the American Red Cross. She has been quite interested in interracial work and has in mind the development of an interracial community center on some of her property in South Carolina. Mrs. Havens will know of her. (2) Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy, Professor of Human Relations at the University of Miami. Dr. Guy Johnson recommends him quite highly: "Lovejoy is one of our U.N.C. Ph.D.'s. He is a gentleman, a scholar, and a veritable dynamo. Get him to be a Fellow of SRC, by all means!" Dr. Lovejoy is an SRC member already, as is Miss Gillespie. (3) The Rev. Mr. Henry Havens, Jr, Episcopal rector in Milton, Florida, and son of our

field secretary, Mrs. Havens. Mr. Havens has demonstrated in many ways his interest in race relations and community development. He also is a member of SRC.

If we can be of any further help to you in this matter, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 18, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Chairman, Kentucky Division, SRC
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

The By-Laws of the Southern Regional Council provide that there shall be one hundred Honorary Fellows of the Council; at present we have only forty-three. In setting about increasing the number of Fellows, we want to provide some measure of equitable distribution by states. Kentucky now has only one Fellow--G. D. Wilson, 3344 Grand Avenue, Louisville--whereas she should have seven.

Attached are some suggestions for nominating Fellows. If you will set up a special committee, or place the matter in the hands of your executive committee, or in some other way nominate eight or ten Kentuckians as Fellows, the Fellows Committee of the Council will choose six additional Fellows from Kentucky from that group.

As you probably know, Fellows function within their respective states, as well as in the Council as a whole.

If we can be of any further help to you in this matter, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

March 18, 1948

Dr. John R. Ewbank
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Ewbank:

The By-Laws of the Southern Regional Council provide that there shall be one hundred Honorary Fellows of the Council; at present we have only forty-three.

In setting about increasing the number of Fellows, we want to provide some measure of equitable distribution by states. Arkansas now has three Fellows, whereas she should have seven. The three are yourself, Dr. Samuel F. Freeman, Jr., and Mr. Paul Clanton, 14th and Pine Streets, Pine Bluff.

We are wondering if you will serve as chairman of a committee, chosen by yourself, to nominate six or eight persons from Arkansas from whom the Fellows Committee of the Council can choose four Fellows. Since the three Arkansas Fellows are white men, we suggest that you include several Negroes and women in your list of nominees. For this reason, particularly, it would be well to include Negroes on your nominating committee. Attached are suggestions for nominating Fellows.

This office has already received a suggestion for an Arkansas Fellow which we will pass on to you for consideration. He is Dr. Stephen A. Stephan, Department of Sociology, University of Arkansas.

If we can be of any further help to you in this matter, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

March 19, 1948

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

The By-Laws of the Southern Regional Council provide that there shall be one hundred Honorary Fellows of the Council; at present there are only forty-three. In setting about increasing the number of Fellows, we want to provide some measure of equitable distribution by states. Texas now has two Fellows, whereas she should have ten. The two are Mr. Jackson Valtair, 5201 Belmont Street, Dallas, and Mr. Ernest E. Neal of Bishop College, now studying at the University of Michigan.

Attached are some suggestions for nominating Fellows. If you will set up a special committee from the Texas Interracial Committee, or place the matter in the hands of your executive committee, or in some other way nominate twelve or fourteen persons as Fellows, the Fellows Committee of the Council will choose from that group eight additional Fellows from Texas.

As you probably know, Fellows function within their respective states as well as in the Council as a whole.

This office has already received a suggestion for a Texas Fellow, which we will pass on to you for consideration. He is Mr. James Marcellus Tatum, Head of Department of Social Science at Butler College, Tyler, Texas. Attached is a brief resume' of his educational and interest qualifications.

If we can be of any further help to you in this matter, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

James Marcelleus Tatum, Butler College, Tyler, Texas.

Education:
A. B., Samuel Huston College, Austin, Texas, 1942
Master of Social Work, Atlanta University School of Social Work, 1946
Completed twelve additional hours toward a Master's Degree in Sociology at Atlanta University, summer of 1947

Primary Interest
Race Relations and Sociology research

Duties at Butler College
Head of Department of Social Science, 1946--
Faculty Advisor
Sponsor of the College's monthly publication
Sponsor of Social Science Club at Butler College
Directed community study on opportunities open to Negro veterans in Tyler, Texas. The study was done by members of the social science class of 1946-47

Other Information
Chairman of Young People Rount-table for two years (1945-46) at Friendship Baptist Church, Atlanta
Formerly editor and assistant manager of the Industrial Era Beaumont, Texas, 1939-41

Organizations in Which He Hold Membership.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Southern Regional Council
Masonic Lodge
Y.M.C.A., Beaumont, Texas
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Fellowship Baptist Church, Beaumont
National Association of Social Workers
Tyler Negro Chamber of Commerce
Texas State Teachers Association
American Legion.

(Mr. Tatum was recommended by his twin brother, Jewell, former field representative for the Veterans Services Division of the Southern Regional Council, and now enrolled in the Atlanta University School of Social Work)

March 19, 1948

Mr. Harry W. Roberts
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

Dear Mr. Roberts:

We are trying to increase the number of Fellows to one hundred, as provided in the By-Laws of the Council, distributing them by states with some degree of equity.

A Fellows Committee from the Council will choose Fellows from nominations submitted by committees from each state. We are asking you to serve on the Virginia nominating committing, along with Dr. Thomas C. Allen and Paul Williams as chairman. Your committee should nominate four or five Virginians from whom the Council Fellows Committee will choose three as Fellows.

Attached are a few suggestions for nominating Fellows.

Present Fellows from Virginia besides yourself are W. Barton Beatty, Jr., Hampton Institute; Mrs. Nathan Lantor, South Boston; Roscoe E. Lewis, Hampton Institute.

We'll appreciate your serving on the Virginia Committee. If this office can be of any assistance, we'll be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:p

This is a pencil by!

March 19, 1948

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We are trying to increase the number of Fellows of the Council to one hundred, as provided in the By-Laws, distributing them by states with some degree of equity.

A Fellows Committee from the Council will choose Fellows from nominations submitted by committees from each state.

We are asking you as chairman, Thomas Allen, and Harry W. Roberts, to serve as the nominating committee from Virginia, nominating four or five persons from whom the Council committee will choose three as Fellows from Virginia.

There are already four Virginia Fellows: W. Barton Beatty, Jr., public relations director at Hampton Institute; Mrs. Nathan Lantor, South Boston, Virginia; Roscoe E. Lewis, Hampton Institute; and Harry W. Roberts, Virginia State College.

Attached are suggestions for nominating Fellows. I am writing also to Allen and Roberts, enclosing the same suggestions.

Let me know whether or not you can serve as chairman of the committee. This office will be glad to be of any assistance possible to the committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 19, 1948

The Rev. Mr. Thomas C. Allen
Room 215
1444 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Tom:

We are trying to increase the number of Fellows of the Southern Regional Council to one hundred, as provided in the By-Laws, distributing them by states with some degree of equity.

A Fellows Committee from the Council will choose Fellows from nominations submitted by committees from each state. We are asking you to serve on the nominating committee from Virginia, along with Paul Williams as chairman and Harry W. Roberts. You should nominate four or five Virginians from whom the Council Fellows Committee will choose three as Fellows. Attached are suggestions for nominating Fellows.

Present Fellows from Virginia are W. Barton Beatty, Jr., Hampton Institute; Mrs. Nathan Lantor, South Boston, Virginia; Roscoe E. Lewis, Hampton Institute; and Harry W. Roberts, Virginia State College.

We'll appreciate your serving on the Virginia committee. If this office can be of any assistance, we'll be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

March 24, 1948

Dr. Marion B. Smith
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Smith:

We are trying to increase the number of Honorary Fellows of the Southern Regional Council to one hundred, as provided in the By-Laws, distributing them by states with some degree of equity. Louisiana now has one Fellow--Father Jerome A. Drolet, 3924 General Taylor Street, New Orleans--whereas she should have eight.

A Fellows Committee from the Council will choose Fellows from nominations submitted by committees from each state. We are asking you to serve on the Louisiana committee, along with Father Vincent J. O'Connell and Dr. A. W. Dent, chairman. This committee should nominate ten or twelve persons from Louisiana from among whom the Council Fellows Committee will choose the seven additional Louisiana Fellows.

Attached are suggestions for nominating Fellows.

We'll appreciate your serving on the state committee. Dr. Dent will contact you as to dates, procedures, etc. If this office can be of any further assistance in the matter, we shall be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 24, 1948

The Reverend Father Vincent J. O'Connell
2001 South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

We are trying to increase the number of Honorary Fellows of the Southern Regional Council to one hundred, as provided in the By-Laws, distributing them by states with some degree of equity. Louisiana has one Fellow--Father Jerome A. Drolet, 3924 General Taylor Street, New Orleans--whereas she should have eight.

A Fellows Committee from the Council will choose Fellows from nominations submitted by committees from each state. We are asking you to serve on the Louisiana committee, along with Dr. Marion B. Smith of LSU and Dr. A. W. Dent as chairman. This committee should nominate ten or twelve persons from Louisiana from among whom the Council Fellows Committee will choose the seven additional Louisiana Fellows.

Attached are suggestions for nominating Fellows.

We'll appreciate your serving on the state committee. Dr. Dent will contact you as to dates, procedures, etc. If this office can be of any further assistance in the matter, we shall be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

m Price

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
BATON ROUGE 3, LOUISIANA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

6 April 1948

RECEIVED
APR 7 1948
Southern Regional Co

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I shall be very happy to serve on the committee to nominate honorary fellows of the Southern Regional Council from Louisiana.

I have not yet heard from Dr. Dent but I suppose I shall in due time.

Very sincerely yours,

Marion B. Smith

Marion B. Smith
Professor of Sociology

MBS:ksd

April 7, 1948

Mr. J. R. Eubank
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Eubank:

That was very kind indeed of you to send us names of persons suitable as Fellows. We will act pretty soon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

M. LAFAYETTE HARRIS, PRESIDENT

PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1868, CHARTERED 1877
UNDER AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

MRS. R. M. COOPER BURSAR

m Price

OFFICE OF _____

RECEIVED
APR 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

April 2, 1948

Doctor George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Doctor Mitchell,

Your letter has been received and given careful attention.

We have the following persons from whom you may choose fellows.

White	Miss Roberta Clay Ph. D. State Teachers College, Conway, Arkansas.	
White	Mr. Joseph W. Hill, Arkadelphia, Arkansas. Book store operator	
White	Father Michael, Subiaco, Arkansas. Priest	
White	James W. Workman, Rev. First Methodist Church, North Little Rock, Ark.,	Now in N.L.R. next year may be in any good parish in Arkansas.
White	Rev. Frank Wright, First Christian Church, Van Buren, Arkansas.	
White	William H. Williams, Dairy owner outside L.R. Tall Timber Dairy, L.R. Ark. R.F.D.	Got out of S.C.F.H.W. when it got under fire. Think he would ~~dum~~ ~~this~~ be O.K. for this.
White	Miss Margaret Marshall, 1018 Scott St., Little Rock, Ark.	Mission worker of united Churches in L.R.
Negro	Miss Theresa Hoover, 1016 State, Little Rock, Ark.	Miss Marshall's assistant Graduate of This school
Negro	Edward D. Robinson, Hope, Arkansas.	Teacher, Grad. of this school.

We hope this will serve your purpose. If you need more and will give us time, we might do better.

Sincerely yours,

J. Lewis Lank

M. Price

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 19, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 13, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 24 which reached the office during President Dent's absence and it will be some days yet before he returns. When he is again at his desk your letter will be brought to his attention.

Yours very truly,

E. C. McAllister

Secretary to the
President

RECEIVED
APR 16 1948
Southern Regional Council

March 24, 1948

President A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Dent:

We are trying to increase the number of Honorary Fellows of the Southern Regional Council to one hundred, as provided in the By-Laws, distributing them by states with some degree of equity. Louisiana has one Fellow--Father Jerome A. Drolet, 3924 General Taylor Street, New Orleans--whereas she should have eight.

A Fellows Committee from the Council will choose Fellows from nominations submitted by committees from each state. We are asking you as chairman, Father Vincent O'Connell, and Dr. Marion Smith of LSU, to serve as the nominating committee for Louisiana, nominating ten or twelve persons from whom the Council committee will choose seven as additional Louisiana Fellows.

Attached are suggestions for nominating Fellows.

We'll appreciate your serving as chairman of the Louisiana committee, and will leave it to you to bring the committee together. I am today writing to Father O'Connell and Dr. Smith. If this office can be of any assistance, we'll be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

June 16, 1948

Dr. A. D. Beittel, Chairman
Alabama Division, Southern Regional Council
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

We are wondering what action has been taken by the Alabama Division in regard to recommending additional Fellows of the Council.

As you may recall, Alabama presently has two Fellows--Dr. Charles Gomillion and Dr. T. Ruth Brett, both of Tuskegee--and should have five more. My letter of March 18 gave particulars for nominating Fellows.

We would like to choose the new Fellows in the near future. May we not hear from you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

June 16, 1943

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Could you activate the Virginia Committee to pick us some more Fellows? Thomas C. Allen and Harry W. Roberts are on that committee with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

June 16, 1948

Mrs. James S. Crate, Chairman
Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

We are wondering what action has been taken by the Texas Commission in regard to recommending additional Fellows of the Southern Regional Council.

As you may recall, there are presently only two Texas Fellows--Mr. Jackson Valtair, Dallas, and Mr. Ernest E. Neal, Bishop College--whereas there should be ten. My letter of March 19 gave particulars for nominating Fellows.

We would like to choose new Fellows in the near future. May we not hear from you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

June 16, 1948

Dr. A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Dent:

We are wondering what action has been taken by your committee in regard to recommending additional Fellows of the Southern Regional Council.

As you may recall, there is presently only one Fellow from Louisiana, Father Jerome A. Drolet of New Orleans, whereas there should be eight. My letter of March 24 gave particulars for nominating additional Fellows from Louisiana.

We would like to choose new Fellows in the near future. May we not hear from you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

June 16, 1948

The Rev. Mr. H. B. Schaeffer, Chairman
Mississippi Division, SRC
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

We are wondering what action has been taken by the Mississippi Division in regard to recommending additional Fellows of the Council.

As you may recall, Mississippi presently has three Fellows--Dr. Dorothy Dickins, State College; Dr. W. H. Pipes, Alcorn; and Dr. V. L. Wharton, Millsaps--and should have five more. My letter of March 18 gave particulars for nominating Fellows.

We would like to choose new Fellows in the near future. May we not hear from you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

June 16, 1948

Mr. J. M. Dabbs, Chairman
South Carolina Division, SRC
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We are wondering what action has been taken by the South Carolina Division in regard to recommending additional Fellows of the Council.

As you may recall, South Carolina presently has three Fellows--Howard J. Kester, Frogmore; John Avery Potts, Charleston; and Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly Boyd, Spartanburg--and should have four more. My letter of March 18 gave particulars for nominating Fellows.

We would like to choose new Fellows in the near future. May we not hear from you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

June 16, 1948

Dr. William H. Gray, Vice Chairman
Florida Division, Southern Regional Council
Florida A. & M. College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

We are wondering what action has been taken by the Florida Division in regard to recommending additional Fellows of the Council.

As you may recall, Chester A. Cowart, 610 West Duval, Jacksonville, is the only Florida Fellow. My letter of March 18 gave particulars for nominating additional Fellows.

We would like to choose new Fellows in the near future. May we not hear from you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

June 16, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings, Chairman
Kentucky Division, Southern Regional Council
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

We are wondering what action has been taken by the Kentucky Division in regard to recommending additional Fellows of the Council.

As you may recall, Kentucky presently has only one Fellow--Mr. G. D. Wilson, Louisville--whereas she should have seven. My letter of March 18 have particulars for nominating additional Fellows.

We would like to choose new Fellows in the near future. May we not hear from you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

34-SRC, Fellows - March 14 Memo.

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1948
Southern Regional Council

June 18, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of June 16th requesting information relative to the action taken by the Alabama Division in regard to recommending additional Fellows of the Council has been received during Dr. Beittel's absence from the campus. Dr. Beittel will return to the office on June 26th or 27th at which time I will refer your letter to him for reply.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Monty E. Bacon
Secretary to Dr. Beittel

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

Mr Price:
Please attend to this.
G.S.M.

DILLARD UNIVERSITY

NEW ORLEANS 19, LOUISIANA

June 19, 1948

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Since receiving your first letter of March 24, I have been occupied more than usual with a number of rather pressing matters and as your letter of June 16 reached me this morning, I am preparing to leave the city tomorrow for Geneva where I am going at the request of the State Department as a member of the U. S. delegation to the World Health Assembly.

It is likely that I should not get back to New Orleans until the early part of August and since I have already delayed working on the matter of Honorary Fellows, I would suggest that you ask Father O'Connell to proceed in the drawing up of a list of persons who might be considered as Fellows.

I regret that my situation has prevented my giving attention to this matter as you request.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:dbb

Jean Smith
Dillard Univ
N.O. 19

RECEIVED
JUN 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

June 28, 1948

Dr. George W. Snowden
Dillard University
New Orleans 19, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Snowden:

We are trying to increase the number of Honorary Fellows of the Southern Regional Council to one hundred, as provided in the By-Laws, distributing them by states with some degree of equity. Louisiana has one Fellow--Father Jerome A. Drolet, 3924 General Taylor Street, New Orleans--whereas she should have eight.

A Fellows Committee from the Council will choose Fellows from nominations submitted by committees from each state. We are asking you to serve on the committee from Louisiana, along with Dr. Marion B. Smith of LSU and Father Vincent J. O'Connell, 2901 South Carrollton Avenue, New Orleans, as chairman. This committee should nominate ten or twelve persons from Louisiana from among whom the Council Fellows Committee will choose the seven additional Louisiana Fellows.

Attached are suggestions for nominating Fellows.

We'll appreciate your serving on the state committee. Father O'Connell will contact you as to dates, procedures, etc. If this office can be of any further assistance in the matter, we shall be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

June 28, 1948

The Reverend Father Vincent J. O'Connell
2901 South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

A letter from Dr. A. W. Dent this morning says that he is leaving for Geneva, Switzerland, and will therefore be unable to serve as chairman of the Fellows Committee from Louisiana.

We are wondering if you will consent to serve as chairman of the committee? We are asking Dr. George W. Snowden of Dillard University to serve in Dr. Dent's place. Dr. Marion B. Smith of LSU is the third member of the committee.

To review briefly what the committee should do--Louisiana should have eight Fellows instead of the one now serving at present. Your committee should nominate ten or twelve persons from Louisiana from among whom the Fellows Committee of the Council will choose seven additional Louisiana Fellows.

We'll appreciate your serving as chairman of the Louisiana committee, and will leave it to you to bring the committee together. If this office can be of any assistance, we shall be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

re Price

ALABAMA DIVISION

CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT A. D. BEITTEL

VICE-CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM
THE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY

SECRETARY
MRS. J. FLETCHER McLEOD
BRUNDIDGE

TREASURER
MR. ROBERT DURR
1602 - 6TH AVENUE, N.
BIRMINGHAM 3

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ALABAMA DIVISION
TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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MRS. H. R. COGBURN
MOBILE

DEAN CHARLES G. GOMILLION
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

REVEREND WILLIAM H. MARMION
BIRMINGHAM

MR. J. E. PIERCE
MONTGOMERY

REVEREND THOMAS R. THRASHER
MONTGOMERY

REVEREND FRANK WADE
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REVEREND DAN C. WHITSETT
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ATTORNEY CHARLES V. HENDLEY
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BIRMINGHAM

MR. WILLIAM MITCH
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REVEREND J. B. NICHOLS
PRATTVILLE

PRESIDENT F. D. PATTERSON
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

MR. D. R. PRICE
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND A. S. TURNIPSEED
MONTGOMERY

MR. J. K. WILLIAMS
BIRMINGHAM

June 29, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

When I received your letter a few months ago concerning recommendations for additional Fellows of the Council I sent a copy of that letter to each of the officers of the Alabama Division. No recommendation came back to me from them. I shall be glad to bring the matter to the attention of the Executive Committee of the Alabama Division at its next meeting in the latter part of September.

In the meantime, I am recommending as a Fellow of the Council Mr. Donald Rasmussen of the Sociology Department of Talladega College.

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

A. D. Beittel, Chairman
Southern Regional Council
Alabama Division

ADB meb

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1948
Southern Regional Council

Miss Price

South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A Council to Attain Through Research and Action the Ideals and Practices of Equal Opportunity for All Peoples in the South

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ORANGEBURG
MARION A. WRIGHT
CONWAY
REV. A. J. WRIGHT
BENNETTSVILLE

July 5, 1948

Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Spearman, Miss Reid, and I have conferred on the matter of additional honorary fellows of the Council from South Carolina, and we are submitting the following names, from which you may select the proper number:

White:
Rev. Robert Ayers, 1301 Hampton Street, Columbia
Rev. J. Obert Kempson, State Hospital, Columbia
Mr. John Scott, Florence, S. C.

Negro:
Miss Cassandra Maxwell, Orangeburg
Mrs. Marion Paul, 2324 Washington St., Columbia
Mrs. Iola Jones, Dept. of Public Welfare, Florence
Mr. Paul Webber, State College, Orangeburg.

I am sorry this matter has been held up, but I have been very busy. With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs, Chairman,
S. C. Division of the Southern Regional Council.

RECEIVED
JUL 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

ADVISORY COMMITTEE—Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Chairman

Rev. E. A. Adams, Rev. A. T. Butler, Rev. H. H. Butler, Earle R. Britton, Franz Daniel, Mrs. Beautine DeCosta, Marguerite DeVore, Mrs. Louise J. DuBose, Dr. Carl B. Epps, A. C. Flora, Dr. J. E. Grant, Lil Lou Gray, James H. Hammond, Rev. A. W. Hill, J. M. Hinton, Mrs. Leon S. Holley, A. T. Jamison, Mrs. Iola Jones, Mrs. J. Roy Jones, Dr. Peter Kelly, Mrs. Camille C. Levy, Mrs. Norman Lynch, John McCray, Mrs. Sarah McCullough, Juanita Neely, Mary Helen Oetzel, J. F. Potts, Mrs. Maude M. Rogers, Mrs. Audrew Simpkins, Mrs. Albert Simonds, Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, Dr. Rosamonde E. Wimberly.

MB

2410 Durwood Drive
Houston 6 Texas
July 8, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The executive committee of the Texas Commission, meeting at Prairie View tomorrow, will consider and suggest persons for Fellows for S.R.C. We will send in these names within the next week or ten days.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Jas S Crate.

RECEIVED
JUL 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

Prairie View University
Prairie View, Texas

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

16 July 1948

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

The pressure of special duties has prevented me from furnishing you the following information regarding the persons selected last Friday; -

1. Mrs. Pauline Watkins Campbell, Huntsville, Texas - B. S., Prairie View A and M College; M. S., University of Southern California, with additional work at Columbia University; several years successful teaching experience in the Public Schools of Texas and at Prairie View; and, is now one of the outstanding Jeans Supervisors in the State, Headquarters, Huntsville, Texas, Walker County.

2. President M. K. Curry, Jr., Butler College, Tyler, Texas - A. B., Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia; several years successful pastor of First Baptist Church, Wichita Falls, Texas; and, has been President of Butler College, Tyler, Texas, for two years.

3. Reverend I. B. Loud, 624 Dawson Street, San Antonio, Texas - A former student of Prairie View; has been successful pastor for a number of years, and District Superintendent of the Methodist Church, Headquarters, San Antonio, Texas; and, is member of the Board of Directors of the Texas State University for Negroes, Houston, Texas.

4. Mr. H. C. Langrum, Crockett, Texas - B. S. and M. S., Prairie View A and M College; has been successful teacher and principal in East Texas; and, has participated widely in a number of civic movements.

5. Mr. Elwood E. Collins, Box 25, Texarkana, Texas - B. S., Prairie View A and M College, M. S., Colorado State College; and, Area Supervisor of Vocational Agriculture, covering twenty counties in Northeast Texas.

6. Mr. Matthew W. Carter, 3012 Maple Avenue, Dallas 4, Texas - A. B., Virginia Union University, Bachelor of Theology, Howard University; at present, Area Supervisor YMCA Work, Southwest Area Council, National YMCA, comprising the States of Arkansas Oklahoma and Texas.

7. Dr. Connie Yerwood, State Health Department, Austin, Texas - A. B., Tillotson College, Austin; M. D., Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee; and, at present, Assistant in the State Health Department of Austin, Texas.

I am

Yours truly,

W. R. Banks, Director
Public Relations
Prairie View, Texas

WRB/ot

OFFICERS

VICE PRESIDENTS
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Dr. J. L. Clark, Huntsville

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TEXAS COMMISSION ON INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION

AFFILIATED WITH

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MRS. JAS. S. CRATE, *President*
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

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Dr. F. Rivers Barnwell, Ft. Worth
Mrs. C. H. Christian, Austin
Charles A. Shaw, Houston
Dean T. A. Shelby, Austin
Prof. T. W. Pratt, Dallas
Mrs. John M. Hanna, Dallas
Dr. Daniel Russell, College Station
Mrs. W. H. Hogue, Houston
Dr. W. C. Davis, Dallas
Dr. R. B. Melton, Denton
Dr. Blake Smith, Austin
Mrs. P. D. Johnson, Marshall

Sept. 9, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed you will find the list of S.R.C. Fellows suggested by the executive board of the Texas Commission. There are two other names of white people whose qualifications has not been received due to their being out of the State for the summer. I will send these if it is not too late just as soon as I receive them.

Thanks for the splendid publications sent to me recently.

Sincerely
Mrs. Jas S Crate

or to Mrs. Spearman, maybe?

September 20, 1948

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

In acting on the selection of Fellows, the Fellows Committee of the Council found that it needed further information on the following people:

Mr. John Scott, Florence
Miss Cassandra Maxwell, Orangeburg
Mrs. Marion Paul, Columbia
Mrs. Iola Jones, Florence
Mr. Paul Webber, Orangeburg

What positions do these nominees hold, and what are their qualifications. We have bits of information about the Rev. Mr. Robert Ayers of Columbia and the Rev. Mr. J. Obert Kempson of Columbia. If you have further information about these men, however, we would be glad to receive it.

Thank you for your help in this matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 20, 1948

Dr. O. D. Duncan
Professor of Sociology
Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Duncan:

The Southern Regional Council is ~~attempting to choose our~~ in process of bringing its list of Honorary Fellows up to 100. We want to include one Negro and one white Fellow from Oklahoma, and we would like your help inmaking the selection. Enclosed is a summary of the duties and responsibilities of Fellows and a few suggestions for choosing them.

Dr. Paul B. Foreman has been suggested as a possible Fellow. Can you give us your thinking on this matter, and further suggestions for Fellows, both white and Negro?

The Fellows Committee of the Council would like to make the final selections in the near future. We will greatly appreciate your help and advice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 20, 1948

The Rev. Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

The Fellows Committee of the Council would like to choose the roster of Fellows by the time of the annual meeting in November. Could you send in ~~four~~ six or eight suggestions for Fellows from Mississippi within the next week or so? Please give a summary of the qualifications of each so that the Committee will have a basis for choosing. You may recall that Mississippi is entitled to five ~~additional~~ Fellows in addition to the three already serving--Dr. Dorothy Dickins, Dr. W. H. Pipes, and Dr. V. L. Wharton.

Enclosed is a summary of suggestions for choosing Fellows.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

rough drafts of letters sent re Fellows
(no carbons made)

September 20, 1948

Dr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Tlladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

~~This is just a reminder that~~
The Executive Committee of the Council is acting as Fellows Committee. We hope to choose the new Fellows by the time of the annual meeting in November.

Are we right in thinking that you will submit the Alabama nominations after your executive meeting this month?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

rough draft
no carbon kept

September 20, 1948

Dear Dr. Beittel:

~~The/Dorfin/~~

~~The/Negro/Faculty~~

These names have just come to ~~the~~ my attention as possible nominations for Fellows from Alabama. You might want to consider them for recommendation:

Mr. James Pierce
Social Science Department
Alabama State Teachers College
Montgomery

Mr. B. O. Jones
Talladega College

~~The/head~~
The head of the Junior College in Mobile, branch of State Teachers College, was also recommended, as was a young lawyer who has just gone into Mr. A. D. Shore's office in Birmingham. ~~Negro/Y~~ ~~Of~~ The members of our Negro Advisory Committee, who made the suggestions, ~~sh~~, could not recall the names but spoke highly of the men. Perhaps the names will be familiar to you.

We are happy to accept Mr. Donald Rasmussen as a Fellow.

Sincerely,

September 20, 1948

Dr. William H. Gray
Florida A. & M. College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

The Executive Committee of the Council, acting as the Fellows Committee has suggested that the following people be selected as Florida Fellows:

The Rev. Mr. Henry Stavens, Jr., Milton, Florida

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy, Professor of Human Relations
University of Miami, Miami, Florida

A third nomination which had been made was that of Miss Caroline Lee Gillespie. She has since that time left Florida, however, so her name was not considered.

The selection of these two men will give Florida three Fellows, the third being Mr. Chester W. Cowart of Jacksonville. We hope that at the next meeting of the Florida Division you will nominate additional Fellows, since Florida is entitled to four more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 21, 1948

Dear Dr. Dabbs:

Since dictating ~~the~~ my first letter to you, additional names have come to my attention as possible recommendations for Fellows. ~~We would like to have your reflections to the men and women listed~~

Mr. Arthur Clement
North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company
Charleston, S. C.

Dr. Dorothy Jones
Sociology Department
Winthrop College
Rock Hill, S. C.

A Negro, Dr. Martin, ~~of Columbia~~ was also highly recommended. I do not know his initials or address, but perhaps they are familiar to you.

~~Would you also recommend these people for Fellowships?~~ Would you also approve these nominations? ~~The~~ If so, the Fellows Committee would simply add these names to those you have sent and make their selection from the whole list.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 21, 1948

Dear Father O'Connell:

The Negro Advisory Committee of the Council met yesterday after I had dictated the enclosed letter, and in the course of our business the Committee made several suggestions for Fellows from Louisiana. You may wish to include these men when you make your recommendations. We do not have full information on all the men, but perhaps you can supplement what we have.

Mr. James Faustina (N), formerly connected with the U.S. Public Health Service, now Health Education Specialist with the New Orleans Health Department

Dr. George Snowden of Dillard University

Dr. Clarence Glick of Tulane University

Dean Lenoir, Dean of the Law School of Southern University.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 20, 1948

Father Vincent J. O'Connell
2901 South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

I wonder if you and Dr. George Snowden of Dillard and Dr. Marion A. Smith of LSU could get together soon, either in person or through correspondence, and nominate ten or twelve people for Fellows from Louisiana. The Fellows Committee would like to choose the roster of Fellows by the time of the annual meeting in November.

You may recall that Louisiana has only one Fellow--Father Jerome A. Drolet of New Orleans; eight additional Fellows are to be chosen from the list submitted by your committee. Enclosed is a summary of suggestions for choosing Fellows.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Answer -

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 21, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

The Reverend Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

After dictating my letter to you yesterday, the names of three men were brought to my attention as possible Fellow nominees from Mississippi. You may want to consider them when you make your recommendations:

Dr. Morton L. King
Department of Sociology
University of Mississippi

We have incomplete information on these two men, but perhaps you can supplement it: Mr. Arthur Williams of Jackson, vice-president of a Negro insurance company and a Mr. Banks, president of the company.

Sincerely,

GSM.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

I know the Mr. Williams mentioned above. He is a very active Negro leader here; recently President of the Chamber of Commerce; active in Negro Y.M.C.A. work. He has never been active in SRC.

I suggest Msgr. Joseph Brunini, a member of our Executive Committee and active in our work. He is assistant to Bishop Gerow here and has been chairman of the effort to raise $3,000,000 for a new Roman Catholic Hospital. Mrs. Paul Arrington, Jackson, you and Mrs. Tilly know better than I do. Dr. P. W. Hill, Clarksdale, (dentist) is a Negro leader and active in SRC. Miss Arenia Mallory, Lexington, president of Saints Industrial and Literary School, is

active in SRC and very prominent in Negro circles.

Schaffer

September 21, 1948

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

After dictating my letter to you yesterday, the names of three men were brought to my attention as possible Fellow nominees from Mississippi. You may want to consider them when you make your recommendations:

Dr. Morton L. King
Department of Sociology
University of Mississippi

~~Mr. Arthur Williams (N)~~
~~Vice-President of an Insurance Company~~
~~We have incomplete info~~

We have incomplete information on these two men, but perhaps you can supplement it: Mr. Arthur Williams, of Jackson, vice-president of a Negro insurance company and a Mr. Banks, president of the company.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 21, 1943

Dear Dr. Duncan:

~~After I had written to you yesterday~~
After I had written to you yesterday, these names came to my attention as possible Fellows from Oklahoma. What would be your recommendations:

Mrs. Cenoria Johnson (N)
Oklahoma Urban League
300 North Styles
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Mr. James Stewart (N)
President of the local AVC Chapter
Manager of Negro local branch of the Gas Company
Oklahoma City

as our recommendation for Dr. Foreman's name would still hold ~~f/r~~ the white Fellow.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Dr Duncan replied in a letter concerning each subject - filed elsewhere

September 21, 1948

Dear Dr. Gray:

At the regular meeting of the Negro Advisory Committee of the Council yesterday, the Committee made several suggestions for Fellows from Florida. You may wish to consider these names when your committee makes its recommendations.

Mr. L. I. Alexander
Alexander Insurance Company
Jacksonville, Florida

Dr. V. D. Mizell physician
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

Mr. James Greene
Principal, Lewis Junior High School
Jacksonville

Dr. Bass
Dentist
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 24, 1948

Dr. John R. Ewbank
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Ewbank:

An Advisory Committee of the Council met the other day and discussed recommendations for Fellows.

They liked your recommendations but had a few further suggestions: Miss Sadie Thompson of the Little Rock Urban League; Mr. William Harry Bass, Jr., also of the Urban League; and Dr. Hugh Brown of the State Tuberculosis Sanitorium. Can you give us any information on these men and women? What would be your feeling about adding their names to your list of nominees?

The Committee suggested that Dr. Stephen A. Stephan, Department of Sociology of the University of Arkansas, be accepted as the new white Fellow from Arkansas. The three or four Negro Fellows will be chosen from the names submitted by you and by the Advisory Committee, if you approve their suggestions.

We do not know the exact address of the Tuberculosis Sanitorium. Can you give it to us?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

JAMES MC BRIDE DABBS · RIP RAPS · MAYESVILLE, S. C.

September 25, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Below is the additional information recently requested by you in regard to the proposed Council fellows from South Carolina.

1. Mr. John Scott, Florence, white, lawyer, chairman of the local interracial committee, ex-G.I. with bureau of investigation experience, in which he learned, he says, his interest in Negroes and other minority groups.
2. Miss Cassandra Maxwell, Orangeburg, lawyer and librarian of the new law school at State College there. Forceful and attractive personality.
3. Mrs. Marion Paul, Columbia, Negro. Asst. state home demonstration agent. Episcopalian.
4. Mrs. Iola Jones, Florence, Negro. Public child welfare worker for Florence Co. Dept. of Public Welfare. Excellent person, but Mrs. Spearman wonders now if she is forceful enough for the job of Council fellow.
5. Mr. Paul Webber, Orangeburg, Negro. Professor at State College, particularly interested in recreation and community organization at Orangeburg.

We would also approve the nominations suggested in your letter of Sept. 21.

6. Mr. Arthur Clement, Charleston, Negro. N. C. Mutual Ins. Co., executive secretary for the state of the Progressive Democratic Party. Understood to be brilliant; probably inclined to be radical. Certainly outspoken.
7. Dr. Dorothy Jones, Sociology Dept., Winthrop College, Rock Hill, white. Pried of Guy Johnson's, at University of N. C. Said to be key professor at Winthrop who could be successfully used in the work of the SRC, It is said that most Winthrop professors are THOUGHT to be radical and out of touch with the people. Such a thought would suggest to me that the people are also out of touch with the professors!
8. We could not learn who Dr. Martin of Columbia was. There is a Negro, Dr. Mance, in Columbia, who is excellent and whom we would approve. Mrs. Spearman thinks, however, that he is well past 40.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs, Chairman,
S. C. Division of the SRC, Inc.

P.S. Kempson and Ayers are both excellent. Both are deeply interested and active in SRC work. Ayers, as student secretary for the Baptists of the State, probably touches more young people than any of the rest of us; he says that in a few years he hopes to brings those he touches up to SRC standards.

J.M.D.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 30, 1948

TO: ~~GSM~~ MP

FROM: HCF

Nelson Jackson called today to add a name to the list of possible Fellows. She is:

Mrs. E. B. Goode
20 South Hallett St.
Mobile, Ala.

He recommends her highly. She is active in civic affairs, member of the Board of the YWCA and president of the Federated Women's Clubs. The Wheel indicates that she is not a member of SRC.

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Chairman

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ALABAMA DIVISION
TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

October 2, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have written to Mr. Shores suggesting that a young lawyer in his office had been recommended as a Fellow of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Shores replied that he has two young men in his office, Frederick A. Curtis and David Hood, Jr. Mr. Shores says he does not know which one had been recommended to you, but that he would endorse either of the young men. I am sorry that I do not know either of the men. If you care to write to them, you can send a letter in care of Arthur D. Shores, 1630 Fourth Avenue, North, Birmingham, Alabama.

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

Chairman,
Alabama Division

ADB/LMP

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY

OFFICE OF THE DEANS OF WOMEN

October 2, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Tydings and I seem to have gotten ourselves a bit balled up about the procedure for choosing Kentucky Fellows for the Council. I really think we got balled up because he could not understand the English language! However, I am terribly sorry that this important matter has been delayed. Since he suggested to me in correspondence, which was forwarded to me in Connecticut in August, that he wanted to go ahead with this matter and not await my return, I feel now that he should do that, and I am asking to be relieved from the chairmanship of that committee. No hard feelings, of course! I am sure you know how interested I am in the Southern Regional Council and it's work in Kentucky.

I have before me your letter of April 20th with the names of Council members in Berea. I shall try this month to get out a letter to other people on the campus who I am sure would like to become members.

With all good wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Julia F. Allen

Julia F. Allen
Dean of Senior College Women

JFA/lc

Enc.

October 2, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

I am really sorry that we seem to have gotten ourselves so balled up about this business of calling together the Fellows Committee, which you appointed to sign Fellows for the Southern Regional Conference in Kentucky. I really worked on this matter last April, as you know, and tried my best to get answers from the members of the committee giving the names which they suggested. I was not able to get any reply at all from one member of the committee, Mr. Perry, and did finally have a letter from Dr. McDowell, saying that he would not be able to work on a list of suggestions, or come to a committee meeting any time in May. I sent you this information about these two committee members, along with the fine suggestions that I received from Miss Poynter and Dr. Atwood, in a letter which I wrote you on May 13th. Since you had said you did not feel we could choose the Fellows by mail, and since we had no chance of getting the complete committee together in the spring, I said to you in my letter of May 13th:

"Our Berea Commencement comes on May 31st, and after that I shall be tied up with special meetings here, and then away for the summer. I am wondering if you do not agree with me that it would be best for us to plan a meeting of this committee for September. If we decide to do that, I can write Mr. Perry and Dr. McDowell, asking them to get their suggestions for us during the summer".

In your answering letter of May 18th you said that under the circumstances you thought the meeting of the Fellows Committee ought to be postponed. You further suggested that it would be good to go ahead with a meeting after June 2nd. Since I had already written you that it would be impossible for me to meet any time in June, July or August, I did not write you again. I simply did not have time to consider the matter again until September, as I had stated clearly in my May 13th letter. I was surprised to get a long distance call from you when I happened to be in Berea for a day or two between jumps. In that telephone conversation I explained to you again that I would not be able to meet with the committee during the summer. I was further surprised and confused to have a letter forwarded to me later in the summer to Connecticut, in which you again raised the question of our having a meeting in the summer. I had understood from my last correspondence with you that you felt you should go ahead and call this committee together without me. I really believe under the circumstances that is the best thing for you to do.

I am sending you the notes I have on this whole matter, and I hope that you will be able yourself to call the group together, or to appoint some other chairman. I can see now that you really should have had some one who was going to be in Kentucky last summer, and who would have been available to pursue this matter at that time.

I am sorry that you and I did not seem to be able to make ourselves clear to each other, and that you have thus had this long delay in getting this important work underway. I shall really be glad to accept some other assignment some time for the Kentucky Division of the Southern Regional Council, as I am very much interested.

Sincerely yours,

Julia F. Allen
Dean of Senior College Women

JFA/lc

CC: Mr. George Mitchell

Enc.

September 20, 1943

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

We still have no nominations for Kentucky Fellows.

Six additional Fellows are to be chosen. Can you send us names of eight or ten, with a sketch of their qualifications, so the roster can be chosen by the annual meeting in November? The one Fellow from Kentucky is Mr. G. D. Wilson of Louisville.

Enclosed is a summary of duties and qualifications of Fellows.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

MEMORANDUM

October 6, 1948

TO: MP
FROM: GSM
RE: Mrs. E. B. Goode

Be's I not mistaken, Mr. Nelson Jackson nominated Mrs. Goode of Mobile as a Fellow. Mrs. Goode was in town today and kindly came to see me. She is a housewife, but an alert one, interested in various good causes thereabouts, particularly in voting. She was for some time officially identified with the YWCA, but a recent backward-looking revolution in YW affairs in Mobile chucked out her and her interest in a once official, now discontinued interracial committee. She is adequately under the 40 age line.

I told her she might expect to be asked to be a Fellow, come the November meeting.

As Fellows are members of the Council free of charge, she is, therefore, a new member.

Her name: Mrs. E. B. Goode
20 South Hallett Street
Mobile 20, Alabama

She says her Mobile interracial committee has continued under new guises, to wit, the Council of Church Women, and that under this new guise it is seeking a new job to do. I told her what a lovely thing a Jacksonville survey is and she bought a $1 big one. I stuffed an envelope full of pamphlets for her and sent her off to Mobile. Things to do:

1. See that she is on the roster as a member.
2. Process her toward becoming a Fellow.
3. So set the books that she will henceforth get 5 copies of New South. I did say something about 10, but I don't see any use in starting her off on a bad habit.
4. Present me with correspondence prepared for signature such as to notify Beittel of our action anent this lady.
5. Cause to be noted in some appropriate place that she is a prospect for doing a survey, and so leave matters that long after you are married and gone, others will flood Mrs. Goode with survey dope when and if issued.

GSM
J

SRC- Fellows

October 7, 1948

Mr. O. D. Duncan
Department of Sociology and Rural Life
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Duncan:

I greatly appreciate your kind letter of September 24 with information about prospective fellows. I think our committee will proceed to elect nearly all those you mentioned.

I have written Mr. Roscoe Dunjee about the matter of the novel election rule. Thank you for letting us know. We will continue to be interested until we can find evidence that people in Oklahoma are looking after the matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

September 24, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue , N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Replying to your letters of September 20-21, I would say that Dr. Paul B. Foreman of this institution would be an excellent prospect as a white fellow of the Council. He is enuthusiatic in his interests in race problems; he is energetic and active. If he has any drawbacks, it would be that he is a little assertive, impulsive, and lacking in tact. However, I think these are minor considerations in his case, and would recommend him strongly.

Mrs. Cernoria Johnson of the Oklahoma City Urban League is a very fine person. I do not know her too intimately, but I have been a participant in several meetings in which she was present, and she has impressed me each time by her good judgment, her intelligence, and her competence in general. I would recommend her with enthusiasm.

I do not know Mr, James Stewart, and cannot comment on his qualifications. I may have met him, but at present his name does not seem to be associated with any distinct personality in my mind. You might find out more by writing Mrs. Thelma A. Perry, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma. She has lived in Oklahoma City for a long time, and since her father is a prominent Negro physician there, I feel certain that she would know almost any Negro business man of importance there.

Perhaps she is too busy to accept, but Mrs. Perry herself would make an excellent fellow. She is a a lawyer in addition to being a college teacher of history and political science. Her father, Dr. A. I. Davis, 1015 N. E. Sixth Street, Oklahoma City, would also make an excellent contact man. He is, of course, above the age limit, and Mrs. Perry is approaching it pretty closely. I happen to know these fine Negro people personally, and I believe they could help you better than I can in the matter of making acquaintances in this state.

Incidentally, the Daily Oklahoman of September 23, I believe it was, carried a little story saying that the Secretary of the State Election Board in Oklhoma City had ruled that when a Negro is a candidate for office in Oklahoma the word Negro must be printed on the ballot beside his name, e.g. William Jones, Negro. When did a man's race become a part of his name? I think this ought to be looked into and exposed, condemned, and published far and wide. Of course, I cannot do it, but I wish you would take the tip from me and have it done.

I suppose that by the same token it should be necessary to put Indian, Irish, Jew, Scotch, blonde, Brunette, and give a long biological record if Oklahoma wants to be consistent. This is not a new thing perhaps, but it is an insulting thing in the face of the fact that a man has the constitutional right to run for office without any restrictions as to race. In the South, Negroes do not often run for offices, but here in Oklahoma it is becoming rather frequent. I understand that there are two Negro candidates for minor offices , such as justice of the peace, in Oklahoma City. I hope that they get elected because they are living in almost solid Negro districts.

Any time when I can be of service to you, let me know, and I shall be happy to conform within the limits of my time and resources.

Sincerely yours,

O. D. Duncan

O. D. Duncan.

MEMORANDUM

October 12, 1948

TO: Margaret Price
FROM: GSM
RE: Clarence E. Morgan

I was to look up a doctor in Columbia who had been mentioned as a Fellow. We recorded his name as Morton. Actually, it is Clarence E. Morgan, 2029 Taylor Street. I was told by Mr. John McCray that Morgan is a fine young man, interested in the sort of thing we are interested in and, by reason of his connection with Dr. G. B. Johnson, has already an excellent practice.

McCray thought Morgan would be very suitable as a Fellow, though I must say McCray had no elaborated knowledge of what a Fellow is.

GSM

[illegible]

Memo

October 18, 1948

TO: Margaret Price
FROM: GSM
RE: Florida Fellows

GSM

Mr. William H. Gray was in town on Saturday and I talked with him. He brought up Fellows, as to which he has a guilty conscience.

He says he will work with Mrs. Rudd of the Florida Council of Social Workers in getting names of good white Fellows. He has in mind a Mrs. Anthony and a Miss Bristol, the latter of Tallahassee, president of the Florida Council of Social Workers. I told him no great hurry.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

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October 28, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Ev. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The following list of nominees from Kentucky to become Southern Regional Council Fellows has been compiled by a committee of which Miss Julia Allen has been chairman:

1. Armstrong, Mrs. Franulle H., (White) Editor, Henderson, Gleaner, Box 4, Henderson, Ky. --- A very good person, highly trained and interested in work.

2. Brooks, Miss Bernice Melton, (Negro) 115 Liberty St., Hopkinsville, Ky. --- Housewife, former Child Welfare Worker.

3. Buford Mr. E. T.,(Negro) Principal, State Street High School, Bowling Green, Ky. --- Highly competent, older man.

4. Burke, Mr. Robert T. Jr,(White) Ky. Home Life Building, Louisville, Ky. Att'y, member of Committee to implement Negro Nurse Training Program, legal advisor to Mayor of Louisville, Catholic Leader recommended by Bishop.

5. Cowan, Mr. T. B.,(White) University of Ky., Lexington, Ky. Recommended by President R. B. Atwood, as a desirable selection.

6. Fenn, Mr. Norman, (White) On staff at Berea College, Berea, Ky. Was with American Field Service in India during the war. Chairman of a Committee formed to consider the relationship of the Day Law to Berea College.

7. Fields, Mrs. Arnold (White) 304 Ewing St. Frankfort, Ky. A young Jewish Women, graduate of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Member of Frankfort Council of Social Agencies and wants to be of service to the Southern Regional Council.

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DR. J. A. C. LATTIMORE
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W. H. PERRY, JR.
VICTOR PORTMANN
MISS JULIET J. POYNTER
DR. WARREN S. REHM
MRS. PATSIE SLOAN
CHARLES T. STEELE
O. M. TRAVIS

8. Nunnery, Rev. Charles A., (White) Pleasureville, Ky. Young (27), Methodist Director of a rural (Henry County)mParrish, doing outstanding work and deeply interested in race relations.

9. Smith, Mr. Harold A., (Negro) Professor, Ky State College, Frankfort, Ky. --- Well trained, very interested in work of Southern Regional Council.

10. Spicer, Miss Carolyn,(White) Secretary of the University of Ky. Y.W.C.A., Lexington, Ky. Taking masters degree in Socialogy. Twenty-five years of age, very interested in race relations.

11. Steele, Mr. Chas, O., (Negro)Secretary of the Louisville Urban League.

12. Whiteside, Mr. E. W.,(Negro) Principal of Paducah High School, Paducah, Ky. Director of Ky. Negro Education Ass'n. for six years, highly trained, has one of the best organized community programs of any high school in state.

13. Wilson, Dr. Henry H., (Negro) Professor of History and Government at Municipal College, Louisville, Ky. Director of Girl Scouts and an Active Civic Worker.

14. Wilson, Dr. G. D., (Negro) Associate Professor of Education at Municipal College, Louisville, Ky. is now a Fellow of Southern Regional Council, active in Civic and Educational Affairs.

The above list is submitted for you to select those best qualified for the work you have in mind for the Fellows to do.

Very truly yours,

J. M. Tydings,

J. M. Tydings,
Chairman

LB.

JMT/lb

November 1, 1948

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thanks for all your good work in the matter of Fellows.

The Advisory Committee is recommending to the Executive Committee that the following people be added to the list of South Carolina Fellows:

The Rev. Mr. Robert Ayers
1301 Hampton Street
Columbia

Dr. Clarence E. Morgan
2029 Taylor Street
Columbia

Dr. Dorothy Jones
Department of Sociology
Winthrop College

Miss Cassandra Maxwell
Orangeburg

Mr. Paul Webber
State College, Orangeburg

Mr. Arthur Clement
N. C. Mutual Insurance Company
Charleston

These six, along with John Avery Potts, Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly Boyd (and Howard Kester, if he is still in South Carolina) would then constitute the South Carolina Fellows.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

November 1, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The Negro Advisory Committee has for the past few meetings considered the matter of Honorary Fellows, approving recommendations made by state committees and making other recommendations.

We will have a slate of recommendations to be presented to the Executive Committee at the time of the annual meeting.

Do you have recommendations for Virginia? The Advisory Committee has suggested these people:

Al Moron (N)
Hampton Institute
(graduate of Howard Law School, Pittsburgh School of Social Work)

Harold DeWitt (N)
Industrial Secretary, Richmond Urban League
Richmond, Virginia

What do you think of these suggestions and what others would you make? There should be at least three additional Virginia Fellows.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 1, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. O. D. Duncan
Department of Sociology
Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Duncan:

Thanks for helping us out in the matter of Honorary Fellows for SRC.

The Advisory Committee is recommending to the Executive Committee of the Council that the following people be elected to Fellowships:

Mrs. Cenoria Johnson
Oklahoma City Urban League

Mr. James Stewart
Oklahoma City

Dr. Paul B. Foreman
Oklahoma A. & M. College

We appreciate your giving us advice in the matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

OK
O. D. Duncan
11/5/48

November 1, 1948

Dr. John R. Ewbank
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Ewbank:

Thanks for all your good work in the matter of Fellows.

The Advisory Committee is recommending to the Executive Committee that the following people be elected as Fellows:

Dr. Stephen A. Stephan
Department of Sociology
University of Arkansas

Miss Sadie Thompson
Little Rock Urban League

Dr. Hugh Brown
State Tuberculosis Sanitorium
Box 123, Alexander

Mr. Edward D. Robinson
Hope, Arkansas

Miss Theresa Hoover
1016 State
Little Rock

These five, with you and Paul Clanton of Pine Bluff, would then constitute the Arkansas Fellows.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

M. LAFAYETTE HARRIS, PRESIDENT

PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1868, CHARTERED 1877
UNDER AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

MRS. R. M. COOPER BURSAR

OFFICE OF Sociology

October 8, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

Doctor George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sir;

Your letter concerning the regional fellows is at hand. Miss Sadie Thompson of the Urban League would be a good Regional Fellow in my opinion. She has done considerable work with me here at the College. She had the capacity and the interest and I feel that she would be a good choice.

Doctor Hugh Brown of the of the State Tuberculosis Sanitorium would be a good choice. He is a fine man and would bring a sincere interest to this program. His address is box 123, Alexander, Arkansas.

Mr. William Harry Bass holds an important position and perhaps it would not be best to appoint some of the others unless he also is appointed. He is more of the type that "rushes in where angels fear to tread" type. While he will make a contribution and perhaps should be considered,.I am of the opinion that this matter should be given careful consideration.

We need persons who will go ahead. We need to be careful of securing too many who might be too bold; too crude; too out of place. Since the total progress in the South depends upon taking most of the people along with us, we need to secure as much as possible those persons whom most Southern people would go along with.

Hoping this will give you the data you desire and wishing you and your staff a good year, I remain

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Ewbank

J.R. Ewbank

November 1, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Thanks for the recommendations for SRC Fellows.

We will submit the names to the Advisory Committee at their next meeting, and they in turn will make recommendations to the Executive Committee. New Fellows will be announced at the annual meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:P

The Catholic Committee of the South

REV. VINCENT J. O'CONNELL, S. M.
CHAIRMAN

2901 S. CARROLLTON AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

November 4, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Please excuse the delay in sending you a list of prospective fellows. It seemed that Dr. Snowden and I were taking turns in going out of town. We also found it impossible to arrange a suitable date for meeting with Dr. Marion Smith of L.S.U.

The following is a list of our suggestions:

1. Dr. Clarence E. Glick
   1307 Audubon Street
   New Orleans, La.

Dr. Glick is a professor at Tulane University, a member of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, a director of the Race Relations Institute for teachers.

2. Dr. George Snowden (N)
   2601 Gentilly Rd.
   Dillard University
   New Orleans, La.

Dr. Snowden is a professor at Dillard University.

3. Dr. Mary B. Allen
   6926 Willow Street
   New Orleans, La.

Dr. Allen is a professor of Sociology at Tulane-Newcomb College, a member of the board of directors of the New Orleans Urban League, an officer in the New Orleans FEPC.

The Catholic Committee of the South

REV. VINCENT J. O'CONNELL, S. M.
CHAIRMAN

2901 S. CARROLLTON AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

4. Mr. Clarence Laws (N)
1819 Upperline Street
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Laws is the assistant editor of the Louisiana Weekly, the former secretary of the New Orleans Urban League, a civic leader.

5. Mrs. Alfonso del Marmol
1721 Willow Street
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. del Marmol is president of the New Orleans AAUW, a professor of Music at Tulane-Newcomb College.

6. Mr. Lynn Hogan
4316 Fountainbleau Dr.
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Hogan is the public relations director of the New Orleans Industrial Union Council, CIO.

7. Dr. Joel L. Fletcher
Southwestern University
Lafayette, La.

Dr. Fletcher is the president of Southwestern University.

8. Dr. L. Boykin
Southern University
Scotlandville, La.

Dr. Boykin is a professor at Southern University.

9. Mr. E. J. Bourg
Louisiana State Federation of Labor
405 St. Ferdinand Street
Baton Rouge, La.

The Catholic Committee of the South

REV. VINCENT J. O'CONNELL, S. M.
CHAIRMAN

2901 S. CARROLLTON AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

Mr. Bourg is the secretary-treasurer of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor, AFL.

10. Mr. Roger Baudier
1627 N. Broad St.
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Baudier is the editor of the Catholic Action of the South.

11. Mrs. Joseph E. Friend
1807 Palmer Avenue
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. Friend is the former president of the New Orleans Urban League, She is active in all important civic movements.

12. Rev. Joseph Victor, S.J.
Loyola University of the South
New Orleans, La.

Father Victor is a professor of Sociology, the director of the Loyola Race Relations Institute.

I hope we haven't held you up too long on this matter.

Looking forward to seeing you again at the annual meeting, I am

Sincerely,

Father O'Connell

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.

VJO:mnw

MP-

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

November 15, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Permit me to formally acknowledge your letters of September 20 and 21, as well as your previous communications on the matter of fellows for the state of Florida.

I feel that it would be very helpful indeed if the Reverend Mr. Henry Havens of Milton, Florida, and Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy were elected as Florida fellows. I trust that favorable action was taken on their names at the last meeting of the Board. I feel that Mr. L. I. Alexander of Jacksonville, Florida, and Dr. V. D. Mizell, of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, would also be representative persons to be elected fellows for this state. You inquired about the latter two persons in your letter of September 21.

I would like also at this time to suggest the following persons as fellows, with the hope that you might contact them directly from your offices and in the hope that they might accept the privilege of membership that would be extended by your office. They are:

Mrs. Margaret Bristol, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida
Mrs. Tillie M. Anthony, 52 East Concord Avenue, Orlando, Florida
Mrs. Constance P. Rudd, Florida State Conference of Social Work, P. O. Box 629, Saint Petersburg, Florida

You may recall that you first wrote me concerning this matter on June 16, and I wanted to clear it up. I trust that you will pardon the delay on our part in responding to your earlier inquiry.

Respectfully yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG/czs

cc: Mrs. Henry Havens
Dr. R. P. Daniel

MEMO from MARGARET N. PRICE

TO.....

SUBJECT.....

DATE.....

Dr. Mitchell
Page two
November 30, 1948

No nominations have been made for Fellows from Tennessee. If all the elected Fellows accept, we have 97 Fellows, leaving a vacancy of three. Perhaps Mr. Mynders should get a letter telling him that there are three vacancies for Fellows, and asking him to make nominations for Tennessee. Then the next Executive Committee meeting could take action on the matter.

I note that Mr. Gray of Florida wrote on November 15, approving our suggestions for Fellows and nominating three additional Fellows. If we give the three vacancies to Tennessee, which should have them, there is no place for the three additional Florida people. That being the case, Mr. Gray should be written to that effect. You asked me to draft a reply for your signature, but I haven't done it as yet. Sorry.

PARISH PRESS, 151 W. 25TH ST., NEW YORK 1, N. Y., CH 2-0965 • LETTERPRESS, OFFSET PRINTING 10

December 16, 1948

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

The Board of Directors of the Council, at its meeting on November 11, 1948, elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term the following persons from Texas:

Mrs. Pauline Watkins Campbell
Jeanes Supervisor, Walker County
Huntsville

Dr. R. C. Koeninger
Professor of Sociology
North Texas State Teachers College
Denton

Dr. E. B. Perry
Physician

Mr. Jewel Tatum
Butler College

Mr. Glenn Turner
Crockett

Dr. ~~Gennie~~ C.R. Yerwood N 1115 Twelfth St.
State Health Department
Austin

We will notify each of these persons of his election.

We appreciate your help in getting the list together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

December 16, 1948

President William H. Gray, Jr.
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Gray:

The Board of Directors of the Council, at its meeting on November 11, 1948, elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term the following persons from Florida:

Mr. L. E. Alexander
614 West Broad
Jacksonville

Mr. James Greene, Principal
Lewis Junior High School
Jacksonville

The Rev. Mr. Henry W. Havens, Jr.
Milton, Florida

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Professor of Human Relations
University of Miami

Dr. V. D. Mizell
Physician
Fort Lauderdale

Mrs. E. J. Mulcahy
Jacksonville

We will notify each of these persons of his election.

The Fellows approved by the Board meeting bring the total number up to 97. We are limited in the by-laws to a hundred. Because of the late organization

of the Tennessee Division, we have as yet no new Fellows from Tennessee, and only three from that state held over.

I would like to save those three vacancies for Tennessee nominations. This would mean that the new names suggested in your letter of November 15 would be held in suspense, pending the outcome of requests to Tennessee for nominations or pending refusal of some of those approved by the Board last month.

You will recall that the three names you suggested were: Miss Margaret Bristol, Mrs. Tillie M. Anthony, and Mrs. Constance Rudd.

I will recall those three names as first alternates, except for Tennessee's priority to any new vacancies.

We appreciate your help in getting the list together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

December 16, 1948

Memo

Dr. Mitchell:

Letters to the persons we have been corresponding with in various states about Fellows have been written, or are in progress, except to Tennessee.

Margaret Price has suggested in attached memo that Mr. Mynders be written about Tennessee fellows.

met

I am returning to Jane Simpson the folder with Margaret Price's materials and correspondence files on Fellows.

cc: Jane Simpson

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

For Negroes

WILLIAM H. GRAY, JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

December 22, 1948

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
DEC 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This acknowledges with appreciation your letter of December 16, listing Florida personnel who have been elected as Fellows of the Southern Regional Council. I am glad you are getting such a representative group together. Certainly their composite worth and influence will mean much to the growth of the Council.

I hope you will continue to call upon me for whatever help I can be in promoting the program of the Council.

With sincere good wishes for the holiday season, I am

Respectfully yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:Acbb

December 23, 1948

Mr. John R. Ewbank
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Ewbank:

The Board of Directors of the Council, at its meeting on November 11, 1948, elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term the following persons from Arkansas:

Dr. Hugh Brown
State Tuberculosis Sanitorium
Box 123, Alexander

Miss Theresa Hoover
1016 State Street
Little Rock

Mr. Edward D. Robinson
Hope

Dr. Stephen A. Stephan
Dept. of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville

Miss Sadie Thompson
Urban League
914 Gaines Street
Little Rock

We appreciate your help in getting the list together and will notify each of these persons of his election.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

December 23, 1948

Father Vincent J. O'Connell
2901 S. Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

The Board of Directors of the Council, at its meeting on November 11, 1948, elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term the following persons from Louisiana:

Dr. Mary B. Allen
6926 Willow Street
New Orleans

Dr. L. Boykin
Southern University
Scotlandville

Mr. Clarence Laws
1819 Upperline Street
New Orleans

Dr. Clarence E. Glick
Dept. Of Sociology
Tulane University
New Orleans

Dr. George Snowden
2601 Gentilly Road
Dillard University
New Orleans

Rev. Joseph Victor, S.J.
Dept of Sociology
Loyola University of the South
New Orleans

Dean Lepoir
Law School
Southern University
Scotlandville

We appreciate your help in getting the list together and ill notify each of these persons of his election.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

December 23, 1948

The Rev. Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

The Board of Directors of the Council, at its meeting on November 11, 1948, elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term the following persons from Mississippi:

Rev. Clarence Howard
St. Augustine's Seminary
Gulfport

Miss Arenia Mallory
Saints Industrial and Literary Sch.
Lexington

Dr. P.W. Hill
P.O. Box 547
Clarksdale

Mr. Arthur Williams
Jackson

Could you give us the complete address of Mr. Williams?

We appreciate your help in getting the list together and will notify each of these persons of his election.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GM:nh

December 23, 1948

Dr. O.D. Duncan
Professor of Sociology
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Duncan:

The Board of Directors of the Council, at its meeting on November 11, 1948, elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term the following persons from Oklahoma:

Mrs. Cenoria Johnson
Urban League, 300 North Syles
Oklahoma City

Dr. Paul B. Foreman
Dept. of Sociology
A & M College

Mr. James Stewart
Mgr. Gas Co. Local Office
Oklahoma City

We appreciate your help in getting the list together and will notify each of these persons of his election.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

December 23, 1948

Mr. J.M. Dabbs
Rip Raps
Maysville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

The Board of Directors of the Council, at its meeting on November 11, 1948, elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term the following persons from South Carolina:

The Rev. Mr. Robert Ayers
1301 Hampton Street
Columbia

Mr. Arthur Clement
N.C. Mutual Insurance Co.
Charleston

Dr. Dorothy Jones
Dept. of Sociology
Winthrop College
Rock Hill

Miss Cassandra Maxwell
Librarian, Law School
State College
Orangeburg

Dr. Clarence E. Morgan
2029 Taylor Street
Columbia

Mr. Paul Webber
State College
Orangeburg

We appreciate your help in getting the list together and will notify each of these persons of his election.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

December 23, 1948

The Rev. Mr. Emerson Smith
Virginia Council of Churches
1444 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

The Board of Directors of the Council, at its meeting on November 11, 1948, elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term the following persons from Virginia:

Mr. Harold DeWitt
Industrial Secretary
Urban League
Richmond

Dr. Alonzo Moron
Acting-President
Hampton Institute
Hampton

Mr. Dewey Doane
Federal Reserve Bank
Richmond

Mr. Henry Liscio
811 Cathedral Place
Richmond

Mr. John Leard
News-Leader
Assistant City Editor
Richmond

We appreciate your help in getting the list together and will notify each of these persons of his election.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

December 23, 1948

Mr. R.P. Daniel
11 Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

The Board of Directors of the Council, at its meeting on November 11, 1948, elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term the following persons from Florida:

Mr. L.I. Alexander
614 ~~West~~ Broad
Jacksonville

Mr. James Greene
Principal, Lewis Junior High
Jacksonville

The Rev. Mr. Henry W. Havens, Jr.
Milton

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Professor of Human Relations
University of Miami
Miami

Dr. V.D. Mizell 1422 N.W. 6th St P.O. Box 1378
Ft. Lauderdale

Mrs. E.P. Mulcahy
1836 Naldo Avenue
Jacksonville

Could you give us the complete address of Dr. Mizell, a Negro physician? Also, will you verify the address we have of Mrs. Mulcahy? She writes under the name of Jean Henderson.

We appreciate your help in getting the list together and will notify each of these persons of his election.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

SRC Fellows

December 23, 1948

Mr. Alfred D. Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Here is an item for the kind attention of the next meeting of the Executive Committee of the Tennessee Division of the Council.

The Council has long intended to have a total of a hundred Fellows. Until lately, we had only forty-odd. At the last meeting of the Board, additional Fellows were appointed, bringing the total number up to ninety-seven. That leaves three vacancies.

In getting ready for stepping up the list to ninety-seven, we consulted officially the people in each state division or affiliated committee except the Tennessee Division. We delayed with your division because of its recent organization.

We would now welcome recommendations from the Tennessee Division for three additional Fellows. Tennessee's present Fellows are:

Mr. J. H. Daves, Knoxville
Dr. Merle Eppse, Nashville
Miss Josephine Hamilton, Chattanooga

Of your three new nominations, perhaps two should be white persons.

I enclose material descriptive of the work of the Fellows. We will be

grateful for word from your Division as to people whom it would think suitable to fill these places. They are being held for Tennessee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

SRC M Byd

Fellows

C
O
P
Y

December 29, 1948

Dr. Peyton Williams, Pastor
Christ Church
Ninth and Broad
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Williams:

The Southern Regional Council is anxious to increase its honorary Fellowships to one-hundred in number. It now has only forty-odd.

The Tennessee division has three Fellows (Mr. J. H. Daves, Knoxville; Dr. Merle Eppse, Knoxville; Miss Josephine Hamilton, Chattanooga). I wonder if you can suggest the name of one or more people interested in the objectives of the Southern Regional Council for me to nominate as Fellows.

The Fellowships are honorary and, therefore, are exempt from the payment of dues to the Southern Regional Council.

The duties of the Fellows is to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisors, correspondents or as special representatives. If the Fellows incur any expense in gathering information for the Council they are reimbursed. The term of the Fellowship is for two years.

The Fellowships are limited to Southerners who have exceptional talent for constructive leadership.

I shall be grateful if you can forward me the names of likely candidates. Of course, Fellows are either white persons or Negroes, and of either sex.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders
Chairman, Tennessee Division

AM/ea
Copies sent to: Dr. William E. Cole
Dr. Chas. S. Johnson
Mrs. C. B. Smith
Dr. Z. A. Loobv

DEC 31 1948
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

LAW OFFICES
DANIEL & POUCHER

RICHARD P. DANIEL
JAQUELIN J. DANIEL
ALLEN L. POUCHER

1100 FLORIDA NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

January 7, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This replies to yours of December 23rd.

Mr. L. I. Alexander's address is 614 Broad St., not West Broad.

Dr. Von D. Mizell's address is 1422 N. W. 6th St., P. O. Box 1378, Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

Mrs. E. P. Mulcahy's residence address is correctly given in your letter.

With best wishes for a Happy New Year, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Richard P. Daniel

Richard P. Daniel

received on arrival
NH

RPD/s

January 10, 1949

Mr. Richard P. Daniel
1100 Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

That was mighty kind of you to send us the addresses.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

January 14, 1949

Dr. R.C. Koeninger
Professor Sociology
North Texas State Teachers College
Denton, Texas

Dear Dr. Koeninger:

The Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which as you know, is the Southern Regional Council's affiliate in Texas, is having its annual meeting in Fort Worth January 21 and 22. The meeting takes place beginning at 2:00 P.M., at the First Presbyterian Church, Fifth and Taylor streets.

I am to be there for the Friday, though unfortunately a previous engagement makes me leave late Friday night, so I can't be there for the Saturday part of the program. If you could possibly be present on the Friday--and, of course, also on the Saturday, it would be very helpful.

If enough of the Fellows arrive, I would like to get with them on Friday night. I warn you that part of my problem is to get you to help the Council find people in Texas who will join Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina in his promise to be one of a hundred people giving $250 to the Council, to help it meet its budget.

If you could only be present by dint of the Council's paying your travel expenses, we would be willing to do that.

I apologize for this short notice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:n

January 14, 1949

Dr. Connie Yerwood
State Health Department
Austin, Texas

Dear Dr. Yerwood:

The Texas Commission in Interracial Cooperation, which, as you know, is the Southern Regional Council's affiliate in Texas, is having its annual meeting in Fort Worth January 21 and 22. The meeting takes place beginning at 2:00 P.M., at the First Presbyterian Church, Fifth and Taylor streets.

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If enough of the Fellows arrive, I would like to get with them on Friday night. I warn you that part of my problem is to get you to help the Council find people in Texas who will join Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina in his promise to be one of a hundred people giving $250 to the Council, to help it meet its budget.

If you could only be present by dent of the Council's paying your travel expenses, we would be willing to do that.

I apologize for this short notice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

cc: Mrs. Havens
Margaret Boyd

January 14, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Thank you very much for your long and helpful letter about Fellows. With so rich a list of names, it will be possible for the Advisory Committee here to make an easy selection. The names so recommended will be brought to the next meeting of our Executive Committee, which is in mid-March, and thereafter, we should be able to invite three, four, or five of the Fellows.

It was most kind of you to send your check for $50, which we greatly appreciate. We will write you in July if your own arrangements have not brought the other $50 to your attention by then.

It seems to me one of the greatest things to drive on this year is equal school facilities. The things that happened in King George County, Virginia, make it clear that in the next few months the whole South will have to come around on this anyway. So much better to do it in advance, by agreement! At the very least, we can all begin to educate the South on the cost and the unavoidability, as well as the justice, of doing this job.

Mrs. Havens, I believe, is still expecting a joint trip through the State to get the Tennessee Division in motion.

I will be happy to come to Chattanooga at almost any time to see you. Let me know some days when you are going to be there, and I will be glad to come up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

The Chattanooga Times

January 7, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have secured names of a number of good people for Fellows in the Southern Regional Council.

First, I have discussed it with George F. Hull, expert photographer of The Chattanooga Times. Mr. Hull is an intelligent progressive and was chairman of the local A.D.A. He will feel honored to serve.

You did not say whether I should contact the others but I give you the list and await word from you as to the customary procedure.

From Dr. Charles Johnson, President of Fisk University, I have the following excellent suggestions:

(x) Dr. Harold D. West -- Professor of Bio-Chemistry, Chairman, Department of Bio-Chemistry, Acting Chairman, Division of Pre-Clinical Sciences - Meharry Medical College.

The Rev. Joe Brown Love -- Director of the Wesley Foundation, Methodist Student Program of the University Center.

Mr. Nat Caldwell -- Special Staff Writer -- The Nashville Tennessean.

Miss Edith Simester -- Assistant Professor of Literature and History of the Bible -- Scarritt College.

Mr. Delbert Mann -- Professor of Sociology -- Scarritt College.

The Rev. Jonathan Mitchell -- Vicar, St. Georges Chapel.

(x) Dr. J. Mark Cox -- Medical Superintendent -- Riverside Sanitarium.

(x) Dr. E. Perry Crump -- Associate Professor and Chairman of the Department of Pediatrics - Meharry Medical College.

(x) Mrs. Lettie S. Galloway -- Director, Eighteenth Avenue Youth Center.

I think we should have one or two from Nashville, including one of the Negroes. Those with an (x) mark in front of them are Negroes. I happen to know, also, that Mr. Nat Caldwell, suggested by Dr. Johnson, is excellent material for a Fellow.

From Dr. William E. Cole, of the University of Tennessee, I have the following suggestions for Fellows:

Dr. W. B. Jones, Jr., Professor of Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Rev. Merton Seymour, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Rev. William Lea, Rector, St. John's Episcopal Church, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Since Dr. Cole is head of the Department of Sociology, I imagine that Dr. Jones, whom he mentions as a professor in that department, would be glad to accept and work with Dr. Cole. I know Bill Lea well and he is a very fine person. I do not know Dr. Seymour.

I am studying the membership promotion data prepared by Mr. Fleming and will let you have my suggestions. On first reading, I think it is splendid.

I enclose half of my pledge for 1949 and will send the rest in the mid-year when reminded, if I am delinquent.

— To A Mitch
Jan 12, 49
ms

I want to drive down soon and talk to you. While Tennessee has made remarkable progress during the year, both as to prosperity of the low income white people and as to better conditions for Negroes, I feel that the Tennessee division has not progressed as a division. I want to find out what the other state chairmen do.

At any rate, please let me know the next step on the Fellows. I think we have some excellent suggestions from Dr. Johnson and Dr. Cole and I know that Mr. George F. Hull would fill the bill excellently.

I have made some investigations on the Memphis situation. We have a fine executive board member down there in Ed Barry. We have Walter Chandler as a member of our Council but I have been informed that the Interracial Commission which formerly existed in Memphis has become inoperative.

I am further informed that one preacher who was active in it lost his pulpit because of that activity.

I am writing Dr. Marshall Wingfield on the status of the situation and hope that we can get something started for a Memphis chapter with the aid of some people I know down there.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea
Encl. Check for $50.00

January 14, 1949

Mr. Glenn Turner
Crockett, Texas

Dear Mr. Turner:

The Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which, as you know, is the Southern Regional Council's affiliate in Texas, is having its annual meeting in Fort Worth January 21 and 22. The meeting takes place beginning at 2:00 P.M., at the First Presbyterian Church, Fifth and Taylor streets.

I am to be there for the Friday, though unfortunately a previous engagement makes me leave late Friday night, so I can't be there for the Saturday part of the program. If you could possibly be present on the Friday--and, of course, also on the Saturday, it would be very helpful.

If enough of the Fellows arrive, I would like to get with them on Friday night. I warn you that part of my problem is to get you to help the Council find people in Texas who will join Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina in his promise to be one of a hundred people giving $250 to the Council, to help it meet its budget.

If you could only be present by dent of the Council's paying your travel expenses, we would be willing to do that.

I apologize for this short notice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

January 14, 1949

Mrs. Pauline Watkins Campbell
Jeanes Supervisor, Walker County
Huntsville, Texas

Dear Mrs. Campbell:

The Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which, as you know, is the Southern Regional Council's affiliate in Texas, is having its annual meeting in Fort Worth January 21 and 22. The meeting takes place beginning at 2:00 P.M., at the First Presbyterian Church, Fifth and Taylor streets.

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If you could only be present by dint of the Council's paying your travel expenses, we would be willing to do that.

I apologize for this short notice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

January 14, 1949

Mr. Jewel Tatum
~~Bishop~~ College Butler College
~~Marshall~~, Texas Tyler, Tex

Dear Mr. Tatum:

The Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which, as you know, is the Southern Regional Council's affiliate in Texas, is having its annual meeting in Fort Worth January 21 and 22. The meeting takes place beginning at 2:00 P.M., at the First Presbyterian Church, Fifth and Taylor streets.

I am to be there for the Friday, though unfortunately a previous engagement makes me leave late Friday night, so I can't be there for the Saturday part of the program. If you could possibly be present on the Friday--and, of course, also on the Saturday, it would be very helpful.

If enough of the Fellows arrive, I would like to get with them on Friday night. I warn you that part of my problem is to get you to help the Council find people in Texas who will join Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina in his promise to be one of a hundred people giving $250 to the Council, to help it meet its budget.

If you could only be present by dint of the Council's paying your travel expenses, we would be willing to do that.

I apologize for this short notice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

January 15, 1949

TO:GSM
from:Margaret Boyd
RE: Mynders letter about Tennessee Fellows

Tennessee has ~~Three~~ Four Fellows at present,

Mr.J. H. Daves, Knoxville (N)
Dr. Merle Eppse, Nashville (N)
Miss Josephine Hamilton, Chattanooga (W)
Mr Abbot L. Ferriss - Box 1164 - Vanderbilt. (moved from N. Carolina) recently

The Tennessee group, under Mr. Mynders' chairmanship, was to nominate for three additional Fellows.
GSM suggested that TWO of the new Fellows be white.
Mynders suggested that one or two of the new Fellows be from Nashville, and that one of the Nashvillians be Negro.

13 names have been sent in by the Tennessee group.

Mynders sent one nomination: yes

George F Hull ....."expert photographer fot the Chat. Times; intelligent, progressive ; chairman of the local A.D.A."

(Mynders says that he has already discussed the matter with Hull,who says he will feel honored to serve. It seems, then, that Mr. Hull has already received a tentative invitation to Fellowship.)

Charles Johnson sent nine nominations, at Mynders' request:

Dr. Harold West (N) .....Prof. of Bio-Chemistry, Chairman Dept. Bio-Chemistry, Acting Chairman, Division of Pre-Clinical Sciences...Meharry Medical College. yes

The Rev. Joe Brown Love... Director of the Wesley Foundation, Methodist Student Program of the Univ. Center.

Mr. Nat Caldwell.....Special Staffwriter, The Nashville Tennessean

yes

(Mynders says that he knows Caldwell, and knows that he would be excellent material for a Fellow.)

Miss Edith Simester...Assistant Prof. of Literature and History of the Bible, Scarritt College.

(2)

C

Charles Johnson's nominations, CON'T.

Mr. Delbert Mann.....Professor of Sociology, scarritt college.

The Rev. Jonathan Mitchell....Vicar, St, George's Chapel

Dr. Mark J. Cox (N)....Medical Superintendent, Riverside Sanitarium.

Dr. E. Perry Crump (N).. Associate Prof. and Chairman of the Dept. of Pediatrics, Meharry Medical College.

yes Mrs Lettie S. Galloway..Director, Eighteenth Ave. Youth Center. (N)

William Cole of the Univ. of Tennessee sent three nominations, at Mynders' request. :

Dr. W.B. Jones, Jr..... Prof. of Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

(Mynders says that since Dr. Cole is the Head of the Sociology Dept., and Dr. Jones a Professor in that Dept., that Jones would probably "be glad to accept and work with Dr Cole.")

Rev. Merton Seymour...Pastor, First Methodist Church, Knoxville.

Rev. William Lea.....Rector, St. John's Episcopal Church, Knoxville, Tenn. (Mynders does not know him.)

(Mynders says, "I know Bill Lea well, and he is a very fine person".)

Mr. Mynders wants to know the procedure of choosing and inviting these Three new Fellows.

I gather that the Advisory Committee adds any names that they may wish to suggest to this list, and that the list goes to the Fellows Committee for discussion and choice of new Fellows. Also that the invitations go out from this office. All of which Mr. Mynders evidently would like to be told.

RE: The letter from Father O'Connell about the misspelling of Father FICHTER'S name.

We have changed the name on our records. An acceptance was received from Father FICHTER, so he must have received the invitation.
Perhaps an apology for the mistake could be proffered to him when his letter of "welcome to Fellowship" goes to him...

For:GSM
From:mb

Feb. 14,'49

Fellows to be Invited:

Invited Mar 11 49

Tennessee:

Mr. George F. Hull W
Photographer, Chattanooga Times not a member
Chattanooga, Tenn

Mr. Nat Caldwell W
Special Staff Writer
Nashville Tenneseean
Nashville, Tenn.

Do write the letters. gm

Dr. Harold West N
Professor Bio-Chemistry, (Chairman of Dept.)
Meharry Medical School
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Lettie S. Galloway N
Director of the Eighteenth Ave. Youth Center
Nashville, Tenn.

February 14, 1949

President William H. Gray, Jr.
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Gray:

In Dr. Mitchell's letter of December 16 he told you that the three names you submitted in your letter of November 15 would be held in suspense, pending the organization of the Tennessee Division and the appointment of Fellows for that State.

We found that even after the necessary number of places had been held for the Tennessee Fellows, that there were some still unfilled. Therefore the names you submitted were considered and two of your nominees have been elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term. They are:

Mrs. Margaret Bristol
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Mrs. Constance P. Rudd
Florida State Conference of Social Work
P. O. Box 629
Saint Petersburg, Florida.

We will notify each of these persons of her election.

Because we like to keep the number of Fellows from each race evenly distributed, I would appreciate your informing me about these two.

We certainly appreciate all that you have done to help us with the matter of finding and nominating reliable Fellows.

Sincerely,

Margaret Boyd

February 15, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor.
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to notify you that the Advisory Committee has met, the names you sent were considered, and four of your nominees have been elected as Fellows of the Council for a renewable two-year term. They are:

Mr. George F. Hull
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga

Mr. Nat Caldwell
The Nashville Tennesseean
Nashville

Dr. Harold West
Chairman, Dept. Bio-Chemistry
Meharry Medical School,
Nashville

Mrs. Lettie S. Galloway
Director, Eighteenth Ave. Youth Center,
Nashville

We will notify each of these persons of his election.

Thank you again for your valuable aid in submitting nominees.

Sincerely,

Margaret Boyd

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

2/18/49

To: Margaret Boyd
Re: Kentucky Fellows

One of the Kentucky persons invited to be a Fellow was Mrs. Francelle H. Armstrong (incorrectly listed to me as Mrs. Franelle H. Armstrong).

Mr. Atwood, vice chairman of the Kentucky Division, told me at Louisville February 12 that Mrs. Armstrong had told Mr. Atwood that she was so loaded with things to do that she could not accept this responsibility. So I suppose that X's her off.

I asked Mr. Tydings to send me names of two, three, or four more possible Fellows from which we would pick two more. I told him to stick some women on there.

gsm

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

For Negroes

WILLIAM H. GRAY, JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

February 22, 1949

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Miss Margaret Boyd
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Boyd:

This acknowledges with thanks your letter of February 14.

The two persons who have recently been elected as Fellows of the Council, Mrs. Margaret Bristol, and Mrs. Constance P Rudd, are white. As I think about the work of the organization, I feel that it would be to the advantage of the organization to have a majority of the Fellows from the white race. This does not mean that I minimize at all the importance of having members of the Negro race as Fellows, and feel they too can make a very significant contribution to the work.

Respectfully yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

RECEIVED
FEB 24 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

WHG:acbb

Fellows to be invited: Feb 14, '49 — INVITED MAR. 11, 49

Florida:

Mrs. Margaret Bristol W
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Mrs. Constance P. Rudd W
Florida State Conference of Social Work
P. O. Box 629
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Would you like for me to notify Mr. Gray that these two ladies have been chosen by the Advisory Bd. to be invited? Thank him for sending names...

Yes.

March 11, 1949

Mrs. Margaret Bristol
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mrs. Bristol:

The Southern Regional Council has been fortunate from its beginning in having the help of selected individuals over the South who accept appointment as Honorary Fellows of the Council.

Under the by-laws, the total number of Fellows does not exceed one hundred.

Fellows serve as eyes and ears for the Council. Ordinarily they are youngish persons with a place in the life of the South which gives them a special insight into needs and possibilities for action. They are widely distributed in location by religion, by race, and by occupation.

I append a formal statement as to the things that Fellows do.

The Executive Committee of the Council, on advice from people in your state, have elected you to one of the few remaining places as Fellow. We do hope that you will be able to accept. The term is for two years, renewable at the pleasure of the Board of Directors of the Council.

Other Fellows already serving in your state are :

Mr. Chester W. Cowart
Jacksonville

Mr. L. I. Alexander
Jacksonville

Mr. H. James Greene
Jacksonville

The Rev. Mr. Henry W. Havens
Milton

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Miami

Dr. V. D. Mizell
Fort Lauderdale

Mrs. Edward P. Mulcahy
Jacksonville

Mrs. Margaret Bristol March 11, 1949

Here is a blank which we would like to have filled out, giving us the facts we should like to have about your special fields of interest.

I do hope that you can write me that you can take on this responsibility. It is not a burdensome one, but our Fellows do substantially strengthen the Council's work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 11, 1949

Mrs. Constance P. Rudd
Florida State Conference of Social Work
P. O. Box 629
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mrs. Rudd:

The Southern Regional Council has been fortunate from its beginning in having the help of selected individuals over the South who accept appointment as Honorary Fellows of the Council.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 11, 1949

Mr. George F. Hull
Photographer, Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hull:

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Other Fellows already serving in your state are:

Abbott L. Ferris Nashville	Mr. J. H. Daves Knoxville	Dr. Merle Eppse Nashville

Miss Josephine Hamilton
Chattanooga

Here is a blank which we would like to have filled out, giving us

Mr. George F. Hull March 11, 1949

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 11, 1949

Mr. Nat Caldwell
Special Staff Writer
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Caldwell:

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Miss Josephine Hamilton
Chattanooga

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Mr. Nat Caldwell March 11, 1949

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 11, 1949

Mrs. Lettie S. Galloway
Director of the Eighteenth Avenue
Youth Center
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Galloway:

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 11, 1949

Dr. Harold West
Professor Bio-Chemistry
Meharry Medical School
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. West:

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Dr. Harold West March 11, 1949

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

NOMINATIONS FOR FELLOWS FROM KENTUCKY--From Mr. J. M. Tydings, Chmn. Kentucky Division

1. Armstrong, Mrs. Franulle H., (White) Editor, Henderson, Gleaner, Box 4, Henderson, Ky. --A very good person, highly trained and interested in work.

2. Brooks, Miss Bernice Melton, (Negro) 115 Liberty Street, Hopkinsville. -- Housewife, former Child Welfare Worker.

3. Buford, Mr. E. T., (Negro) Principal, State Street High School, Bowling Green. --Highly competent, older man.

4. Burke, Mr. Robert T., Jr., (White) Ky. Home Life Building, Louisville. Ayy'y, member of Committee to implement Negro Nurse Training Program, legal advisor to Mayor of Louisville, Catholic Leader recommended by Bishop.

5. Cowan, Mr. T. B. White., (White) University of Kentucky, Lexington. Recommended by President R. B. Atwood, as a desirable selection.

6. Fenn, Mr. Norman, (White) On staff at Berea College, Berea, Ky. Was with American Field Service in India during war. Chairman of a Committee formed to consider the relationship of the Day Law to Berea College.

7. Fields, Mrs. Arnold, (White) 304 Ewing Street, Frankfort. A young Jewish Woman, graduate of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin. Member of Frankfort Council of Social Agencies and wants to be of service to the Southern Regional Council.

8. Nunnery, Rev. Charles A., (White) Pleasureville, Ky. Young (27), Methodist Director of a rural (Henry County) Parrish, doing outstanding work and deeply interested in race relations.

9. Smith, Mr. Harold A., (Negro) Professor, Ky. State College, Frankfort. -- Well trained, very interested in work of Southern Regional Council.

10. Spicer, Miss Carolyn, (White) Secretary of the University of Kentucky. Y.W. C.A., Lexington. Taking Master's Degree in Sociology. Twenty-five years of age, very interested in race relations.

11. Steele, Mr. Charles O., (Negro) Secretary of the Louisville Urban League.

12. Whiteside, Mr. E. W., (Negro) Principal of Paducah High School, Paducah, Ky. Director of Ky. Negro Education Association.for six years, highly trained, has one of the best organized community programs of any high school in state.

13. Wilson, Dr. Henry H., (Negro) Professor of History and Government at Municipal College, Louisville. Director of Girl Scouts and an Active Civic Worker.

14. Wilson, Dr. G. D., (Negro) Associate Professor of Education at Municipal College, Louisville. Is now a Fellow of SRC, active in Civic and Educational Affairs.

* NOTE: Kentucky has one Fellow--(Dr. G. D. Wilson). Six additional Fellows should be nominated.

1/ 2 to follow

James Marcellus Oatten, Instructor

Butler College, Tyler, Texas

Education

A.B., Samuel Huston College, Austin, Texas 1942

M.S.W. Atl. Univ. School of Social Work — 1946

Completed 12 additional hours towards a M.A. in Sociology at Atlanta University Summer 1947.

Primary Interest

Race Relations and Sociology Research

2/ Number of yrs employed & where

Butler College — Sept. 1946 to date

Duties at Butler College

1- Head of Dept. of social science Butler College 1946-47

2. Faculty Adviser

3- Sponsor of the College's monthly Publication

4. Sponsor of the social science Club at Butler College

3/

5- Directed community study on opportunities to Negro Veterans in Tyler, Texas which was done by the Social Science Class of 1946-47.

Other Information

1- Chairman Young Peoples Round table for 2 yrs (1945-46) at Friendship Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga.

2- Former Editor + Asst. Mgr. of the Industrial Era at Bmt., Texas 1939-41

4/ Organizations in which he holds membership

1- Southern Regional Council, Inc
2- N.A.A.C.P.
3- Masonic Lodge
4- Y.M.C.A. (Beaumont, Texas
5- Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc
6- Fellowship Bapt. Church (Beaumont, Texas)
7- Tyler Assoc. of Social Workers
8- Tyler Negro Chamber of Commerce
9- Texas State Teachers Assoc.
10- Amer. Legion

Dr. R.C.Koeninger, Huntsville, Texas.
(Permanent Address after September 15) Denton, Texas.

Reared in Texas.
Sojourned for ten years in Michigan where he taught Sociology and assisted Indians to organize a Cooperative to dispose of handiwork.

Highly trained Sociologist, competent investigator with experience in Connecticut and Florida schools.

Will reside after September 15 in North Texas as Professor, Sociology in North Texas State Teachers College.

Most competent, personally and professionally interested in Program of the Southern Regional Council.

Will accept fellowship and give intelligent attention to any developments.

Glynn Turner, Crockett, Texas.
Temporary Address--San Houston State Teachers College
Huntsville, Texas

Twenty eight years of age.
Substantial, dependable, energetic.

Well established, influential, Southern family.

Success in business-agricultural, lands, rentals,
Real Estate.

Overseas military service in African and European
areas, in charge of incorrigible American soldiers,
and other assignments.

Now a Social Science student, Sam Houston State
Teachers College.

Assistant to the Dean of Men and to the Manager
of Mens Dormitory.

Has taken formal courses in Race Relations,
Chief interest-Social problems,
Has own transportation, is interested in Southern
Regional Council Program.

Will accept fellowship and give intelligent
attention to pertinent matters.

Found in Texas

INFORMATION REQUIRED S.R.C. FELLOWS

Education:

B.S. in Education, Prairie View State College; M.A. in Education; University of Cincinnati; 15 hours toward Ph. D.; University of Chicago.

Primary Interest:

Elementary teacher training. Preparing feature stories for newspapers.

Professional or College Duties:

Teaching classes in Education. Secretary of Graduate School.

Other Information:

Served one year as Editor of The Houston Informer.

Organizations in Which He Holds Membership:

1. The National Education Association.
2. American Childhood Association.
3. Association of Social Science Teachers in Negro Schools.
4. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
5. Southern Regional Council.

Mrs. Elnieta W. Stewart

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Dear Board Member:

For your information I send the following material relative to Honorary Fellows of the Council: (1) a list of the Fellows as of February 1, 1945, (2) a copy of the memorandum which is sent to each Fellow when he is notified of his election, and (3) a copy of the form which the Fellow fills in and returns to us when he accepts.

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

Atlanta
February 12, 1945

HONORARY FELLOWS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

William Y. Bell, Jr.
Room 4, 158 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss T. Ruth Brett
Box 76, Whittier Hall
1230 Amsterdam Avenue
New York 27, New York

J. A. Daves
409 Bankers' Trust Building
TVA Knoxville, Tennessee

Miss Dorothy Dickins
Mississippi Experiment Station
State College, Mississippi

The Rev. Jerome A. Drolet
St. Matthias Church
3924 General Taylor Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

S. E. Duncan
Washington High School
Reidsville, North Carolina

Merl Eppse
Tennessee A. & T. College
Nashville 8, Tennessee

John A. Ewbank
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

E. Horace Fitchett
Claflin College
Orangeburg, S.C.

Margaret Fletcher
St. Mary's House
930 Walker Avenue
Greensboro, N. C.

John Hope Franklin
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Miss Eva L. Frazer
121 East South Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Charles G. Gomillion
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Miss Josephine Hamilton
Chattanooga High School
East Third Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Captain Robert M. Hughes
Lawson General Hospital
Atlanta, Georgia

R. E. Jones
A. & T. College, Box 68
Greensboro, N. C.

Howard Kester
Frogmore Post Office
St. Helena Island, S. C.

Roscoe E. Lewis
Box 101
Hampton Institute, Va.

Miss Flemmie Kittrell
Home Economics Department
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald
315 Pittsboro Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Miss Mildred Mell
344 Kirk Road
Decatur, Georgia

W. H. Pipes
P. O. Box 71, Southern University
Scotlandville, La.

John F. Potts
Chief Specialist (R) USNR
1410 Pine Street
Columbia, S. C.

Charles A. Ray
Box 628, North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Harry W. Roberts
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

Allyn Robinson, Jr.
The United Church
Raleigh, North Carolina

Asa T. Spaulding
North Carolina Mutual Life Ins. Co.
Durham, North Carolina

Lt. Vernon Wharton USNR
1617 Foucher
New Orleans 15, La.

G. D. Wilson
3344 Grand Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

The Following Have Declined Honorary Fellowships

Mrs. Frederick Bolman
Randolph Macon College
Lynchburg, Va.

John Ivey
Com. on Southern Regional
Studies and Education
Knoxville, Tenn.

Robert H. Sutherland
Univ. of Texas
Austin, Texas

The Following Have Not Been Heard From

Charles Jones
Presbyterian Church
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

G. E. Jones
Shaw University
Raleigh, N. C.

R. W. Mance
Columbia, S. C.

John W. Morgan
Professor of Social Science
Georgia State College for Women
Milledgeville, Ga.

H. I. Fontellio Nanton
State Board of Health
Raleigh, N. C.

Ernest Neal
Specialist in Race Relations
Southwestern Office, OPA
Dallas, Texas

George Snowden
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

Stephen Wright
North Carolina College
Durham, N. C.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TO
HONORARY FELLOWS
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Purpose of the Fellowships

The purpose of these Honorary Fellowships is set forth in the by-laws of the SRC as follows:

> ARTICLE III, SECTION 1. Fellows. The Board of Directors may award honorary fellowships, not exceeding one hundred (100) in number, to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership. Fellows shall be chosen in such manner as the Board of Directors may prescribe, provided they are well distributed as to race, sex, creed, occupation, and place of residence. The duties of fellows shall be to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents, and special representatives. Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Board may direct. The term of a fellowship shall be for two years, unless otherwise provided by the Board of Directors, and fellowships may be renewed or withdrawn at the discretion of the Board. Fellows need not be members of the corporation at the time of their appointment, but they shall, during the term of their fellowship, be members with all the rights and obligations of members, except that they shall be exempted from the payment of dues.

The Fellowships, then, offer an opportunity for mutual assistance. As a Fellow, you can help the Council in its program of social interpretation and social action. The Council can help you to gain experience and greater maturity in techniques of leadership. We believe that the cumulative efforts of one hundred young Southerners who are willing to do the little chores in local situations can contribute a great deal to the realization of democracy in the South.

The Southern Regional Council Program

The Council's main objects are to promote "the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South" and "to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." Some immediate problems which the Council wishes to work on are: (1) inclusion of the interests of all citizens in the post-war plans which are now being made; (2) full employment after the

war; (3) fair standards and wages in domestic service; (4) suffrage reform in the South; (5) equalization of school facilities and teachers' salaries; (6) the police and race tensions; (7) housing for low-income groups.

The techniques for working on these problems include: (1) educational work through pamphlets, press, radio, addresses, etc; (2) cooperation with other agencies and use of coordinated organizational influences; (3) personal influence upon key people, such as editors, employers, mayors, chiefs of police, governors, legislators, congressmen, etc; (4) public statements or appeals by groups of influential citizens; (5) constructive political action wherever possible.

How Fellows Can Help

As a Fellow you can help the Council and serve the cause of a better South in various ways. Here are some suggestions:

1. Write us regularly, reporting on trends, incidents, and problems in your local area. We want to discover and advertise good practices as well as combat bad practices. And, of course, we want to know about your own activities in behalf of a more democratic South.

2. Make special investigations. From time to time we might ask you to obtain further details about some situation in your area. For example, we might ask you to investigate a lynching or a prevented lynching, a local health situation, or a progressive community project.

3. Help us make public opinion polls. We hope to develop a system of making reliable surveys of public opinion by sampling.

4. Send us clippings from local papers -- news stories, editorials, letters to the editor relating to the South and Southern problems. We have a clipping service, but it does not give us a complete coverage.

5. Help us to find persons who would make good members of the Council or who might contribute substantially to the financial support of the Council.

6. Stimulate the organization of a local Interracial Committee or Council of Human Relations. If such an organization already exists, try to put new life into it.

7. Make it your task to "educate" one or more public officials or other influential persons to a better understanding of the Negro and of the social, economic, and political issues confronting the South.

8. Write brief articles for SOUTHERN FRONTIER, the Council's monthly paper, and help us to find other contributors to the FRONTIER.

9. Enlist in our Speakers' Bureau. We get many more invitations to speak than our staff and budget can accommodate. It will greatly facilitate our work if we can call upon Fellows to speak in their local areas in so far as their time permits. We will supply literature, exhibit material, film strips, etc., on various subjects.

10. Advise us freely on what the Council might do to improve its program and strategy.

Naturally no one is expected to do all of these things, but we hope that from this list you will select one or more types of activities which you pledge yourself to carry on to the best of your ability.

Direction and Supervision of Fellows

The Council's Committee on Fellows selects the Fellows and decides upon matters of general policy affecting them. The personnel of the Committee is as follows: President Goodrich C. White, Emory University, and Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta University School of Social Work, Co-Chairmen; George S. Mitchell, Atlanta; Dean T. S. Staples, Conway, Arkansas; James T. Taylor, Durham, North Carolina; Clark Foreman, Black Mountain, North Carolina; and President Horace Mann Bond, Fort Valley, Georgia. However, the Executive Directors of the Council will be in direct charge of the activities of the Fellows, and all routine correspondence by Fellows should be addressed to Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, or Ira De A. Reid, Associate Executive Director, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. We hope eventually to have a staff member who can devote a good part of his time to work with Fellows.

As the work of the Fellows develops, we want to issue a regular mimeographed bulletin which will serve as a clearing-house for ideas and activities of Fellows. Furthermore, we plan to hold an annual conference of Fellows as soon as our budget permits. Although the Council's budget at present does not permit the payment of regular stipends to Fellows, it will reimburse Fellows for expenses incurred in connection with specific assignments done at our request.

Please return this sheet to:

Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

HOW FELLOWS CAN SERVE THE COUNCIL

I accept appointment as Honorary Fellow of the Southern Regional Council, and I want to assist the Council in the ways which I have indicated below:

	(Check)		(Check)
1. Regular reports	____	6. Work with local Human Relations groups	____
2. Special investigations	____	7. Personal contacts and "education"	____
3. Public opinion polls	____	8. Writing for the SOUTHERN FRONTIER	____
4. Newspaper clippings	____	9. Speakers' Bureau	____
5. Finding members and supporters for SRC	____		

10. Advice on SRC program ____

(Please double check the item which you expect to make your major activity as a Fellow.)

My place of work is: _____

_____

My mailing address is: _____

_____

My residence address is: _____

_____

My telephone number is: Home _____

Office _____

Date _____ SIGNED _____

July 2, 1947

List of Fellows of Southern Regional Council

1. W. Barton Beatty, Jr.
   Moorland Branch, Y. M. C. A.
   2700 Flora Street
   Dallas, Texas

2. William Y. Bell, Jr.
   American Council on Race Relations
   32 W. Randolph Street
   Chicago, 1, Illinois

3. Miss T. Ruth Brett
   Box 445
   Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

4. Paul Clanton
   14th and Pine Streets
   Pine Bluff, Arkansas

5. Chester Cowart
   610 W. Duval Street
   Jacksonville 4, Fla.

6. J. H. Daves
   404 Commercial National Bank Bldg.
   Knoxville, Tennessee

7. Miss Dorothy Dickins
   Mississippi Experiment Station
   State College, Mississippi

8. Jerome A. Drolet
   St. Matthias Church
   3924 General Taylor Street
   New Orleans, La.

9. S. E. Duncan
   State Dept. of Public Instruction
   Raleigh, North Carolina

10. Merl Fouse
    Tennessee A. & T. College
    Nashville 8, Tennessee

11. John R. Ewbank
    Philander Smith College
    Little Rock, Arkansas

12. Abbott L. Ferriss
    Box 925
    Chapel Hill, N. C.

13. Miss Margaret Fletcher
    St. Mary's House
    930 Walker Avenue
    Greensboro, N. C.

14. John Hope Franklin
    North Carolina College
    ~~Durham, North Carolina~~
    Howard U. - Washington, D.C.

15. Miss Eva L. Frazer
    121 East South Street
    Raleigh, North Carolina

16. Samuel F. Freeman, Jr.
    Pulaski Heights Christian Church
    Hillcrest and Spruce Streets
    Little Rock, Arkansas

17. Charles G. Gomillion
    Box 31
    Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

18. Miss Louise H. Hagner
    132 Hemenway Street
    Boston, Massachusetts

19. Miss Josephine Hamilton
    Chattanooga High School
    East Third Street
    Chattanooga, Tennessee

20. Mozell C. Hill
    Department of Sociology
    Atlanta University
    Atlanta, Georgia

21. Robert M. Hughes
    15 F Pine Circle, N. E.
    Atlanta, Georgia

22. Cyrus M. Johnson
    Box 1208
    Raleigh, N. C.

23. R. E. Jones
    A. & T. College
    Box 68
    Greensboro, North Carolina

24. Howard J. Kenster
    Penn School
    St. Helena Island
    Frogmore, South Carolina

25. Miss Flemmie Kittrell
    Home Economics Department
    Howard University
    Washington, D. C.

26. Mrs. Nathan Lantor
Box 528
South Boston, Virginia

27. John R. Larkins
Consultant on Negro Work, N. C. State
Board of Charities and Public Welfare
Raleigh, North Carolina

28. Roscoe E. Lewis
Box 101
Hampton Institute, Va.

29. Howard G. McClain
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

30. Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald
1527 12½ Street
Hickory, North Carolina

31. Ernest E. Neal
Director Applied Education
Bishop College
Marshall, Texas

32. W. H. Pipes
Alcorn A. and M. College
Alcorn, Mississippi

33. John F. Potts, Director
Avery Institute
Charleston, S. C.

34. Harry W. Roberts
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

35. Allyn Robinson, Jr.
P. O. Box 1532
Raleigh, North Carolina

36. Asa T. Spaulding
North Carolina Life Ins. Company
Durham, North Carolina

37. George Stephens
48 Walnut Street
Asheville, N. C.

38. Robert A. Thompson
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

39. Jackson Valtair
5201 Belmont Street
Dallas, Texas

40. V. L. Wharton
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

41. Harry Williams
Institute for Research in
Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

42. Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly
537 Palmetto Street
Spartanburg, South Carolina

43. Mr. G. D. Wilson
3344 Grand Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

44. Leo J. Zuber
302 First Federal Building
44 Pryor St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

11/1/48

NOMINATIONS FOR FELLOWS RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE BY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

ALABAMA
Present Fellows:
Dr. T. Ruth Brett(N) Tuskegee Institute
Dr. Charles Gomillion (N)
Need 5 additional Fellows
Recommendations:
Mr. Donal Rasmussen (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Talladega College

Mr. Frederick A. Curtis (N)
1630 Fourth Avenue North
c/o Atty. Arthur D. Shores
Birmingham, Alabama

Mrs. E. B. Goode (N)
20 South Hallett Street
Mobile, Ala.
(recommended by Nelson Jackson; formerly YWCA connected; now has unofficial interest only)

The Rev. Mr. Dan C. Whitsett (W)
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama
(recommended by Margaret Price; good guy, much interested 2in interracial work)

ARKANSAS
Present Fellows:
Dr. John R. Ewbank (W)
Philander Smith College
Little Rock

Mr. Paul Clanton(W)
Pine Bluff, Ark.
Need ~~5~~ 5 additional Fellows

Recommendations:
Dr. Stephen A. Stephan (W)
Dept.of Sociolggy
Univ. of Ark.
Fayetteville
(recommended by Ira DeA. Reid; known to GSM)

Miss Sadie Thompson (N)
Urban League
914 Gaines Street, Little Rock
(Nelson Jackson; approved by Ewbank)

Dr. Hugh Brown (N)
State Tuberculosis Sanitorium
Box 123, Alexander, Ark.
(Advisory Committee; approved by Ewbank)

ARKANSAS (Continued)
Mr. Edward D. Robinson (N)
Hope, Ark.
teacher, graduate Philander Smith
(recommended by Ewbank)

Miss Theresa Hoover (N)
1016 State, Little Rock
(assistant to mission worker of united churches in Little Rock; Ewbank)

GEORGIA
Present Fellows:
Dr. Mozell C. Hill (N)
Atlanta Univeristy

Mr. Howard G. McClain (W)
Mercer University

Dr. John W. Morgan(W)
G.S.C.W.

Mr. Robert A. Thompson (N)
Atlanta Urban League

Mr. Leo J. Zuber (W)
2794 North Decatur Rd., Decatur

Need 2 additional Fellows (or 3, with GSM's recommendation of Alexander Miller)
Recommendations:
Mr. Wilson Hubert (N)
Chatham County Health Dept.
Savannah, Ga.
(Advisory Committee--wide-awake, young, good guy)

Mr. William Brown (N)
State Teachers College, Savannah
(Advisory Committee--started out in science several yrs. ago; now doing doctorate in social science; charge of teacher-training at Savannah)

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League
Atlanta
(GSM)

LOUISIANA
Present Fellow:
Father Jerome A. Drolet (W), New Orleans
Need 8 additional Fellows
Have had no replies from La. Committee
Advisory Committee has recommended the following:

LOUISIANA (Continued)

James Faustina (N)
formerly with U.S. Public Health Service;
now Health Education Specialist for
New Orleans and Parish

Dr. George Snowden (N)
Dillard University
New Orleans

Dr. Clarence Glick (W)
Tulane University
New Orleans

_____Lenoir (N)
Head of Law School at Southern

MISSISSIPPI
Present Fellows:
Dr. Dorothy Dickins (W)
State College

Dr. W. H. Pipes (N)
Alcorn A. & M. College

Dr. V. L. Wharton (W)
Millsaps College
Jackson

Need 5 additional Fellows

Redommendations:
Miss Arenia Mallory
Lexington
Pres. Saints Industrial and Literary School
(Dr. Schaeffer)

Mr. Arthur Williams (N)
Vice President _____Insurance Co.
Jackson
(Advisory Com. Schaeffer says recently president of ~~active in~~
Chamber of Commerce; active in Negro YMM.C.A.

Dr. P. W. Hill (N)
Dentist
Clarksdale, Miss.
(Schaeffer)

Msgr. Joseph Brunini (W)
Box 2130, Jackson
(Schaeffer)

OKLAHOMA
No Fellows in Okla. at present
Need 3
Recommendations:
Mrs. Cenoria Johnson (N)
300 North Styles
Oklahoma City
Urban League
(Advisory Com; approved by O.D. Duncan)

Mr. James Stewart (N)
Mgr. Gas Co. Local Office
Oklahoma City
Head of AVC
(Advisory Committee)

Dr. Paul B. Foreman (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Oklahoma ~~City~~ A. & M. College
Stillwater, Okla.
(Advisory Com; approved by Duncan)

SOUTH CAROLINA
Present Fellows:
Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly Boyd (W)
Spartanburg

Mr. Howard J. Kester (W)
Penn School, St. Helena Island

Mr. John Avery Potts (N)
Charleston

Need 5 or 6 additional Fellows
Recommendations:

The Rev. Mr. Robert Ayers (W)
1301 Hampton Street
Columbia
(Baptist Student Secretary; chmn. youth section
of S. C. Division; Dabbs and Spearman)

Dr. Clarence E. Morgan (N)
2029 Taylor Street
Columbia
(M.D.; recommended by Advisory Com)

Dr. Dorothy Jones (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Winthrop College, Rock Hill
(GSM and Advisory Com)

Miss Cassandra Maxwell (N)
Orangeburg, S. C.
(librarian of new law school; active in S.C. Div.
(Dabbs and Advisory Com)

Mr. Paul Webber
State College
Orangeburg
(Advisory Com. and Dabbs)

Mr. Arthur Clement (N)
N.C. Mutual Insurance Co., Charleston
(Advisory Com)

TEXAS

Present Fellows:
Mr. Jackson Valtair,
6201 Belmont St., Dallas

Mr. Ernest E. Beal(N)
Bishop College

Need 8 additional Fellows:(or 9)

Recommendations:

VIRGINIA
Present Fellows:
W. Barton Beatty, Jr. (N)
Hampton Institute

Mrs. Nathan Lantor (W)
South Boston

Roscoe E. Lewis (N)
Hampton Institute

Harry W. Roberts (N)
Virginia State College

Need 3 additional Fellows

SRC-- 11/ /48 (Master)

HONORARY FELLOWS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FELLOWS SERVING AT PRESENT

ALABAMA

Name	Number Total	White	Negro
Dr. T. Ruth Brett (N) Tuskegee Institute file			
Dr. Charles Gomillion (N) file Tuskegee Institute			
Mr. Ernest Neal (N) Tuskegee Institute file Alabama			
	2	2	

RECOMMENDATIONS ~~FOR~~ As FELLOWS

ALABAMA

Name	Number Total	White	Negro
Mr. Frederick A. Curtis (N) 1630 Fourth Avenue North c/o Atty. Arthur D. Shores Birmingham			
* Mrs. ~~E. B.~~ Goode (N) Effie Morten 20 South Hallett Street Mobile			
The Rev. Mr. Dan C. Whitsett (W) file First Methodist Church, 105 East Spring St. Sylacauga			
* Mr. Donald Rasmussen (W) file Dept. of Sociology Talladega College Talladega			
	4	2	2

ARKANSAS

Name	Number Total	White	Negro
Dr. John R. Ewbank (W) file Philander Smith College Little Rock			
Mr. Paul Clanton (W) file ~~Pine Bluff~~ 14th and PINE St. Arkansas Bd. of Cosmetology Box 162 - State Capitol Little Rock, Arkansas			
	2	2	

ARKANSAS

Name	Number Total	White	Negro
Dr. Hugh Brown (N) State Tuberculosis Sanitorium Box 127, Alexander			
Miss Theresa Hoover (N) 1016 State Street wrong address Little Rock			
Mr. Edward D. Robinson (N) Principal ~~Hope~~ BLEVINS TRAINING SCHOOL, BLEVINS Box 104 file			
Dr. Stephen A. Stephan (W) file Dept of Sociology University of Arkansas Fayetteville			
Miss ~~Sadie~~ ~~SAYE~~ SADYE Thomson (N) Urban League 814 Gaines Street Little Rock			
	5	1	4

FLORIDA

Name	Number Total	White	Negro
Mr. Chester W. Cowart (N) ~~610 West Duval Street~~ 1036 JULIA St. file Jacksonville			
* Mr. L. I. Alexander (N) 614 ~~West~~ Broad Street Jacksonville, Fla.			
* Mr. James Greene (N) Principal, ~~Lewis~~ Junior High LEWIS Jacksonville			
~~The Rev. Dr. Henry W. Havens, Jr. (W) Milton, Florida~~			
* Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy (W) ~~Professor of Human Relations~~ MIAMI U. BRANCH ~~University of Miami~~ U. OF MIAMI CORAL GABLES, FLA			

Florida: (invited March 11

Mrs. Margaret Bristol (W) ← declined
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Mrs. Constance P. Rudd (W)
Florida State Conference of Social Work
P. O. Box 629
St. Petersburg, Fla. ← declined 3/28/48

Name	Number Total	White	Negro
Dr. Mozell C. Hill (N) Atlanta University Dept. of Sociology Atlanta	1		1
Mr. Howard G. McClain (W) Mercer University Macon			
Dr. John W. Morgan (W) GSCW Milledgeville			
Mr. Robert A. Thompson (N) Atlanta Urban League 239 Auburn Ave NE Atlanta			
Mr. Leo J. Zuber (W) 2794 North Decatur Rd. Decatur			
	5	3	2
Mr. G. D. Wilson (N)[S] Municipal College Louisville 3344 Grand Ave			

Name	Number Total	White	Negro
FLORIDA (cont'd)			
Dr. V. D. Mizell (N) Physician Fort Lauderdale Mrs. E. P. Mulcahy (W) Jacksonville	1		1
GEORGIA			
Mr. William Brown (N) State Teachers College Savannah			
Mr. Wilson Hubert (N) Chatham County Health Dept. Savannah			
Mr. Alexander Miller (W) Anti-Defamation League 11 Cooper St., S.W. Atlanta			
	3	1	2
KENTUCKY			
Mrs. Franulle H. Armstrong (W) Editor, Henderson Gleaner Box 4 Henderson — regrets			
Mr. Robert T. Burke, Jr. (W)[S] Kentucky Home Life Bldg. Louisville			
Mr. Norman Fenn (W)[S] Box 584 Berea College Berea			
Mrs. Arnold Fields (W) 304 Ewing Street Frankfort — regrets			
Mr. Harold M. Smith (N)[S] Kentucky State College Frankfort			
Mr. E. W. Whiteside (N) Principal, Paducah High School Paducah			
	1	1	6
	4		2

Mrs. E. P. Mulcahy
1422 N.W. 6th St.
P.O. Box 1378
3 C 3
Mulcahy
1836 Naldo Ave

Mrs. E. P. Mulcahy
1836 Naldo Ave
Jax 7
file

LINCOLN

Name	Number Total	White	Negro
Father Jerome A. Drolet (W) St. Matthias Church 3924 General Taylor St. New Orleans			
The Rev Mr Henry W. Hovey Jr Trinity Church 1329 Jackson Ave N.O.			
LOUISIANA			
Dr. Mary B. Allen (W) 6926 Willow Street New Orleans, La.			
* Dr. L. Boykin (W) Leander L. Southern University, P.O. Box 9390 ~~Scotlandville~~ Southern Branch P.O. Baton Rouge, La.			
Mr. Clarence Laws (N) 1819 Upperline Street New Orleans WRONG ADDRESS			
* Dr. Clarence E. Glick (W) Dept. of Sociology Tulane University New Orleans, 15 Present address until FALL 1949: Dept. Socio + Anthro Univ. of Hawaii Honolulu 10, T.H.			
Dr. George S nowden (N) 2601 Gentilly Rd. Dillard University New Orleans			
* ~~Rev. Joseph Victor, S. J. (W)~~ REV Joseph H. Fichter S.J. Dept. of Sociology Loyola University of the South New Orleans			
Dean Aguinaldo Lenoir (N) Law School Southern University Scotlandville Southern Br. P.O. Baton Rouge La			
	1	1	
MISSISSIPPI			
Dr. Dorothy D ickins (W) Miss. Ag. Experiment Station State C ollege			
~~Msgr. Joseph Brunini (W)~~ ~~Box 2130~~ ~~Jackson~~ Rev. Clarence Howard (N) St. Augustine's Seminary Gulfport, Miss declined			
Dr. W. H. Pipes (N) Pres. Alcorn A. & M. College Alcorn			
* Dr. P. W. Hill (N) Dentist P.O. Box 542 Clarksdale			
Dr. V. L. Wharton (W) Millsaps C ollege Jackson			
Miss Arenia Mallory (N), Pres. Saints Industrial and Literary School Lexington			
Mr. Arthur Williams (N) Vice President Insurance Co. Jackson			
	3	2	1
OKLAHOMA			
Mrs. ~~Cenoria~~ Cernoria D. Johnson (N) Urban League, 300 North ~~Sylas~~ SILES Oklahoma City			
* Dr. Paul B. Foreman (W) Dept. of Sociology, A&M College Stillwater			
Mr. ~~James~~ Jimmy Stewart (N) ~~Mgr. Gas Co. Local Office~~ ~~Oklahoma City~~ 627 N.E. 6th St. Oklahoma City			
	0	3	1
	7	4	1

Name	Number Total White Negro	Name	Number Total White Negro

NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. S. E. Duncan (N)
State Dept. of Public Instruction — Now at Cornell U, on leave of absence. Ithaca NY
Raleigh

Mr. Abbott L. Ferriss (W) moved to Tenn, 2513 Kensington Place, Nashville, Tennessee
Box 925
Chapel Hill

Miss Eva L. Frazer (N)
121 East South Street
Raleigh

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson (W)
Box 1208
Raleigh

Mr. R. E. Jones (N)
A. & T. College
Box 68, Greensboro

Mr. John R. Larkins (N)
Consultant on Negro Work
N. C. State Board of Charities
and Public Welfare
Raleigh

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald (W) New address: General Delivery Gainesville, Fla.
1527 12½ Street
Hickory

Mr. Allyn P. Robinson, Jr. (W)
Room 301, 121 East Third Street
Charlotte

Mr. Asa T. Spaulding (N)
N. C. ~~Life~~ Insurance Co.
Durham

Mr. George Stephens (W)
48 Walnut Street
Asheville

Mr. Harry Williams (W)
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill

11 6 5 0

SOUTH CAROLINA

Dr. Rosamond Wimberly Boyd (W)
Converse College
Spartanburg

Mr. Howard J. Kester (W)
Penn School
St. Helena Island

Mr. John ~~Avery~~ Potts (N) Director
Avery Institute
Charleston

The Rev. Mr. Robert Ayers (W)
1701 Hampton Street
Columbia

Mr. Arthur Clement (N) — Exec Assis. 1184
N.C. Mutual Insurance Co.
Charleston Station A Box # 36

Dr. Dorothy Jones (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Winthrop College
Rock Hill
Box 42

Mr Howard Kester (W) Fellowship Center Swannanoa, N.C

Name	Number Total	White	Negro	Name	Number Total	White	Negro
				SOUTH CAROLINA (cont'd)			
				Miss Cassandra Maxwell (N) Librarian, Law School State College Orangeburg			
				Dr. Clarence E. Morgan (N) Physician 2029 Taylor Street Columbia			
				Mr. Paul Webber (N) State College Orangeburg			
	3	2	1		6	2	4
				TENNESSEE			
Mr. J. H. Daves (N) TVA 404 Commercial Nat'l Bank Bldg. Knoxville							
Dr. Merle Eppse (N) Tennessee A & I College Nashville							
Miss Josephine Hamilton (W) Chattanooga High School East Third Street Chattanooga							
	4	2	2				
				TEXAS			
Mr. Jackson Valtair (W) 5201 Belmont Street Dallas				Mrs. Pauline Watkins Campbell (N) Jeanes Supervisor, Walker County Huntsville			
~~Mr. Ernest E. Neal (N) Bishop College Marshall~~				Dr. R. C. Koeninger (W) Professor of Sociology ~~North Texas~~ State Teachers College ~~Denton~~			
				Dr. E. B. Perry (N) Physician			
				Mr. Jewel Tatum (N) ~~Butler College~~			
				~~Mr.~~ Glenn Turner (W) Crockett			
				Dr. Connie Yerwood (N) State Health Dept. Austin			
	2	1	1		6	2	4

Tennessee: (invited Mon 11

Mr. George F. Hull (W)
Photographer, Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn

Mr. Nat Caldwell (W)
Special Staff Writer
Nashville Tenneseean
Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. Harold West (N)
Professor Bio-Chemistry, (Chairman of Dept.)
Meharry Medical School
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Lettie S. Galloway (N)
Director of the Eighteenth Ave. Youth Center
Nashville, Tenn.

Name	Number Total	White	Negro	Name	Number Total	White	Negro
Mr. W. Barton Beatty, Jr. (N) Director of Public Relations Hampton Insitute Hampton				**VIRGINIA** Mr. Harold DeWitt (N) 902 St. James Street Industrial Secretary, Urban League Richmond, Va.			
Mrs. Nathan Lantor (W) South Boston Box 528				Dr. Alonzo Moron (N) President Hampton Institute Hampton			
Mr. Roscoe E. Lewis (N) Hampton Institute				Dewey Daane (W) Fed Res Bank, Rich.			
Mr. Harry W. Roberts (N) Virginia State College Ettrick Petersburg	4	1	3	Henry Liscio (W) Rich. Va. 811 Cathedral Pl., musician P.O. Box 3-N Richmond Va.			
				John Leard (W) News Leader First City Ed.	2	refused 2/4/49	2 NET
				OTHER STATES Richmond			
Mr. William Y. Bell, Jr. (N) American Council on Race Relations 4901 Ellis Avenue Chicago 15				Mr. Harry W. Wright (N) APT 5E 217 MADISON AVE NYC			
Dr. John Hope Franklin (N) Howard University Washington, D. C.							
Miss Flemmie Kitttrell (N) Home Economics Dept. Howard University Washington, D.C.							
	3		3		1		1

TOTALS

Present Fellows			Recommended Fellows			Grand Total		
Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
41	19	22	~~52~~ 53	~~20~~ 21	32	~~97~~ 97	~~39~~ ~~40~~ 43	54

Of those who are now Fellows,, there are 10 women
54 men

64

If all the women accepted who were invited (including those women who are already Fellows) there would still be a minority: 18
of the number of persons who are, and who are 97
invited to be, Fellows.

January 24, 1949
To: GSM

In early December, Fifty five persons were invited to become Fellows of the SRC.

To Date twenty ~~four~~ have replied.
One has refused.
Twenty- three have accepted.

Thirty One have not indicated that they received the invitation.

Should we send a re-invitation to those who have not replied?
We could enclose a form letter in the material we send them with New South this month.

Jan 26

twenty seven have replied

two refused

Jan 28

twenty eight replied

2 refused

~~Jan~~ Feb 2

thirty four have replied

3 refused.

Feb 4

thirty 5 replied

4 declined

Feb 5

thirty 6

4

Feb 14

4 refused

30 accepted

37

* : prior to 1948
invitation

FELLOWS OF THE SRC...1949

: Have ans'ed 1948
invitation.

January 24, 1949

ALABAMA

Dr. Ruth Brett, Tuskegee Institute (N)
Dr. Charles Gommillion, Tuskegee Institute (N)
*Mr. Earnest Neal, Tuskegee Institute (N)

Mr. Fredrick A. Curtis(N) B'ham
#Mrs. E. B. Goode(N), Mobile.
#The Rev. Mr. Dan C. Whitsett(W), Sylacauga.
#Mr. Donald Rasmussen(W), Talladega.

Total: 7, W: 2, N: 5.

ARKANSAS

*Mr. John R. Ewbank(W), Little Rock.
*Mr. Paul Clanton, Pine Bluff(W).

Dr. Hugh Brown, State TB, Alexander. (N)
Miss Theresa Hoover, Little Rock(N)
#Mr. Edward D. Robinson, ~~Hope~~. (N) BLEVINS TRAINING SCHOOL, BLEVINS, (Principal)
#Dr. Stephen A. Stephan, Fayetteville, (W)
#Miss Sayde Thompson, Little Rock,(N)

Tota l : 7, W:3, N:4.

FLORIDA

*Mr. Chester W. Cowart, Jacksonville, (N)
#Mr. L. I. Alexander, Jacksonville(N)
#Mr. H. James Greene, Jacksonville(N)
#The Rev. Mr. Henry W. Havens Jr. , Milton (W)
#Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy, Miami(W)
Dr. V. D. Mizell, Ft. Lauderdale, (N)
#Mrs. E. P. Mulcahy, Jacksonville, (W)

Total: 7, W:3, N:4, 2 more invited

Georgia

*Dr. Mozell C. Hill, Atlanta, (N)
*Mr. Howard G. McClain,Macon, (W)
*Dr. John W. Morgan, (W) GSCW, Milledgeville
*Mr. Robert A. Thompson,Atlanta (N)
*Mr. Leo J. Zuber, Decatur(W)

#Mr William Brown,Savannah (N)
Mr. Wilson Hubert, Savannah (N)
#Mr. Alexander Miller, Atlanta (W)

Total:8 W:4, N:4

* : prior to 1948
\# : Ans'wd 1948 invitation

Fellows (January 24, 1949)

KENTUCKY

*Mr. G. D. Wilson, Louisville. (N)
~~Mrs Franulle H. Armstrong, Henderson, (W)~~ regrets
Mr. Robert T. Burke Jr. , Louisville, (W)
#Mr. Norman D. Fenn, Berea, (W)
#Mr. Harold S. Smith, Frankfort, (N)
#Mr. E. W. Whiteside, Paducah (N)

#Mrs Arnadd (Harriet) Fields, Frankfort....REGRETS.....

Total:6, W:3, N:3.

LOUISIANA

*Father Jerome A. Drolet, New Orleans (W)

Dr. Mary B. Allen, New Orleans (W)
#Dr. L. Boykin, Scotlandville, (W)
Mr. Clarence Laws, New Orleans, (N)
#Dr. Clarence E. Glick, New Orleans, (W)
Dr. George Snowden, New Orleand (N)
#Rev. Joseph Fichter S.J., New Orleans, (W)
#Dean Aguinaldo A . Lenoir, Scotlandville (N)

Total:8 W:5, N:3.

MISSISSIPPI

*Dr. Dorothy Dickins, State College, (W)
*DR. W. H. Pipes,Alcorn (N)
*Dr. V. L. Wharton, Jackson, (W)
#Rev. Clarence Howard, Gulfport, (N) St Augustine Seminary, Bay St Louis. REGRETS
#Dr. P.W.Hill, Clarksdale, (N)
Miss Arenia Mallory, Lexington, (N)
Mr. Arthur Williams, Jackson, (N)
~~Msgr Joseph Brunini Box 2130, Jackson (N)?~~
Total:7 , W:2, N:5.

OKLAHOMA

Miss Cenoria Johnson, Oklahoma City (N)
#Dr. Paul B. Foreman, A&M College, Stillwater, (W)
Mr. Jimmy Stewart, Oklahoma City, (N)

Total:3 W:1, N:2.

~~NORTH~~
~~NORTH CAROLINA~~

*: prior to 1948

#: ans'wd 1948 invitation

Fellows (Jan. 24, 1949)

NORTH CAROLINA

*Mr. S. E. Duncan, Raleigh(N) — Ithaca NY

TENN. *Mr. Abbott L. Ferriss, Chapel Hill, (W) moved to Tenn

*Miss Eva L. Frazer, Raleigh, (N)

*Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson, Raleigh, (W)

*Mr. R. E. Jones, Greensboro, (N)

*Mr. John R . Larkins, Raleigh, (N)

*Mrs. Annie Laurie, Hickory, (W) (McDonald)

*Mr. Allyn P. Robinson,Jr. Charlotte(W)

*Mr. Asa T. Spaulding, Durham, (N)

*Mr. George Stephens, Asheville,(W)

*Mr. Ha rry Williams, Chapel Hill, (W)

Total:11, W:6, N:5.

SOUTH CAROLINA

*Dr. Rosamond Wimberly Boyd, Spartanburg, (W)

*Mr. Howard J. Kester, St. Helena Island, (W)

*Mr. John A very Potts, Charleston, (N)

#The Rev. Mr. Robert Ayers, Columbia, (W)

#Mr. Arthur J. H. Clement Jr., Charleston,(N)

#Dr. Dorothy Jones, Rock Hill, (W)

#Miss Cassandra Maxwell, Orangeburg, (N)

Dr. Clarence Morgan, Columbia, (N)

Mr. Paul Webber, Orangeburg, (N)

Total:9, W;4, N:5.

TENNESSEE

*Mr. J. H. Davis, Knoxville, (N)

*Dr. Merle Eppse, Nashville (N)

*Miss Josephine Hamilton, Chattanooga(W)

4 more invited

TEX AS

*Mr. Jackson Valtair, Dallas(W)

#Mrs Pauline Watkins Campbell, Huntsville, (N)

*: prior to 1948

#: ans'wd 1948 invitation

Fellows (Jan. 24, 1949)

TEXAS (con't)

Dr. R. C. Koeninger, Denton(W)
#Dr. E. B. Perry, Houston, (N)
Mr. Jewel Tactum, Butler College, (N)
Mr. Glenn Turner, Crockett, (W)
Dr. Connie Yerwood, Austin, (N)

Total:7 W:3, N:4.

VIRGINIA

*Mr. W. Barton Beatty Jr., Hampton, (N)
*Mr. Nathan Lantor, (W) South Boston (W)
*Mr. Roscoe E. Lewis, Hampton Institute, (N)
*Mr. Harry W. Roberts, Ettrick, (N)
#Mr. Harold DeWitt, Richmond, (N)
#Dr. Alonzo Moron, Hampton, (N)
Dewey Doane, Richmond, (W) Regrets
#Henry Francis Liscio, Richmond, (W)
Mr. John Leard, Richmond, (W) Refused

Total:9 W:4 N:5

OTHER STATES

*Mr. William Y. Bell Jr. Chicago, (N)
*Dr. John Hope Franklin, Washington, D.C., (N)
*Miss Flemmie Kitrell, Washington D.C., (N)

Mr. Harry W. Wright, (N)

Total:4 W:0 N:4

FEBRUARY 7th, 1949
9th
14th

FELLOWS

ALABAMA
(6)
3 old
3 new

1
2 more invited
(1 Negro, ~~1 white~~)

4 Negro, 2 white now
2 women now
no more invited

ARKANSAS
(5)
2 old
3 new

2 more invited
(2 Negroes)

2 Negro, 3 whites now
1 woman now
1 more invited

FLORIDA
(6)
1 old
5 new

1 more invited
3 white, 3 Negro now
1 more Negro invited

1 woman now
no more invited

2 more invited
now (2 women)
1 W, 1 N.

Georgia ~~8~~
7 (~~7~~)
5 ~~6~~ old
2 ~~2~~ new

1 more invited
4 white now
3 Negro now
1 more Negro invited
no women invited

KENTUCKY
(4)
1 old
3 new

1
~~two~~ more invited
3 Negro, 1 white now
2 more whites invited
no women now
~~1 woman invited, but not replied~~

more invites pending

LOUISIANA
(5)(4)
1 1 old
4 3 new

3 more invited
4 white, 1 Negro now
2 more Negro, and 1 more white invited
no women now,
1 woman invited

MISSISSIPPI
(4)
3 old
1 new

2 more invited
2 Negroes, 2 whites now
2 Negroes invited
1 woman now,
1 more invited

OKDAHOMA (~~0~~ 1)
o old Fellows
1 ~~0~~ new

~~3~~ 2 more invited
2 Negroes, ~~1~~ white
1 woman invited

NORTH CAROLINA
(16)
10 old
0 new invited

5 Negro now
6 white now
2 women now

SOUTH CAROLINA
(~~8~~ 7)
4 new
3 old

2 more invited
3 Negro now, 4 white now
2 more Negroes invited
2 women now
no more women invited

TENNESSEE
(4)
4 old

REST OF THE GROUP
NOT YET INVITED

2 white, 2 Negro now
1 woman now

TEXAS 4 (~~1~~)
1 old
3 ~~2~~ new

3~~4~~ more invited
2 Negro now, 2 white now
1~~2~~ more white invited, 2 more Negroes
1 woman now
no more women invited

VIRGINIA (7)
4 old
3 new

no more invited
5 Negroes now, 2 white
1 woman
no more invited

OTHER STATES (3)
3 old
0 new

1 more invited
3 Negroes now
1 more Negro invited
1 woman now
no more invited

Feb 7th '49
9th

PRESENT	More Invited	W	N	Wom	State
6	1	2	4	2	Ala
5	2	3	2	1	Ark
6	1	3	3	1	Fla
7	1	4	3	0	Ga
4	2	1	3	0	Kent
5	3	4	1	0	La
4	2	2	2	1	Miss
0	3	0	0	0	Okla
10	0	6	5	2	NC
7	2	4	3	2	SC
4	not yet	2	2	1	Tenn
4	3	2	2	1	Texas
7	0	2	5	1	Va
3	1	0	3	1	Other
~~69~~ 70	~~24~~ 23	~~34~~ 33	38	13	TOTALS
71	22	34	38	13	Feb 14
72	21	33	38	13	Mar 7

MASTER LIST

February 1949

STATE	DEFINITE FELLOWS	INVITED FELLOWS ~~AND~~ 4/11 who havenot replied plus DEFINITE FELLOWS
ALABAMA	6	7
ARKANSAS	5	7
FLORIDA	6 1	9 two declined
GEORGIA	7	8
KENTUCKY	4	5
LOUISIANA	5	8
MISSISSIPPI	~~4~~ 5	6
OKLAHOMA	~~1~~ 3	3
NORTH CAROLINA	10	10
SOUTH CAROLINA	~~7~~ 8	9
TENNESSEE	~~4~~ 6	8
TEXAS	~~5~~ 6	7
VIRGINIA	7	7
OTHER	4	4
TOTAL	~~72~~ ~~73~~ 77 (4/4/49) 78 (4/5/49) 79 (4/12/49) 80 (4/19/49)	98 97

File

SRC Fellows — Lists

FELLOWS..... APRIL 5, 1949

Alexander, L. I.	Florida
Ayers, Robert H.	South Carolina
Beatty, W. Barton, Jr.	Virginia
Bell, William Y.	Chicago
Boyd, Rosamond Wimberly	South Carolina
Boykin, Leander L.	Louisiana
Brett, T. Ruth c	Alabama
Brown, William H.	Georgia
Campbell, Pauline Watkins	Texas
Clanton, Paul	Arkansas
Clement, Arthur J. H.	South Carolina
Cowart, Chester	Florida
Daves, J. H.	Tennessee
DeWitt, Harold O.	Virginia
Dickens, Dorothy	Mississippi
Drolet, Jerome A.	Louisiana
Duncan, S.E.	North Carolina
Eppse, Merle	Tennessee
Ewbank, John R.	Arkansas
Fenn, Norman D.	Kentucky
Ferris, Abbott L.	Tennessee
Fichter, Joseph H.	Louisiana
Foreman, Paul B.	Oklahoma
Franklin, John Hope	Washington D. C.
Frazer, Eva L.	North Carolina
Galloway, Mrs. Lottie Glick, Clarence	Lotisiana > Tennessee
Goode, Mrs. Effie Morten	Alabama
Gomillion, Charles	Alabama
Greene, Herbert James	Florida
Hamilton, Josephine	Tennessee
Havens, Henry W., Jr.	~~Florida until Easter, 1949, ten~~ La. New Orleans
Hill, Dr. Mozell C.	Georgia
Hill, P. W.	Mississippi
Hull Geo. F. Johnson, Cernoria D.	Tenn Oklahoma
Johnson, Cyrus M.	North Carolina
Jones, Dorothy	South Carolina
Jones, R.E.	North Carolina
Kester, Howard J.	South Carolina
Kitrell, Miss Flemmie	Washington D.C.
Koeninger, R.C.	Texas
Lantor, Mrs Nathan	Virginia
Larkins, Mrs. John R.	North Carolina
Lenoir, Aguinaldo A.	Louisiana
Lewis, Roscoe, E.	Virginia
Liscio, Henry Francis	Virginia
Lovejoy, Gordon W.	Florida
Mallory, Arenia C.	Mississippi
Maxwell, Cassandra	South Carolina
McClain, Howard G.	Georgia
McDonald, Annie Laurie	North Carolina
Miller, Alexander F.	Georgia
Morgan, John W.	Georgia
Moron, Alonzo G.	Virginia
Mulcahy, Mrs. Edward P.	Florida

FELLOWS (CON'T.)....APRIL 5,1949

Neal, Earnest	Alabama
Perry, Eugene B.	Texas
Pipes, W. H.	Mississippi
Potts, John F.	South Carolina
Rasmussen, Donald E.	Alabama
Roberts, Harry W.	Virginia
Robinson, Allyn P.	North Carolina
Robinson, E. D.	Arkansas
Smith, Harold S.	Kentucky
Spaulding, Asa T.	North Carolina
Stephan, Stephen A.	Arkansas
Stephens, George	North Carolina
Stewart, James Edward	Oklahoma
Thompson, Sadye A.	Arkansas
Thompson Robert A.	Georgia
Valtair, Jackson	Texas
Webber, Paul R., Jr.	South Carolina
Wharton, V. L.	Mississippi
Whiteside, E.W.	Kentucky
Whitsett, Dan C.	Alabama
Williams, Harry	North Carolina
Wilson, G. D.	Kentucky
Zuber, Leo J.	Georgia

Harold West, Tenn

Harry Wright, N.Y.
78

HONORARY FELLOWS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

May 27, 1949

ALABAMA

	Total	N	W
Dr. T. Ruth Brett (N) P. O. Box 397 Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee			
Dr. Charles Gomillion (N) Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee, Ala.			
Mr. Ernest Neal (N) Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee Ins.			
Mrs. Effie Morten (N) 20 South Hallett St. Mobile			
Rev. Dan C. Whitsett (W) 105 E. Spring St. Sylacauga			
Mr. Donald Rasmussen (W) Dept. of Sociology Talladega College Talladega			
	6	4	2

ARKANSAS

Dr. John R. Ewbank (W) Philander Smith College Little Rock			
Mr. Paul Clanton (W) Arkansas Bd. of Cosmetology Box 162 - State Capitol Little Rock			
Mr. Edward D. Robinson (N) Principal, Blevins Training School, Box 104 Blevins			
Dr. Stephen A. Stephan (W) Dept. of Sociology University of Arkansas Fayetteville			
Miss Sadye Thompson (N) Little Rock Urban League 914 Gaines St. Little Rock			
	5	2	3

FLORIDA

Mr. Chester W. Cowart (N) 1036 Julia St. Jacksonville			
Mr. L. I. Alexander (N) 614 Broad St. Jacksonville			
Mr. James A. Greene (N) Principal, Lewis Jr. Hi. School Jacksonville			
Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy (W) Miami Univ. Branch University of Miami Coral Gables			
Mrs. E. P. Mulcahy (W) 1836 Naldo Ave Jacksonville 7			
	5	3	2

GEORGIA

Total N - W

Dr. Mozell C. Hill (N)
Dept. of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta,

Mr. Howard G. McClain(W)
Mercer University
Macon

Dr. John W. Morgan (W)
Georgia State College for Women
Milledgeville

Dr. William Brown (N)
Ga. State College
Savannah

Mr. Alexander Miller (W)
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta

Mr. Robert A. Thompson (N)
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta

Mr. Leo J. Zuber (W)
2794 North Decatur Rd.
Decatur

7 3 - 4

KENTUCKY

Mr. G. D. Wilson (N)
Louisville Municipal College
3344 Grand Ave.
Louisville

Mr. Norman Fenn (W)
Box 584
Berea College
Berea

Mr. Harold S. Smith (N)
Kentucky State College
Frankfort

Mr. E. W. Whiteside (N)
Principal, Lincoln Hi, Schl
Paducah

4 3 - 1

LOUISIANA

Father Jerome A. Drolet (W)
St. Matthias Church
3924 General Taylor St.
New Orleans

Rev. Mr. Henry W. Havens, Jr. (W)
Trinity Church
1329 Jackson Ave.
New Orleans

Dr. Leander L. Boykin (W)
P. O. Box 9390
Southern Univ. Southern P. O.
Baton Rouge

Dr. Clarence E. Glick (W)
(Pres.Address)
Univ. of Hawaii
Honolulu 10, T. H.
(Fall Address)
Tulane University
New Orleans 15

Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S. J. (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Loyola University of South
New Orleans

Dean Aguinaldo Lenoir (N)
Southern Univ. Southern P. O.
Baton Rouge

6 1 - 5

MISSISSIPPI

Total N - W

Dr. Dorothy Dickins (W)
Miss. Ag. Experiment Station
State College

Dr. P. W. Hill (N)
P. O. Box 547
Clarksdale

Dr. W. H. Pipes (N)
Alcorn A. & M. College
Alcorn

Miss Arania Mallory (N)
Saints Industrial and
Literary School
Lexington

Dr. V. L. Wharton (W)
Millsaps College
Jackson

5 3 - 2

OKLAHOMA

Mrs. Cernoria D. Johnson (N)
Okla. City Urban League
300 Siles St.
Oklahoma City

Dr. Paul B. Foreman (W)
Dept of Sociology
Okla. A & M. College
Stillwater

Mr. Jimmy Stewart (N)
627 N. E. 6th St.
Oklahoma City

3 2 - 1

NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. S. E. Duncan (N)
State Dept. of Public Instruction
Raleigh
on leave
Cornell Univ. Ithaca, N. Y.

Mr. John R. Larkins (N)
Consultant on Negro Work
N. C. State Bd of Charities
and Public Welfare
Raleigh

Miss Eva L. Frazer (N)
121 E. South St.
Raleigh, N. C.

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald (W)
738 Ginghoul Rd.
Chapel Hill

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson (W)
Box 1208
Raleigh

Mr. Allyn P. Robinson, Jr. (W)
Rm 301, 121 E. Third St.
Charlotte

Mr. R. E. Jones (N)
A. & T. College
Box 68
Greensboro

Mr. Asa T. Spaulding (N)
N. C. Life Insurance
Durham

~~Mr. Howard Kester~~
~~Fellowship Center~~ (W)
~~SWannanoa,~~

Mr. George Stephens (W)
$' 48 Walnut St.
Asheville

Mr. Harry Williams (W)
Institute for Research in
Social Science
University of N. C.
Chapel Hill

11 5 - 6

SOUTH CAROLINA

Total N - W

Dr. Rosamond Wimberly Boyd (W)
Converse College
Spartanburg

Mr. John F. Potts (N)
Director, Avery Institute
Eharleston

Miss Cassandra Maxwell (N)
721 Russell St., N. E.
Orangeburg,

Rev. Mr. Robert Ayers (W)
1301 Hampton St.
Columbia

Mr. Arthur Clement (N)
N. C. Mutual Ins. Co.
Station A, Box 36
Charleston

Dr. Dorothy Jones (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Box 42, Winthrop Coll.
Rock Hill

Mr. Paul Webber (N)
S. C. State College
Orangeburg

7 4 - 3

TENNESSEE

Mr. J. H. Daves (N)
TVA
404 Commercial Nat'l Bank Bldg.
Knoxville

Dr. Merle Eppse (N)
Tennessee A & T College
Nashville

Abbott L. Ferris (W)
Box 1164
Vanderbilt Univ.
Nashville

Miss Josephine Hamilton (W)
Chattanooga High School
East Third St.
Chattanooga,

Mr. George F. Hull (W)
Photographer, Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga

Dr. Harold West (N)
Professor Bio-Chemistry
Meharry Medical College
Nashville

6 3/- 3

TEXAS

Mr. Jackson Valtair (W)
5201 Belmont St.
Dallas

Mrs. Pauline Watkins Campbell (N)
Jeanes Supervisor, Walker County
Huntsville

Dr. E. B. Perry (N)
Rms. 223 -224
Pilgrim Bldg.
Houston 3,

Mr. Jewel Tatum (N)
Mary Allen College
Crockett

Dr. R. C. Koeninger (W)
Professor of Sociology
Sam Houston State Teachers College
Huntsville

5 3 - 2

VIRGINIA	Total	N - W
Mr. W. Barton Beatty, Jr. (N) Director of Public Relations Hampton Institute Hampton		
Mrs. Nathan Lantom (W) Box 528 South Boston		
Mr. Roscoe E. Lewis (N) Hampton Institute Hampton		
Mr. Harry W. Roberts (N) Virginia State College Petersburg		
Mr. Harold DeWitt (N) Industrial Secty, Urban League 902 St. James St. Richmond,		
Dr. Alonzo Moron (N) Hampton Institute Hampton		
Mr. Henry Liscio (W) P. O. Box 3 - N Richmond 2		
	7	5 - 2

OTHER STATES		
Mr. William Y. Bell, Jr. (N) American Council on Race Relations 4901 Ellis Avenue Chicago 15, Illinois		
Dr. John Hope Franklin (N) Howard University Washington, D. C.		
Mr. Howard Kester c/o Joseph Howell 110 E. 29th St. New York, N.Y		
Dr. Flemmie Kittrell (M) Home Economics Dept. Howard University Washington, D. C.		
Mr. Harry W. Wright (N) Apt. 5 E 2171 Madison Ave. New York, N. Y.		
	4	4 - 0
TOTAL NUMBER OF FELLOWS	81	45 36

SRC Fellows

PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN INVITED TO BECOME HONORARY
FELLOWS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
1949

(Persons whom we have not heard from)

Alabama

Mr. Frederick A. Curtis (N)
1630 Fourth Avenue N.
c/o Atty. Arthur D. Shores
Birmingham, Alabama

Arkansas

Dr. Hugh Brown (N)
State Tuberculosis Sanitorium
Box 123
Alexander

Miss Theresa Hoover (N)
1016 State St.
Little Rock (wrong address)

Florida

Dr. V. D. Mizell (N)
1422 N. W. 6th St.
P. O. Box 1378
Fort Lauderdale

Georgia

Mr. Wilson Hubert
Chatham Cty. Health Dept.
Savannah

Kentucky

Mr. Robert T. Burke, Jr. (W)
Kentucky Home Life Bldg.
Louisville

Louisiana

Dr. Mary B. Allen (W)
6926 Willow St.
New Orleans

Mr. Clarence Laws (N)
1819 Upperline St.
New Orleans, (wrong address)

(Persons who have declined)

Kentucky

Mrs. Franule H. Armstrong (W) (regrets)
Editor, Henderson Gleaner
Box 4
Henderson

Mrs. Arnold Fields (W)
304 Ewing St.
Frankfort

Florida

Mrs. Margaret Bristol (W) (declined)
Fla. State University
Tallahassee

Mrs. Constance P. Rudd (W) (declined)
Fla. State Conference of Social Work
P. O. Box 629
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Mississippi

Rev. Clarence Howard (N) (declined)
St. Augustine's Seminary
Gulfport, Miss.

Virginia

Duane Dewey (declined)
Federal Reserve Bank
Richmond

John Leard (W) (declined)
News -Leader
Asst. City Editor
Richmond

(Persons whom we have not heard from)
continued

Dr. George Snowden (N)
2601 Gentilly Rd.
Dillard University
New Orleans

Mississippi

Mr. Arthur Williams (N)
Insurance Co.
Jackson

South Carolina

Dr. Clarence E. Morgan (N)
2029 Taylor St.
Columbia

Tennessee

Mr. Nat Caldwell (W)
Special Staff Writer
Nashville Tennesseean
Nashville

Mrs. Lettie S. Galloway (N)
Director of the Eighteenth Ave.
Youth Center
Nashville accepted 9/13/49

Texas

Mr. Glenn Turner (W)
Crockett

Dr. Connie Yerwood (N)
State Health Dept.
Austin Accepted 8/21/50

HONORARY FELLOWS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

September 12, 1950

ALABAMA

		Total	N	W
*Dr. T. Ruth Brett (N)	Mr. Ernest Neal (N) Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee Inst.			
Dr. Charles Gomillion (N) Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee	Mr. Donald Rasmussen (W) Wrong address Tracer sent Dept. of Sociology Talladega College Talladega			
Mrs. Effie Morten Goode (N) 20 South Hallett St. Mobile	Rev. Dan C. Whitsett (W) 105 E. Spring St. Sylacauga	6	4	2

ARKANSAS

Mr. Paul Clanton (W) P. O. Box 778 Pine Bluff	Mr. Edward D. Robinson (N) Principal, Blevins Training School, Box 104 Blevins			
Dr. John R. Ewbank (W) Philander Smith College Little Rock	Dr. Stephen A. Stephan (W) Dept. of Sociology University of Arkansas Fayetteville			
Dr. W. H. Pipes (N) 1110 Izard St. Little Rock	Miss Sadye Thompson (N) Little Rock Urban League 914 Gaines St. Little Rock	6	3	3

FLORIDA

Mr. L. I. Alexander (N) 614 Broad St. Jacksonville	Mr. James A. Greene (N) Principal, Lewis Jr. H.S. Jacksonville			
*Mr. Chester W. Cowart (N)	Mrs. E. P. Mulcahy (W) 1836 Nassau Ave. Jacksonville 7	4	3	1

* - See Addendum

GEORGIA

	Total	N	W
Rev. Robert Ayers (W) 204 Leconte Hall University of Georgia Athens			
Dr. Mozell C. Hill (N) Dept. of Sociology Atlanta University Atlanta			
Mrs. Lyn Keyes (W) 411 South 8th St. Griffin			
Mr. Alexander Miller (W) Anti-Defamation League 11 Pryor Street, S.W. Atlanta, Ga.			
Dr. John W. Morgan (W) Georgia State College for Women Milledgeville			
Mr. Robert A. Thompson (N) Atlanta Urban League 239 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta			
Mr. Harry B. Williams (W) Board of Control for Southern Regional Education 316 Peachtree, N.E. Atlanta			
Mr. Leo J. Zuber (W) 2794 North Decatur Rd. Decautr	8	2	6

KENTUCKY

Mr. Norman Fenn (W) Box 584 Berea College Berea, Ky.			
Mr. Harold S. Smith (N) Kentucky State College Frankfort			
Mr. E. W. Whiteside (N) Principal, Lincoln High School Paducah			
Mr. G. D. Wilson (N) Louisville Municipal College 3344 Grand Ave. Louisville	4	3	1

LOUISIANA

Miss Mary B. Allen (W) 6926 Willow Street New Orleans			
Dr. Leander L. Boykin (W) P. O. Box 9390 Southern Univ., Southern P. O. Baton Rouge			
Rev. Jerome A. Drolet (W) St. Charles Church RFD 236 Thibodeaux			
Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S.J. (W) Dept. of Sociology Loyola University of the South New Orleans			
Dr. Clarence E. Glick (W) Tulane University New Orleans 15			
Rev. Henry W. Havens Jr. (W) Trinity Church 1329 Jackson Avenue New Orleans			
Dean Aguinaldo Lencir (N) Southern Univ., Southern P.O. Baton Rouge	7	1	6

MISSISSIPPI

	Total	N	W

Dr. Dorothy Dickins (W)
Miss. Agricultural Experiment St tion
State College

Dr. P. W. Hill (N)
P. O. Box 547
Clarksdale

Miss Arenia Mallory (N)
Saints Industrial and Literary School
Lexington

Dr. V. L. Wharton (W)
Millsaps College
Jackson

8

4 2 - 2

NORTH CAROLINA

Dr. William H. Brown (N)
North Carolina College
Durham

Mr. S. E. Duncan (N)
State Dept. of Public Instruction
Raleigh

Miss Eva L. Frazer (N)
121 E. South Street
Raleigh

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson (W)
Bunn

Mr. R. E. Jones (N)
A & T College
Box 68
Greensboro

Mr. Howard Kester (W)
Campbell Folk School
Brasstown

Mr. John R. Larkins (N)
Consultant on Negro Work
N. C. State Board of Charities and Public Welfare
Raleigh

Dr. Gordon Lovejoy (W)
2815 Bedford Ave.
Raleigh

Mr. Asa T. Spaulding (N)
North Carolina Life Insurance
Durham

Mr. George Stephens (W)
48 Walnut Street
~~Durham~~ Asheville

~~9~~
10 6 - 4

OKLAHOMA

Dr. Paul B. Foreman (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater

Mrs. Cernoria D. Johnson (N)
Oklahoma City Urban League
300 Siles Street
Oklahoma City

Mr. Jimmy Stewart (N)
627 N. E. 6th St.
Oklahoma City

3 2 - 1

SOUTH CAROLINA

	Total	N	W
Mrs. Jessie N. Boyd (W) 442 Union St. Spartanburg			
Miss Cassandra Maxwell (N) 721 Russell St., N.E. Orangeburg			
Mr. Arthur Clement (N) N. C. Mutual Life Ins. Co. Station A, Box 36 Charleston			
Mr. Howard C. McClain (W) 116 S. Saluda St. Columbia			
Dr. Dorothy Jones (W) Dept. of Sociology Box 42, Winthrop College Rock Hill			
Mr. John F. Potts (N) Director, Avery Institute Charleston			
Mr. Paul Webber (N) S. C. State College Orangeburg			
	7	4	3

TENNESSEE

	Total	N	W
Mr. J. H. Daves (N) TVA 404 Commercial National Bank Building Knoxville			
Mrs. ~~Mrs.~~ Lettie S. Calloway (N) 18th Avenue Community Center 1621 18th Avenue Nashville 8			
Dr. Merle Eppse (N) Tennessee A & T College Nashville			
Miss Josephine Hamilton (W) Church Hill, Tenn.			
Mr. Abbott L. Ferris (W) Box 1164 Vanderbilt University Nashville			
Mr. George F. Hull (W) Photographer, Chattanooga Times Chattanooga			
Dr. Harold West (N) Meharry Medical College Nashville	7	4	3

TEXAS

	Total	N	W
Mrs. Pauline Watkins Campbell (N) Box 242 Huntsville			
Mr. Jewel Tatum (N) Mary Allen College Crockett			
Dr. R. C. Koeninger (W) Dept. of Sociology Sam Houston State Teachers College Huntsville			
Mr. Jackson Valtair (W) 5201 Belmont Street Dallas			
Dr. E. B. Perry (N) Rm. 223-224, Pilgrim Building Houston 3			
Dr. C. R. Yerwood (N) 1115 Twelfth Street State Dept. of Health Austin	6	4	2

VIRGINIA

	Total	N	W
Mr. W. Barton Beatty Jr. (N) Director of Public Relations Hampton Institute Hampton			
Mr. Harold DeWitt (N) Industrial Secty., Urban League 902 St. James Street Richmond			
Mrs. Nathan Lantom (N) Box 528 South Boston			
Mr. Roscoe E. Lewis (N) Hampton Institute Hampton			
Mr. Henry Liscio (W) 511 Cathedral Place Richmond			
Mr. Harry W. Roberts (N) Virginia State College Petersburg			
	6	4	2

OTHER STATES

Mr. William Y. Bell Jr. (N) c/o N.Y. Ethical Culture Society 2 West 64th Street New York, New York			
Dr. John Hope Franklin (N) Howard University Washington, D. C.			
Dr. Flemmie Kittrell (N) Home Economics Dept. Howard University Washington, D. C.			
Mr. Allyn F. Robinson (W) Suite 1501, 381 4th Avenue New York 16, New York			
Mr. Harry W. Wright (N) Apt. 5 E 2171 Madison Ave. New York, New York	5	4	1

ADDENDUM

(Fellows whose mail has been returned & whose present addresses we do not have; the addresses below are the last ones we had for them).

Dr. T. Ruth Brett (N)
P. O. Box 397
Tuskegee Institute, Ala
~~Tuskegee, Alabama~~

Mr. Chester W. Cowart (N)
1036 Julia Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

1/28

Margaret:

All of these Fellows have been written to, so you may keep the folders, or put them in the files, whichever you are going to do.

Good idea to check their addresses as they respond. No doubt you are doing so already. Note change of address of Mr. Koeninger, attached.

Would you please make a note of the Fellows Dr. Mitchell has promised to send the home-town survey manual to (there are several in the ones I have just written) and follow up when the manual is ready?

Skal!

met

COPIES OF THIS LETTER SENT TO:

Ref

Mrs. Frederick Bolman, Randolph-Macon College
Miss Ruth Brett, Bennett College
J. H. Daves, TVA, Knoxville, Tenn.
Miss Dorothy Dickens, Mississippi State College
Rev. Jerome A. Drolet, The
S. E. Duncan
Merl Eppse
John R. Ewbank
Horace Fitchett
John Hope Franklin
Miss Eva Frazer
Miss Margaret Fletcher
Charles G. Gomillion
G. E. Jones
R. E. Jones
Miss Josephine Hamilton
Miss Flemmie Kittrell
Roscoe Lewis
R. W. Mance
H. I. Fontellio Nanton
John F. Potts
Charles Ray
Harvey Roberts
Rev. Allyn Robinson
George Snowden
Ref
Robert H. Sutherland
Asa Spaulding
George D. Wilson
Stephen Wright

November 16, 1944

Charles Jones, Chapel Hill
John Ivey, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Miss Annie Laurie McDonald
Mr. Vernon Wharton, Millsaps
Mr. W. H. Pipes, Southern University
Captain Robert M. Hughes, Larson General

December 27, 1944

Ref

Matn

HONORARY FELLOWS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FELLOWS SERVING AT PRESENT

ALABAMA

Dr. T. Ruth Brett (N)
P. O. Box 397
Tuskegee Institute

Dr. Charles Gomillion (N)
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Mr. Ernest Neal (N)
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Mrs. Effie Morten (N)
20 South Hallett Street
Mobile, Alabama

The Rev. Mr. Dan C. Whitsett (W)
105 East Spring St.
Sylacauga

Mr. Donald Rasmussen (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Talladega College
Talladega

ARKANSAS

Dr. John R. Ewbank (W)
Philander Smith College
Little Rock

Mr. Paul Clanton
Arkansas Bd. of Cosmetology
Box 162 - State Capitol
Little Rock

Mr. Edward D. Robinson, (N)
Principal, Blevins Training School
Box 104
Blevins

Dr. Stephen A. Stephan (W)
Dept. of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville

Miss Sadye Thompson (N)
Urban League
914 Gaines St.
Little Rock

FLORIDA

Mr. Chester W. Cowart (N)
1036 Julia St.
Jacksonville

Mr. L. I. Alexander (N)
614 Broad St.
Jacksonville, Fla.

Mr. James A. Greene (N)
Principal, Lewis Junior High School
Jacksonville

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy (W)
Miami Univ. Branch
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Fla.

Mrs. E. P. Mulcahy (W)
1836 Naldo Ave.
Jacksonville 7

GEORGIA

Dr. Mozell C. Hill (N)
Atlanta University
Dept. of Sociology
Atlanta

Mr. Howard G. McClain (W)
Mercer University
Macon

Dr. John W. Morgan (W)
Georgia State College for Women
Milledgeville

Dr. William Brown
Georgia State Teachers College
Savannah, Georgia

Mr. Alexander Miller (W)
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta

Mr. Robert A. Thompson (N)
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta

Mr. Leo J. Zuber (W)
2794 North Decatur Rd.
Decatur

KENTUCKY

Mr. G. D. Wilson (N)
Louisville Municipal College
3344 Grand Ave.
Louisville

Mr. Norman Fenn (W)
Box 584
Berea College
Berea

Mr. Harold S. Smith (N)
Kentucky State College
Frankfort

Mr. E. W. Whiteside (N)
Principal, Lincoln High School
Paducah

LOUISIANA

Father Jerome A. Drolet (W)
St. Matthias Church
3924 General Taylor St.
New Orleans

The Rev. Mr. Henry W. Havens, Jr. (W)
Trinity Church
1329 Jackson Ave.
New Orleans

Dr. Leander L. Boykin (W)
P. O. Box 9390
Southern University
Southern Branch P. O.
Baton Rouge, La.

Dr. Clarence E. Glick (W)
Dept. of Sociology (present address)
University of Hawaii til fall 1949
Honolulu 10, T.H.
Dept. of Sociology
Tulane University
New Orleans 15,

Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S. J. (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Loyola University of the South
New Orleans

Dean Aguinaldo Lenoir (N)
Southern University
Southern Branch P. O.
Baton Rouge, La.

MISSISSIPPI

Dr. Dorothy Dickins (W)
Miss. Ag. Experiment Station
State College

Dr. W. H. Pipes (N)
Pres. Alcorn A. & M. College
Alcorn

Dr. V. L. Wharton (W)
Millsaps College, Jackson

Dr. P. W. Hill (N)
P. O. Box 547
Clarksdale

Miss Arania Mallory (N)
Saints Industrial and Literary School
Lexington

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Oklahoma

Dr. Paul B. Foreman(W)
Dept. of Sociology
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater

Mr. Jimmy Stewart (N)
627 N. E. 6th St.
Oklahoma City

NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. S. E. Duncan (N)
State Dept. of Public Instruction
Raleigh
on leave
Cornell U. , Ithaca, N. Y.

Miss Eva L. Frazer (N)
121 East South St.
Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson(W)
Box 1208
Raleigh

Mr. R. E. Jones (N)
A & T College
Box 68
Greensboro

Mr. John R. Larkins(N)
Consultant on Negro Work
N. C. State Board of Charities
and Public Welfare
Raleigh

Mr. Howard Kester
Fellowship Center
Swannanoa, N. C.

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald
738 Gimghoul Rd.
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mr. Allyn P. Robinson, Jr. (W)
Room 301, 121 E. Third St.
Charlotte

Mr. Asa T. Spaulding (N)
N. C. Life Insurance Co.
Durham

Mr. George Stephens (W)
48 Walnut St.
Asheville

Mr. Harry Williams (W)
Institute for Research in Social
Science
University of N. C.
Chapel Hill

SOUTH CAROLINA

Dr. Rosamond Wimberly Boyd(W)
Converse College
Spartanburg

Mr. John F. Potts (N)
Director, Avery Institute
Charleston

Miss Cassandra Maxwell(N)
721 Russell St., N. E.
Orangeburg, S. C.

Dr. Dorothy Jones(W)
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Box 42
Winthrop College
Rock Hill,

The Rev. Mr. Robert Ayers (W)
1301 Hampton St.
Columbia

Mr. Arthur Clement (N)
N. C. Mutual Insurance Co.
Station A. Box 36
Charleston, S. C.

Mr. Paul Webber (N)
S. C. State College
Orangeburg

TENNESSEE

Mr. J. H. Daves (N)
TVA
404 Commercial Natl Bank Bldg.
Knoxville

Dr. Merle Eppse (N)
Tennessee A & T College
Nashville

Abbott L. Ferris (W)
Box 1164
Vanderbilt Univ.
Nashville, Tenn

Miss Josephine Hamilton (W)
Chattanooga High School
East Third St.
Chattanooga

Mr. George F. Hull (W)
Photographer, Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga

Dr. Harold West (N)
Professor Bio-Chemistry
Chairman of Dept.
Meharry Medical School
Nashville,

TEXAS

Mr. Jackson Valtair (W)
5201 Belmont St.
Dallas

Mrs. Pauline Watkins Campbell(N)
Jeanes Supervisor, Walker County
Huntsville

Dr. R. C. Koeniger (W)
Professor of Sociology
Sam Houston State Teachers College
Huntsville

Dr. E. B. Perry (N)
Rms.223-224
Pilgrim Bldg.
Houston 3, Texas

Mr. Jewel Tatum (N)
Mary Allen College
Crockett

VIRGINIA

Mr. W. Barton Beatty, Jr. (N)
Director of Public Relations
Hampton Institute
Hampton

Mrs. Nathan Lantor (W)
Box 528
South Boston

Mr. Roscoe E. Lewis (N)
Hampton Institute
Hampton

Mr. Harry W. Roberts (N)
Virginia State College
Petersburg

Mr. Harold DeWitt (N)
Industrizl Secty. Urban League
902 St. James St.
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. Alonzo Moron (N)
President, Hampton Institute
Hampton, Va.

He nry Liscio (W)
P. O. Box 3 - N
Richmond 2, Va.

OTHER STATES

Mr. William Y. Bell, Jr. (N)
American Council on Race Relations
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Ill.

Dr. John Hope Franklin(N)
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Miss Flemmie Kittrell (N)
Home Economics Dept.
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Harry W. Wright (N)
Apt. 5 E
2171 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y.

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LIST OF FELLOWS OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. W. Barton Beatty, Jr.
   Director of Public Relations
   Hampton Institute
   Hampton, Virginia

2. William Y. Bell, Jr.
   American Council on Race Relations
   4901 South Ellis Avenue
   Chicago 15, Illinois

3. Dr. T. Ruth Brett
   Box 445
   Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

4. Paul Clanton
   14th and Pine Streets
   Pine Bluff, Arkansas

5. Chester Cowart
   610 West Duval Street
   Jacksonville, Florida

6. J. H. Daves
   Tennessee Valley Authority
   404 Commercial National Bank Bldg.
   Knoxville, Tennessee

7. Dr. Dorothy Dickins
   Mississippi Experiment Station
   State College, Mississippi

8. The Reverend Mr. Jerome A. Drolet
   St. Matthias Church
   3924 General Taylor Street
   New Orleans, Louisiana

9. S. E. Duncan
   State Dept. of Public Instruction
   Raleigh, North Carolina

10. Merl Eppse
    Tennessee A. & T. College
    Nashville 8, Tennessee

11. John R. Eubank
    Philander Smith College
    Little Rock, Arkansas

12. Abbott L. Ferriss
    Box 925
    Chapel Hill, North Carolina

13. John Hope Franklin
    Howard University
    Washington, D. C.

14. Miss Eva L. Frazer
    121 East South Street
    Raleigh, North Carolina

15. The Rev. Mr. Samuel F. Freeman, Jr.
    Pulaski Heights Christian Church
    Hillcrest and Spruce Streets
    Little Rock, Arkansas

16. Charles G. Gomillion
    Box 31
    Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

17. Miss Louise H. Hagner
    132 Hemenway Street
    Boston, Massachusetts

18. Miss Josephine Hamilton
    Chattanooga High School
    East Third Street
    Chattanooga, Tennessee

19. Mozell C. Hill
    Department of Sociology
    Atlanta University
    Atlanta, Georgia

20. Robert M. Hughes
    15 F Pine Circle, NE
    Atlanta, Georgia

21. Cyrus M. Johnson
    Box 1208
    Raleigh, North Carolina

22. R. E. Jones
    A. & T. College
    Box 68
    Greensboro, North Carolina

23. Howard J. Kester
    Penn School
    St. Helena Island
    Frogmore, South Carolina

24. Miss Flemmie Kittrell
    Home Economics Department
    Howard University
    Washington, D. C.

25. Mrs. Nathan Lantor
    Box 528
    South Boston, Virginia

26. John R. Larkins
Consultant on Negro Work
North Carolina State Board of
Charities and Public Welfare
Raleigh, North Carolina

27. Roscoe E. Lewis
Box 101
Hampton Institute, Virginia

28. Howard G. McClain
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

29. Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald
1527 12½ Street
Hickory, North Carolina

30. Ernest E. Neal
530 North Fifth Avenue
Apartment 1
Ann Arbor, Michigan

31. W. H. Pipes
Alcorn A. and M. College
Alcorn, Mississippi

32. John F. Potts, Director
Avery Institute
Charleston, South Carolina

33. Harry W. Roberts
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

34. Allyn Robinson, Jr.
Room 301
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

35. Asa T. Spaulding
North Carolina Life Insurance Co.
Durham, North Carolina

36. George Stephens
48 Walnut Street
Asheville, North Carolina

37. Robert A. Thompson
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

38. Jackson Valtair
5201 Belmont Street
Dallas, Texas

39. V. L. Wharton
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

40. Harry Williams
Institute for Research in
Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

41. Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly
537 Palmetto Street
Spartanburg, South Carolina

42. Mr. G. D. Wilson
3344 Grand Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

43. Leo J. Zuber
2794 North Decatur Road
Decatur, Georgia

ACTIVITIES CHECKED

FELLOWS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BELL, Wm. Y. Jr.	✓	✓			✓		✓✓	✓	✓	✓
Brett, T. Ruth						✓✓	✓✓✓		✓	
Daves, J. H.					✓				✓	✓
Dickens, Dorothy	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓			
Drolet, The Rev. J. A.		✓				✓	✓			
Duncan, S. E.				✓✓	✓					
Eppse, Merl		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ewbank, John R.		✓	✓	✓✓✓		✓				
Fitchett, E. Horace		✓				✓				
Fletcher, Margaret						✓✓		✓	✓	
Franklin, John Hope						✓	✓		✓	✓
Frazer, Eva		✓	✓	✓✓						
Gomillion, Charles G.					✓	✓	✓✓		✓	
Hamilton, Josephine				✓			✓	✓	✓	
Jones, R. E.				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Kester, Howard		✓							✓	
Lewis, Roscoe E.		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓				
Mell, Mildred		✓			✓		✓	✓		✓
Potts, John F.							✓	✓	✓	
Ray, Charles A.				✓	✓		✓			
Roberts, Harry W.						✓	✓			✓
Robinson, Allyn P. Jr.		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	
Spaulding, Asa T.				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Wilson, G. D.		✓	✓			✓		✓	✓✓	
Totals	2	12	5	10	11	15	14	10	13	7

January 12, 1945

Mr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional
Studies and Education
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Thanks for your letter of January 10. It is, of course, a great disappointment to us that you feel that you can not be one of our Honorary Fellows. However, I know that you are exceedingly busy, and I can quite understand why you hesitate to take on a responsibility to which you might not be able to do justice. We shall certainly give you a "rain-check" in the hope that later on you may be able to accept appointment.

All good wishes to you and Miss Lou.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION
of the
American Council on Education
Offices at the University of Tennessee
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

COMMITTEE MEMBERS
Maurice F. Seay, Chairman
Gordon W. Blackwell
John E. Brewton
George F. Gant
G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

January 10, 1945

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I have delayed in answering your letter of December 27, hoping that the past two weeks would give me more definite information regarding my responsibilities for the next year. The situation has clarified somewhat; it looks as though our program will be continued on a more intensive basis during the coming year.

In view of my heavy schedule for the next eighteen months, I am afraid that I could not make the active contribution to your program which you would hope each of your Fellows might make. And, since I note that you will restrict the honorary fellowships to one hundred individuals, I assume that you want each person accepting your invitation to feel that he could make a contribution worthy of the honor bestowed upon him by his election as an Honorary Fellow. I hope that you will not take this as a refusal but rather as a request for a "rain check." This will allow you to offer the fellowship to someone else and perhaps consider me for appointment sometime in the future.

It goes without saying that I appreciate very greatly the honor of being elected to Honorary Fellowship in the Southern Regional Council, Inc. From a study of the materials attached to your recent letter, it seems to me that the idea of having a group of interested and active Council associates, such as the Honorary Fellows would provide, will go far toward augmenting the work of your staff and toward giving you throughout the region local contacts not otherwise easily obtainable.

I am sure you have thought of this already; but it occurs to me that,

as you develop your program for the direction and supervision of the Fellows, you may want to consider using an administrative principle which will provide for maximum participation of the Fellows, through some type of advisory relationship, in reviewing proposed policies before final adoption by the Council's Board of Directors. If this principle were developed, the procedure for implementing it might serve as an excellent educational technique which would give the Fellows greater interest in the program and motivation for action. It might be also that, unless this type of procedure were developed, some of the Fellows might find themselves faced with the problem of having endorsed policies and principles made by the Board of Directors which might be contrary to their personal views. I make this suggestion as a type of reaction called for in Item 10 on page 3 of your letter to Honorary Fellows of the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated.

Although I feel at this time that it is impossible for me to accept your kind invitation, you may be sure that I have a very deep interest in the program of the Council and in its basic objectives; also, you may be sure that, as in the past, whenever possible I will take every opportunity to make some concrete contribution toward the attainment of your objectives.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

SPC Federal

February 19, 1946

Mr. John D. Lane
Clemson College, South Carolina

Dear Lane:

I am terribly embarrassed over this long delay in replying to your good letter of January 6. I have been out on trips so much during the past month that I have had very little time to keep caught up with my office work.

I am sorry that you are having to cut down on your work and take care of the old physical apparatus. I think you are doing the sensible thing in declining outside responsibilities. I hope that at a later time you will be free to accept appointment as an honorary fellow of the Council.

Yes, I am rather amused by some of the honor rolls such as the one published by the Chicago Defender. I think that people ought to do something better than resigning from something or just raising a little hell in order to qualify for a real roll of honor.

With highest regards to you and years,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

JOHN D. LANE
CLEMSON COLLEGE
SOUTH CAROLINA

Jan 6,1946

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr.Guy B.Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta,Georgia

Dear Dr.Johnson:

My inexcusable delay in replying to your letter naming me as an Honorary Fellow has been due to influenza,Christmas,and lack of knowledge necessary to make proper reply.

During the past three months I have been taking a vacation from classroom duties at the recommendation of my physician. Until last week I had not received my final report before the second semester. It now appears that I am to resume my classroom duties but to decline outside activities. My teaching load is to be reduced to one-half the normal job for one more semester only. I had not had a vacation in five years. The authorities are going beyond the doctor's recommendations in an effort to rest me properly,and I feel that I must cooperate by declining to accept any outside responsibilities.

If I should be selected at some later date,I should be glad to serve. Thank you for the recognition.

I suppose you have seen the Chicago Defender's honor roll for 1945. I rather liked a former student's editorial in the Charlotte News, suggesting that Frank Graham and a number of Southerners in doing "less" did more. Harry Ashmore's point was that the Southerner labors under so much greater difficulty that his efforts, though not so dramatic or sensational as Frank Sinatra's, are more worthy of recognition. Among the articulate on the race question,I consider the Negro press and its results like unto the ignorant,intolerant white and his mouthings. I am beginning to be convinced that they both serve essentially the same purpose,though I defend their right to speak.

Kindest personal regards to Mrs.Johnson.

Sincerely, Jno D Lane

December 4, 1945

Mr. John D. Lane
Clemson College
Clemson College, S. C.

Dear Mr. Lane:

It is my pleasure to inform you that you have been selected as an Honorary Fellow of the Southern Regional Council. The purpose of these Fellowships is to enlist the assistance of a selected group of Southerners who have shown exceptional talent for constructive leadership.

Fellows who are not Council members at the time of their election automatically become members and have all the rights and obligations of membership except that they are exempted from payment of dues. The enclosed material will, I trust, provide you with the information which you would like to have concerning the Southern Regional Council and the responsibilities and activities of Fellows. The Council cannot at present undertake to remunerate Fellows with regular stipends, but it may reimburse them for expenses incurred at our request.

I hope that you will accept election to Honorary Fellowship and that you will cooperate with the Council and with other Fellows in our common task of building a better South. Please fill in the sheet headed "How Fellows Can Serve the Council", and enclose it with your reply. I hope to hear from you soon.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:s

January 27, 1949

Mrs. Harriet M. Fields
304 Ewing Street
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Fields:

Thank you for your recent letter.

We are sorry not to have you as a Fellow now, but will hope that at some future date you can take on that special relationship.

Meanwhile, help us in getting members and in getting our literature out to a wider public, and we will be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

304 Ewing Street
Frankfort, Kentucky
December 30, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of December 23, 1948.

I am deeply grateful for the honor you have bestowed upon me in electing me as a Fellow of the Southern Regional Council. Yours is a fine organization and I am in sympathy with your aims and principles.

I regret that I cannot accept the Fellowship at this time. Last Spring when Dr. Atwood of Kentucky State College asked me if I would be interested in becoming a Fellow, I told him I would be pleased and honored and would gladly accept if I were so elected. However, present circumstances, of an entirely

personal nature, do not permit me to accept the Fellowship; I could not adequately fulfill the obligations of a Fellow at this time.

I hope that at some future date you might again consider me for this honor. I am deeply interested in improving race relations and in raising educational, economic, health and agricultural standards in Kentucky and all the South — for all citizens.

Again I wish to thank you and to express my regret that I am unable to accept the Fellowship at this time.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Harriet M. Fields

February 1, 1949

Mr. J. Dewey Daane
Monetary Economist
Federal Reserve Bank
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Daane:

We are sorry that you can't be one of our Fellows, but shall hope that you will be one of our friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

FEDERAL RESERVE BANK

OF RICHMOND

January 18, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letter of December 23, but I have been absent from the Bank since the 22nd of December. I appreciate very much your nominating me as an honorary fellow of the Council to serve for the next two years. However, my present duties and responsibilities here at the Bank make it necessary for me to decline the nomination.

Sincerely,

J. Dewey Daane

J. Dewey Daane
Monetary Economist

JDD:vpc

Fellows

Green

February 5, 1949

Mr. John E. Leard
Assistant City Editor
The News Leader
6204 West Franklin St.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Leard:

Thank you for your recent letter.

We are sorry that you cannot be one of our Fellows. Your appreciation of the Council's program and literature indicates that you would have been a good one. I shall certainly send your message along to Paul Williams.

Perhaps you will see fit to take on this special relationship at a future date, meanwhile, I hope you will continue to be one of out friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mb

N. Boyd
65ND

JOHN E. LEARD
6204 WEST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 21, VIRGINIA

January 29, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of December 23 regrettably became tangled in Christmas mail and has just reappeared. I am sorry it wasn't answered with the promptness it deserved.

The Council's set-up is well devised to spread its eyes and ears geographically and to make active those enrolled directly in the program. Such organization cannot fail to be effective in attaining its goals, particularly because "New South" and other Council materials I have seen bespeak the earnestness underlying the planning and conducting of the program.

I appreciate the consideration given by the Council to my nomination as an honorary fellow from Virginia, but I regret that I am unable to accept the appointment or to serve as a person must to be effective in the Council's activities.

On The News Leader we are deep in a busy period of change to which I must give considerable attention during and after working hours. Extra-curricular commitments too have increased since September to the point where more would mean becoming ineffective in all. I can't in fairness risk reaching that point, and so I must decline to become active in Council activities.

Thank you and Mr. Williams, who I assume is responsible, for the opportunity outlined in your letter.

Sincerely,

John E. Leard

Assistant City Editor
The News Leader

February 14, 1949

Rev. Clarence J. Howard, S.V.D.
St. Augustine's Seminary
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

Dear Father Howard:

Thank you for your recent letter.

We are sorry we cannot have you as a full and proper Fellow, but we will count you straight along as a good friend.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

St. Augustine's SEMINARY

Educating Colored Youth for the Priesthood and the Brotherhood

Bay St. Louis, Miss.

January 23, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
JAN 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is to thank you for your kind letters (one of them concerning our brief notice of your organization in ST. AUGUSTINE'S MESSENGER) and for the proffered honorary Fellowship in the Southern Regional Council. I am unreservedly interested in the work which you are doing, and I deeply appreciate the honor offered me.

However, since my present position would prevent me from obligating myself to work formally in any one of the eight fields you suggest, I feel that I must regretfully decline acceptance of the Fellowship. Besides being (in name at least) Editor-in-Chief of the MESSENGER, I have recently been appointed vice-rector of St. Augustine's Seminary -- and this, together with the many duties I have as full-time teacher here at the Seminary (not to speak of my regular priestly duties), serves to keep me on the campus almost all of the time.

But you may be interested to hear that I did find time on January 10th to give a talk on interracial justice to a group of about 200 white students, delegates from seven high schools along the Mississippi Gulf Coast. The youth of Mississippi are definitely becoming interested in this question. And Governor Wright's announced intention of appointing an interracial committee to study educational inequalities will serve to focus the attention of yet more Mississippians upon the status of race relations in this state.

Asking God's blessing on the SRC and its great work, I am,

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Clarence J. Howard, S.V.D.

Rev. Clarence J. Howard, S.V.D.

April 14, 1949

Mrs. Margaret Bristol
Department of Social Work
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mrs. Bristol:

We are sorry not to have you as a Fellow. My own guess would be that you are overly impressed with the difference of background; that whole matter is just a little like people who all their lives feel shy about not having been to college. If you like this part of the world, you belong.

Howsomever, we will accept your judgment, of course.

I do hope you got the survey, and a circular or two about it. If you can help us find a Florida town that would like to do it, we would be appreciative.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Margaret Boyd

This is it!

The Florida State University
Tallahassee

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

March 28, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
APR 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

MS 4/5/49

I am enclosing 25¢ for a copy of the "Home Town Self Survey Manual", I saw the preliminary draft of this at the Council of Social Agencies in Jacksonville and have been looking forward to the final manual.

RECEIVED
APR 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

I should have written to you before about the appointment as Honorary Fellow about which you wrote on March 11. As you know I have been interested in the Southern Regional Council for a long time and if it seemed advisable I would be delighted to accept this appointment. However, it is my considered opinion that I could not be of any real value to the Council in this capacity.

RECEIVED
APR 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

You may not know, but I am not a native Southerner, having been in the south only 11 years. I have enjoyed living here and feel really more at home than at any other place where I have lived. There has never been any real serious adjustment in my being accepted. However, every once in a while it becomes evident that in the community of Tallahassee here and there it is remembered that I am from without the region. In view of this, it is my honest belief that it would be better for you to invite someone else to serve in this capacity. I shall be very happy to make suggestions if you wish to invite someone else from this area.

Sincerely,

Margaret Bristol

Mrs. Margaret Bristol

ao

SRC - Fellows —
Declined

April 14, 1949

Mrs. Constance P. Rudd
Executive Secretary
Florida State Conference of Social Work
P. O. Box 629
St. Petersburg 1, Florida

Dear Mrs. Rudd:

We are sorry not to have you as a Fellow, but shall appreciate your help from time to time.

Could we get you to become a member of the Council? It costs three dollars a year, but it does bring you all of our publications, including the monthly magazine New South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosed: Feb. and March '49 NS, punch.

FLORIDA STATE CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Founded 1911

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
MARGARET C. BRISTOL, PRESIDENT
ROBERT B. GRAMLING, VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES O. ANDREWS, JR., VICE-PRESIDENT
ROBERT R. WALDEN, TREASURER

DR. L. M. BRISTOL
MRS. THOMAS P. CALDWELL
ARTHUR G. DOZIER
MRS. H. REED EDMUNDS
ARNOLD FALK
LELAND W. HIATT
REV. J. EVERETT HURT

MABEL MABRY
METTA MAY MITCHELL
DODD PACE
ROY RUSSELL
REV. C. C. STAUFFER
MRS. PAUL K. WEATHERLY

HONORARY PRESIDENT, MARCUS C. FAGG

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, CONSTANCE PRINGLE RUDD

116 FIFTH STREET SOUTH | TELEPHONE 71-4771 | P. O. BOX 629 | ST. PETERSBURG 1, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
APR 1 1949
Southern Regional Council

March 28, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I was indeed complimented to receive your letter of March 11th., in which you advised me that the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has elected me as a Honorary Fellow of the Council.

It is with sincere regret that I must decline this honor. After careful thought I have determined that I can best serve the purpose to which your organization is dedicated without official connection. You have my interest and I would be pleased if you will include me on your mailing list.

I hope you will understand that I am appreciative of this honor and that my reply has been carefully weighed.

With sincere best wishes for a successful year ahead.

Noted - GSM

Sincerely yours,

Constance P. Rudd

(Mrs)Constance P. Rudd
Executive Secretary

CPR:aw

September 21, 1936

Miss Margaret G. Mayorga
3 Hillside Avenue
Manhasset, New York

My dear Miss Mayorga:

Since we are proposing also to permit our plays to be produced without a royalty, it is quite in line with our policy for you to print "Lawd, Does You Undahstan'?" in your anthology of one-act plays.

We have already had the play published since our correspondence with Samuel French & Company had come to a dead-end something like two months ago. The requests for the plays have been coming in so steadily and the time for the use of them approaching so closely, it was necessary that we have them printed by an independent printer.

Please forward the contract which you mention. The play belongs to the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching and not to the author.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames.

MARGARET G. MAYORGA •• 3 HILLSIDE AVENUE •• MANHASSET, NEW YORK

September 19, 1936.

My dear Miss Ames,

Mr. Sheil of Samuel French and Co., New York, asked me to read your two plays because I am collecting new MSS for a one-act anthology. I should like to print LAWD, DOES YOU UNDAHSTAN' in my collection. We expect that the anthology will have wide distribution, for we are offering twenty plays free of royalty until 1940.

If it is agreeable to the author- and the MS I have does not state whether you or someone else is the author of the play- I shall ask Mr. Sheil to draw the contract and send it to you. There will be no charges.

This particular contract has nothing to do with the other play, COUNTRY SUNDAY, which I understand you are discussing with Mr. Sheil, and about which I expect you will hear from him soon.

Please let me know the author's name + address and whether I may have the pleasure of including LAWD, DOES YOU UNDAHSTAN' in my collection.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret G. Mayorga

October 22, 1936

Mr. Frank Sheil
Samuel French & Co.
25 West 45th St.
New York City

Dear Sir:

If you will refer to the letter written Miss Mayorga, you will see that I told her that I had already had "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'?" printed privately, and in a letter to you on the twelfth I told you that both these plays have been copyrighted. Will you please return the author's original of "Lawd, Does Yo' Undah stan'?"

I regret that the long delay in hearing from you necessitated our publishing the play ourselves.

Very truly yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

LONDON LOS ANGELES TORONTO

SAMUEL FRENCH

FOUNDED 1845 *PLAY PUBLISHERS AND AUTHORS' REPRESENTATIVES* INCORPORATED 1899

25 WEST 45TH STREET

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS: THEATRICAL, NEW YORK

October 13, 1936

Miss Jessie Daniel Ames
Ass'n of Southern Women for
the Prevention of Lynching,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Miss Ames:

As per your recent correspondence with Miss Margaret G. Mayorga, we are sending you enclosed three copies of a form of agreement covering the play entitled LAWD, DOES YOU UNDAHSTAND? If you will kindly sign and return all three copies to this office, having your signature witnessed and notarized, we shall be pleased to execute same, and return you one copy for your files. Please be sure to initial the addenda at the bottom of the second page of these agreements.

Yours very truly,

fjs;of

Frank J. Sheil
Sec.

November 3, 1936

Miss Margaret G. Mayorga
3 Hillside Avenue
Manhasset, New York

Dear Miss Mayorga:

Mrs. Ames was in the office for a while yesterday and asked me to tell you that she hopes to find time within the next day or two to give further consideration to the contract sent her by Samuel French.

You may expect to hear from Mrs. Ames by the end of the week.

Very truly yours,

Secretary to Mrs. Ames

MARGARET G. MAYORGA ‹› 3 HILLSIDE AVENUE ‹› MANHASSET, NEW YORK

October 28, 1936.

Dear Mrs. Ames,

There seems to be a little misunderstanding about the matter of including LAWD, DOES YOU UNDAHSTAN' in the anthology. In your letter to me of September 21, you stated that it would be quite allright for me to include it and to forward the contract. I mentioned the fact to French that you had already had the plays privately printed; so they added an addenda to their regular contract form to this effect. They understand, of course, that the plays have already been copyrighted by you in the private collection, but this does not interfere with their further publication with your consent.

I know that publisher's contracts are always formidable things; I am always quite terrified myself when I sign one. But if there is anything about the contract you would like to have changed, it usually can be arranged. Please let me know, and I will do my best to adjust it.

I should like to include the play, I let another anti-lynching one pass because I liked this one better. My last anthology had a better than 20,000 circulation, and the authors included were all more than pleased.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret G. Mayorga

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

November 4, 1936

Miss Margaret G. Mayorga
3 Hillside Avenue
Manhasset, New York

My dear Miss Mayorga:

You will just have to go ahead and think that I am either dumb or terribly suspicious. I will not deny the former, but I do deny the latter.

You see, this is the first time that I have ever seen a printed contract, but this is what I want to know and the thing that confuses me. French and Company did not reply to my inquiry about the plays until too late for us to let them do the publishing. You wrote and asked me if you could include "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'?" in your anthology. I gathered that you were one of the readers to pass upon the plays.

When I said send on the contract, I judged that it was a contract that would give you official and legal permission to include the play in your anthology. I did not know that it involved a contract that signed over to French the entire printing and handling of the play. I am perfectly willing to sign a contract which will allow you to use the play in your anthology - I should like for you to use it. I am perfectly willing to sign a contract to French and Company for publication of the play, provided this contract does not interfere with the handling of the play from my end of the country.

So, it comes to this: Does this contract that French sent me prohibit or limit my power to have the play presented in the South? If it does not, could you have French send to me three copies of a second addenda to be pasted on as a rider to the contract?

If you will do this I think everything will run along smoothly.

Very truly yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

Plays

November 24, 1936

Mrs. T. S. Richards
331 E. Tinsley Street
Griffin, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Richards:

Much of the value of "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'?" will be lost if you present it and do not have a representative local white group present. We are so aware of the fact that the lynchers are white people that we try to expose as many of us as possible to educational processes against lynching, and we are inclined to be almost insistent in our desire to have white people present whenever either play is produced.

In almost every town of any size in the South we know some white people whom we could interest in attending a presentation of either play. If you will let us know at least two weeks ahead of time when you propose to put the play on, this will enable us to get in touch with key women of the State who will write to their local women about the play, urging them to attend.

I shall be interested in hearing from you further about the presentation of this play.

Very truly yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

331 E. Tinsley St.,
Griffin Ga., 11-21-36.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames,
Atlanta Ga.,

Dear Mrs. Ames:

In reply to your letter of the 18 inst, please send me the play "Lawd, Does yo' Understand?" by Ann Seymour.

Enclose 25¢ in stamps.

Thanking you very much.

Yours sincerely,
(Mrs.) J. S. Richards,
331 E. Tinsley St.,
Griffin Ga.

December 7, 1936

Miss Emma C. W. Gray, Director
School of Dramatics
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

My dear Miss Gray:

I will take up with Mrs. Tilly immediately the matter of working up the attendance at the play "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan?", which you are presenting on the twelfth of December. I will supply her with enough of the reviews of the play so that their desire to attend will be heightened.

I am sorry that I am not going to be able to be there but, unfortunately for this enterprise, I was out of the office all last week and Christmas is around the corner and I must bring up my work, which will entail my being somewhat occupied over the weekend.

This play "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'?" is to be printed in an anthology of one-act plays by Samuel French. This morning I had a letter from Miss Mayorga, the woman who has it in charge, asking for a list of the original cast. Since your presentation is the first one of which I have official notice, if you will send me immediately your cast of characters, their names will be included in this anthology of one-act plays, which will be published sometime early in the spring.

Again regretting that I cannot possibly be with you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

PAINE COLLEGE

ESTABLISHED 1883
AUSPICES METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH
AND COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

AUGUSTA
GEORGIA

E. C. PETERS, PRESIDENT

November 3, 1936.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Ames:

We are planning to put on the play LAWD DOES YO' UNDAHSTAN'? on Saturday evening, the 12th of December, 1936, here at Paine College. We are hoping that the cast will do it quite acceptably and would like for you to help build up the attendance of local white people. We would like for you to attend if it is possible for you to do so.

Sincerely yours,

E. C. W. for ajf

Miss Emma C. W. Gray,
Director.

ECWG:g

December 28, 1936

Miss Ann Seymour
Strawn, Texas

My dear Miss Seymour:

The six plays have already gone to you.

I think you will be interested in a copy of a letter which I received from Miss Mayorga, who is preparing an anthology of one-act plays and is including "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'?" Samuel French had the two winning plays to consider and evidently their reader decided that your play offered an approach to the problem and a beauty in the manner with which it is dealt, far superior to the more stereotyped form of "Country Sunday".

You have our permission to use "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan?" in as many places and as often as you can. What we would like to keep a record of is the number of places it is produced and the approximate number of people who see it, particularly white people. Paine College in Augusta, Georgia, put the play on first. Paine is the Negro college which is the joint property of the Colored Methodist Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and since that is what might be termed the original cast, it will be included in the anthology of one-act plays.

With cordial good wishes for a happy vacation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

112 Gooch Street
Palestine, Texas
December 19, 1936

Box 1 23 3.6
12

Jessie Daniel Ames
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Would you please send me six copies of "Lord does you understain'?" I am enclosing a check for $1.50. And while I am writing, the Little Theater here wanted like permission to use that play this year and asked me to write for it.

I appreciated the review you sent me.

Sincerely,
Ann Seymour

Please send the plays to Shawn, Texas.

NOV 11 1949

Daytona Beach Evening News

NEWS-JOURNAL CORP., OWNER
Julius Davidson, Publisher
Herbert M. Davidson, Editor

Entered as second-class matter Oct. 21, 1926 at the post office at Daytona Beach, Fla. under the Act of March 3, 1879. Published every week-day afternoon at 125 Orange Avenue, Daytona Beach Fla.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press is entitled exclusively to the use for republication of all the local news printed in this newspaper, as well as all AP news dispatches

Evening and Sunday, or Morning and Sunday .30 weekly. 1.30 monthly. All three combined, .50 weekly 2.20 monthly. Longer periods on weekly basis.

The publisher's liability for an error will not exceed the cost of the space occupied by the error.

A JOB FOR CHURCH WOMEN

I, as a church woman, am concerned that our Constitutional freedoms are not shared by all our people; my religion convinces me that they must be and gives me courage to study, work and lead others to the fulfillment of equal justice under law. I am willing to sit in the courts and to visit police and other law enforcement agencies to learn how law is administered in my community. I will work with others in times of tension to see that the rights of all are protected.

Church women all over the South are signing this pledge. They are banding themselves into a "Fellowship of the Concerned."

These women are not going to be content to sit around in glorified sewing circles —without the sewing—and talk about the serious inequalities in our courts and law enforcement which everybody knows still prevail in the South, lagging far behind public sentiment.

They are going to do something about it. They are going to find out what is going on in all the little courts in all the counties and all the cities of the South, and they are going to raise their voice in protest when wrong things are done.

They are going to express themselves publicly and openly and if that does no good they are going to go to work at election time and see what they can make happen then.

The Associated Press is entitled exclusively to the use for republication of all the local news printed in this newspaper, as well as all AP news dispatches

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They are going to express themselves publicly and openly and if that does no good they are going to go to work at election time and see what they can make happen then.

They know that Negro citizens frequently suffer from the discrimination of law enforcement officers, judges, and even juries. They know also that the measure of justice to Whites is too often influenced by how much money they have. They know that too often poorly chosen, poorly paid and poorly trained law enforcement officers are brutal and contemptuous of that individual human dignity which is the common heritage of every American.

They are going to practice their religion by devoting time to informing themselves and others concretely about this problem.

This program, the potential impact of which is tremendous, putting into action the ideals of all religions and of the democratic spirit, is one of the many activities sponsored and spearheaded by the Southern Regional Council, an organization largely inspired by important people in the various churches to make a better and a happier Southland.

It came directly out of a meeting of 150 leaders of church women's groups in Atlanta last September. The meeting was called by the Council, the National Board of the YWCA and other organizations. Its "Fellowship of the Concerned" implies a union for action among people who care what happens to other people. It implies that there are thousands who see in their religion more than sitting stiffly in a pew on the Sabbath day under one's best bonnet.

Other activities of the Southern Regional Council, which has just concluded its annual meeting in Atlanta, include campaigns for the employment of Negro policemen, steady work for equal educational opportunities for all races, the fostering of self surveys in Southern towns, the encouraging of improved practices in the handling of racial news in Southern newspapers.

Women can find out more about the "Fellowship of the Concerned" and men and women can find out what they learn and do to satisfy their own consciences about things they know are wrong by writing the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga. If they enclose $2 or more, they may become members of the Council, along with thousands of other forward-looking Southerners.—H. M. D.

FILE COPY

GLEANINGS FROM THE CONFERENCE OF "THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED"
Southern Regional Council
All Saints' Church, Atlanta, Ga.
February 24-25, 1955

We're in the path of change
And I must go to meet the change
Being unable to live unaltered.
--- Christopher Fry

THE CHALLENGES FACED:

I. The Supreme Court decision on segregated schools -- acceptance or evasion.
Efforts to evade: (a) constitutional amendments, legislation.
(b) Citizens' Councils and like organizations.

II. The "Child in the Midst" -- the fate and destiny of eleven million school children today and those that follow after.

III. Interpretation of the official stand of church bodies to the local member in the local church.

IV. Framework for action.

V. Finding the spiritual strength and power to be
Firm in conviction, never afraid to speak,
Persuasive in conversation,
Patient and understanding with those who do not agree . . .
"Fervent in spirit serving the Lord"

RESOURCE PEOPLE

Dr. Malcolm Calhoun, Division of Christian Relations, Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church U.S., 341 B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.
Dr. Rufus Clement, Member of Atlanta School Board, Atlanta University, Atl., Ga.
Dr. Lanier Hunt, National Council of Churches, 79 E. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Arthur Levin, Anti-Defamation League, Kemper Building, Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia.
Miss Annie Tait Jenkins, Womens Work, Presbyterian Church U.S., 341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.
Dr. Harry Richardson, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia.
Miss Esther Stamats, United Church Women, National Council of Churches. 175 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.
Miss Thelma Stevens, Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York.
Mrs. J. Fount Tillman, Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church, Lewisburg, Tennessee.
Miss Mary Jane Willett, National Board YWCA, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Harold Fleming, Assistant Director for Information, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION

TWO THINGS IMPORTANT -- I. Knowledge of the Facts
II. Interpretation of the Facts

I. KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS

A. Know what the Scriptures say about our relationship to our fellow man.
Knowledge and understanding of our own religious teachings on God and Man.
Know the stand taken by our own regional or national church body on the Supreme Court decision on segregated schools.
Knowledge of amendments to state constitutions (Ga., S.C., La., Miss.) and of bills passed and those introduced but not passed by State Legislatures.

B. Resource Materials --
From own denomination
From United Church Women
From Southern Regional Council -- "Christian Conscience and the Supreme Court Decision" as a guide to conscience, "Checklist" as a guide to community study, "Changing Patterns" for background information, "Answers for Action."
"Southern School News" (monthly paper, free), from Southern Education Reporting Service, P.O. Box 6156 Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee.
"Now is the Time" by Lillian Smith.

II. INTERPRETATION OF THE FACTS

From the discussion:

"It must be kept in mind that segregation is a national issue; this must be a basic part of our approach.

"Practices which exist in the South also exist in the rest of the nation, there is only a marked emphasis by law in the South. Housing segregation -- directly related to segregated schools -- is evident throughout the nation and is just as important elsewhere as it is in the South. . . . The South must feel that it is a part of the national scene and laws passed by Congress and rulings handed down by the Supreme Court are directed at the nation as a whole.

"Integration is taking place with greater speed in all parts of the country because of the ruling of the Supreme Court. Many phases of segregation are being studied not only in the South but all over the country; the South is a part of a wide national movement which ties in with the world scene."

"School boards are not yet ready to take any action until after the Supreme Court makes its final decrees. This makes it all the more important for the women's groups to make their voices heard now and help create the climate which will help to integrate the schools."

Suggestion from Dr. Hunt:

During this time of "creating the climate" for integration, strong arguing points would be -- "If public schools are abolished, what will happen to creditations...?, to property...?, to attendance laws...?, to teachers tenure...?, etc.

II. INTERPRETATION OF FACTS (continued)

A. Channels

a) Small neighborhood discussion groups might be a beginning.
b) People of both racial backgrounds working together on common community problems, such as schools, recreation, health, etc.
c) The local church and its groups might be a focus for initiating study groups or neighborhood groups bringing together people of different religious and racial backgrounds.
d) Use "READY-MADE" channels -- teachers' groups, PTA's, YWCA, United Church Women, League of Women Voters (resource materials could be obtained from each).

B. Sit in on meetings of school boards.

C. Work to get qualified Negroes elected to school boards.

D. Help the church face its own sins of discrimination and segregation.

E. Concerning the reaction against the official stand of church bodies, Dr. Hunt suggested that each woman's group might take a secret ballot on the official stand of their church body regarding integration. He felt that such a tabulation of opinion would show that there is sufficient backing for the church bodies' resolutions. He said that such polls could start with the women's groups and from there move on to fuller groups until the full local church had been polled. Then a conference might follow.

One of the group agreed this would be a good idea. People would not be embarrassed or afraid if a secret ballot were used; an individual would have time to think clearly by himself and would find, when the results are shown, that many others feel the same way and would not be afraid to express himself in public. The delegate agreed that such a sampling of opinion would show a substantial support for the positions which have been taken by the churches.

F. Other suggestions:

Officials must make a pledge to uphold the Constitution of the United States when they take public office. When such officials make statements not to follow the Supreme Court decision, this point can be used against them -- they are acting contrary to their pledge of allegiance

At a time when the law has been made clear, let it be heard in each community that any school which flies the flag of the United States cannot in good conscience maintain segregation.

G. Concerning "Loneliness":

Mr. Art Levin, Anti-Defamation League: "People feel very much alone as individuals and even in groups, and do not realize their strength because they have no communication with each other. If the lack of communication could be overcome, there would be solidarity and reinforcement in the knowledge that many, many people support desegregation."

G. Concerning "Loneliness" (continued)

Miss Stamats: "In reference to Mr. Levin's point on communication, I have received many letters from women who feel they stand alone on the question of integration. Do not be afraid to be among the first -- speak up and you will find that others feel the same way."

Miss Stevens: Referred to article in Saturday Evening Post regarding integration on the University of Virginia campus (Feb. 19, 1955). "Each woman must take the courage to stand up and be counted and she will find she is not alone. There is a need to come together as little groups in the churches and organizations, talk on matters relating to desegregation and integration in small home gatherings, encourage others, until a little nucleus is developed here and there, all building together into a larger group to show the ministers they have support. Bring together prayer groups with emphasis on desegregation."

Dr. Rembert Sisson, President of the Atlanta Christian Council: "We are all afraid of shadows which we only imagine."

H. THESE THINGS WE SAID WE WOULD DO AT ONCE -- From the slips signed by the delegates of the group as they left the conference:

(1) Set a Christian example of brotherliness. Be courteously vocal in making my stand known.
(2) Visit new Negro housing development in interest of furthering establishment of new church.
(3) As circle chairman, through literature and prayer will strive to change the prejudices of members.
(4) Will keep eyes and ears open for every expression on the part of others of like feeling.

A letter will go next week to approximately 50 women suggesting sources of information to use and a few specific things to do. These are the 16 states of our General Assembly. This will be an official responsibility.

Will send out letters to all District Secretaries of Christian Social Relations which will carry the program we wish started, asking them to begin in local societies to put program into action.

Will attend the inclusive groups already operating in my county. Will take at least one "new" person to each. Will pray for guidance for next steps.

Church women can sit in on the school boards with the same effect as was had on the courts. And if boards have nothing to hide, they will welcome it.

In our "Week of Prayer" for Home Missions (Baptist) the Negro is part of our concern and study. We will bring some of these findings there.

In my small community I can make a discussion group from my Ladies' Bible Class.

H. THESE THINGS WE SAID WE WOULD DO AT ONCE (continued)

Home conversations. Create "climate" of acceptance of integration. Entertain school teachers, discuss attitudes. Ask for reactions among high school pupils.

Talk with publisher of County Seat paper. Express appreciation for improved publicity on race. Will let personal stand be known on Supreme Court decision (this was done two weeks ago).

Next move will be personal conversation with the Negro High School principal and his wife on problems and how to meet them. Later I shall continue conversation with a liberal judge of our County and give him literature to read. He is well read but not too much on this.

Inform the women of my community on what they can do as individuals to create an atmosphere of hope and good will toward the definite goal of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation.

In December I had a group of twelve women (leaders in our Sunday school and women's church work) in my home for lunch. We agreed at that time we would let our pastor know that if Negroes came to our church, we would be happy to have them seated next to us so there would be no embarrassment for anyone.

We agreed that we would seek to get information and give it out to groups in which we participate as we have opportunity.

With this foundation, I already have a group to whom I can next week bring this valuable information given to us in this meeting.

Invite colored students to debate or to be part of program for PTA. Invite Negroes with college degrees to address PTA groups.

I am speaking to a group of Baptist women next week on our Negro Work at West End.

I will try to promote a small integrated group for discussion in my community.

Start "Study Cells" on state school laws of my state.

I expect to mail a letter immediately the first of the week enclosing a bulletin with information concerning this meeting and also enclosing a copy of Changing Patterns to each of Methodist Secretaries of Christian Social Relations.

Have already talked and made plans for a statewide workshop -- at least nine or ten -- using the channel of Florida United Church Women. Will expect to begin the groundwork for these workshops next week with the Conference Study and Action Committee.

Will try to get my district secretaries to become members of the North Carolina State Regional Council that they may have the actual information with which to lead on.

Next week I will redouble my efforts to move toward the statewide leadership forum, where we hope to pool opinion and resources, and which because of unity in strength just might change the social climate.

H. THESE THINGS WE SAID WE WOULD DO (Continued)

1. As Christian Social Relations Committee member of UCW -- emphasize value of UCW leading in given communities in discussion of problem and constructive action.
2. In my home community, get together a group (a) to study facts and (b) to interpret facts in community.
3. Mail letters to CRS chairmen sharing new courage and strength gained here.

Have a group of friends across racial lines to discuss with each other and help each other discover ways we can each be helpful in making it possible for children in the South to grow up in schools which allow them to study, think, and play together. Have such groups once a month.

Get a student group to see what we have discussed and start them thinking on what they can do. Get action, if possible.

Through an interracial International League for Peace and Freedom group see what we can do, not as ILPF, unless we can see it as a Peace movement, but to solicit members from this group to serve as nucleus for movement.

Next week in state meeting of Council of United Church Women, will
1. Advocate the beginning of small integrated discussion groups to study local conditions and study SRC materials.
2. Advocate attendance at school board meetings.
3. Try to promote understanding of people of like culture in both races.

Contact Human Relations Council and organize small integrated group.

Next week I hope to get out a letter to my Christian Social Relations Committee and State Board of U.C.W. and local presidents and CSR chairman reporting this meeting and giving them the challenge as best as I can.

I will contact my local chairman of CSR and discuss with her what can be done in my community.

I will attempt to get a meeting of the Florida Christian Social Relations Committee and outline the strategy and approach to meet the objective of this meeting.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

1. What is the Southern Regional Council? See leaflet attached.

2. Will the constitutional amendments passed by Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina and the laws passed by the legislatures of these states help keep school segregation?

Mr. Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council: Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana have passed laws and constitutional amendments which are supposed to keep school segregation despite the Supreme Court decision. In considering them, there are several points to keep in mind:

(1) There is little doubt that all of these measures will be knocked out by court action. Southern authorities on constitutional law

have agreed that they will eventually be held unconstitutional. Of course, such legal action will take some time.

2. The sponsors of these measures must know that they will not stand up in court. But meanwhile they serve as a delaying action and also as "propaganda" devices.
3. The backers of these legal dodges claim that most Negroes and almost all white people are behind them. Yet it is significant that the segregation measures provide heavy penalties for local school authorities who voluntarily choose to comply with the court decision. Evidently the politicians fear the people.
4. We have been through this before. The same devices were used in an attempt to evade the court decisions opening the "white primaries" to Negro voters, and the Federal courts struck down every one.
5. The real danger is that our public schools and the education of our children will be seriously damaged before these drastic measures are ruled out by the courts.

3. We need to know something about the N.A.A.C.P.

Dr. George Mitchell, Southern Regional Council: The N.A.A.C.P. is legal, orderly, American, working dutifully for the enforcement of the constitution. It never has been attacked by any Congressional committee, by the United States or any state attorney general, not even by the attorney general of California or Georgia. All N.A.A.C.P.'s officers are impeccable, loyal, hard-working. America is lucky to have its most oppressed minority working through established, legal, democratic processes -- contrast this to the violence and revolutionary character of the demands of oppressed peoples in other countries. Law was originally the white man's game -- Negroes learned how to play it and have scored a point on the basis of established law -- now the white man in the South wants to change it and play by new rules. We should welcome vigorous, aggressive N.A.A.C.P. leadership at the community level -- this type of leadership is beneficial; the vigorous leaders truly represent their people and can be trusted, whereas the less progressive leaders may be making bargains that are both unwelcome and untenable in view of the demands of most of the Negro community.

Delegate: I suggest that church women carry on a campaign to educate the community about the work of N.A.A.C.P. There is a great deal of misunderstanding among otherwise intelligent and educated white people as to what N.A.A.C.P. is doing and how it works. We must learn the facts about it if we don't already know them; make people realize that N.A.A.C.P. has a just cause and that the legal problems it is concerned with are real. We must do a job of interpretation.

Miss Stevens: We must not only do a job of interpretation, but churches must rethink their whole philosophy toward social change. Our generation was brought up to think that the churches could educate toward change, but must not touch the law or get involved with litigation. Churches must now recognize the fact that lawsuits and court action are an effective way of instituting social change. Passing laws is another, but this is slower. The churches must not only re-interpret the legal approach to social change, but must also undergird the processes set in motion by N.A.A.C.P. and others who initiate social change through legal action.

Dr. Calhoun --

Church groups for the most part have spoken against the evil of enforced segregation of the races. The teaching of the Bible makes it clear that God, the Creator of mankind, is no respecter of persons. His good purpose for all people is demonstrated in His work of Creation, in his Providence, in His Redemption, and in His Judgment. Our nation under God has been founded upon principles inherited from our forefathers in the Judeo-Christian faith. In the Declaration of Independence it is declared that man is endowed with certain "unalienable rights," including "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

No doubt there are times when some of us feel that we are too few and too frail to cope with the difficult problems involved. We must not forget, however, that our strength is in God and "If God be for us, who can be against us?" Centuries ago an effort was made to destroy Christianity because of the new way of life which interfered with custom and tradition. When members of the Council thought to pronounce sentence against certain Christians, Gamaliel, a teacher of the law, made the following statement which should be remembered by Christian believers as they confront difficulties and hardships: "Keep away from these men and let them alone for if this plan or this undertaking is of men it will fail; but if it is of God, you will not be able to overthrow them. You might even be found opposing God!" (Acts 5:38,39) Let us be grateful for the privilege of sharing in an undertaking which we believe has been initiated by the Spirit of Almighty God working within our hearts and minds.

Officers

President

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

Vice Presidents

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GA.

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I want to be enrolled as (check one):

☐ A Member of SRC's Affiliate in my State. (You will be billed.)

☐ An Associate of SRC, as a person living outside the South. ($5.00 enclosed.)

☐ A Contributor to SRC. (Contributions are tax-exempt.)

I should like to receive NEW SOUTH as a non-member subscriber.

☐ $2.00 enclosed for one year's subscription.

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____STATE_____

what they say

about the Southern Regional Council

"A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity and freedom."

—ASHEVILLE CITIZEN

"An able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

—RALPH MCGILL

"The sanest and best-informed Southwide organization dealing with race relations."

—VIRGINUS DABNEY

"The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not engage in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy *pronunciamentos* slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's—or from the nation's concern."

—HODDING CARTER

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."

—NEW YORK TIMES

"A voice from the informed and moderate South."

—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."

—CHATTANOOGA TIMES

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

—CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"One of the best sources for materials on the South today."

—CURRENT EVENTS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

toward the South of the

future

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

An organization of Southerners of both races working together in the interest of all the people of the South.

how it began

As the successor of the Southwide Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Regional Council goes back, in friendship and reputation, to 1919. A group of leading Southerners representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations, met in 1943 to discuss the problems and promise of the region. They decided that a strong new regional organization was needed, in which Southerners themselves could join together in a cooperative effort to solve their common problems. The result was the Southern Regional Council.

how it works

• *Through a regional office* in Atlanta, which services state organizations and carries on Southwide activities under the direction of its membership and executive committe. Its officers and members are drawn from church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions.

• *Through affiliated organizations* in 12 Southern States, each of which has its own membership, governing board, officers, and staff. Within the coming months, these state organizations will provide each Southern State with a full-time human relations service, available to both public officials and private citizens, maintained and directed by local leadership. The states included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The Southern Regional Council and affiliated state organizations are non-profit, non-political and non-denominational.

what it does

• Through careful study, collects the facts about our region's health, housing, education, law enforcement, and other public services. Makes the facts and their significance widely available through pamphlets, newspapers, radio, television, and speakers.

• Publishes a monthly bulletin—*New South*—which provides editors, students, and public-minded citizens with timely, authentic information on developments in the region.

• Assists state organizations in planning and carrying out programs suited to local need.

• Advises private and official agencies through both the regional office and state organizations.

• Through state staff, works in the community with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and others to find democratic solutions to local problems.

what you can do

The Southern Regional Council is based firmly on the belief that the problems of the Southern Region may best be attacked by Southerners who are willing to admit the South's shortcomings and join together in a constructive effort to overcome them.

There is no room for narrow sectionalism in such a program. The Council welcomes support and understanding from all sincere individuals and organizations, wherever they may be found. However, general membership—which is available in the state organizations—is limited to persons living in the South.

Here is how you can play your part in this forward-looking effort:

• If you live in the South, join your state affiliate of the Southern Regional Council. This entitles you to receive NEW SOUTH and other publications of the regional office.

• If you live elsewhere, enroll as an Associate of the Southern Regional Council. This entitles you to receive all regular and special publications of the Council.

• If you prefer, you may become a non-member subscriber to NEW SOUTH.

Fill out and mail the application blank on the back of this page.

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the South of the **future**

toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

—From "A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council"

GLEANINGS FROM THE WORKSHOP OF "THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED"
Louisiana Church Women - Concerned about the Schools of the South

International House, New Orleans, Louisiana
May 19, 1955

Called by Mrs. C. F. Goldthwait

Organizations Participating:

WSCS - local and district officers
NAACP
Metropolitan Council of Catholic Women
First Unitarian Church (men) and Woman's Alliance
Christian Church
PTA groups
B'nai B'rith and Anti-Defamation League
National Council of Jewish Women
Greater New Orleans Federation of Churches
Child Development Center
Commission on Human Rights (Catholic)
Catholic Committee of the South
Medical Auxiliary
Quaker (clerk and others)
Evangelist and Reformed Church (preachers and others)
WSCS - Central Jurisdiction
Synagogue Sisterhood
Temple Sinai Sisterhood
Presbyterians US & USA
League of Women Voters
New Orleans Council of Church Women
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
Y WCA
Girl Scouts
Salvation Army

We're in the path of change
And I must go to meet the change
Being unable to live unaltered.
--- Christopher Fry

THE CHALLENGES FACED:

I. The Supreme Court decision on segregated schools -- acceptance or evasion.
Efforts to evade: (a) constitutional amendments, legislation
(b) Citizen's Councils and like organizations.

II. The "Child in the Midst" -- the fate and destiny of eleven million school children today and those that follow after.

III. Interpretation of the official stand of church bodies to the local member in the local church.

IV. Framework for action.

V. Finding the spiritual strength and power to be
Firm in conviction, never afraid to speak,
Persuasive in conversation,
Patient and understanding with those who do not agree...
"Fervent in spirit serving the Lord"

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

"The Fellowship of the Concerned" has just been Church Women of South meeting whenever crises in the section or nation need to be faced. We've met under different circumstances through the years - and now our concern is the Supreme Court decision on schools and our task as God's women to be interpreters and "shock- absorbers" to a disturbed South.

Some things we should remember:

(1) The Supreme Court could make no other decision.

(2) The effect on law and order of the defiance and attempted evasion of the decision of our highest tribunal by our legislatures - our law making bodies;are any of us safe if our law makers can destroy law ? I stood and saw the auguration of a governor and him swear allegiance to the Constitution of the U.S. and then him say: "As long as I am governor, there will be segregation of the races in the schools of this state."

(3) Study what your denomination has said on the subject.

(4) The child in our midst - the twelve million children, Negro and white - who will be victims or victors of the change in proportion of how well they will be prepared for this new adventure in brotherhood.

(5) Think what you would in this situation if you were not afraid of what what you would say.

A CITIZEN'S RESPONSIBILITY TO HIS GOVERNMENT

Mrs. Venice Spraggs, Washington, D.C.
Member, Democratic National Committee

We have committed our sons, husbands, sweethearts to the battlefields for our democracy which has been challenged because we believe in the rights of citizens to run themselves under the law. It is this refusal upon the part of certain leadership in our community to try to find methods to circumvent the law which should be of great concern to us today. How can we maintain our leadership in the world when men of law at some time or other make laws that are in direct conflict with the constitution of the United States. The highest court in the United States has said separation of children is illegal. We who are law abiding citizens who support those officials of government are as guilty of violating the democracy which we believe in as the individuals who initiate the things we have seen happening today. The Court has acted. We have pledged to uphold the court. This has happened in instances where citizens have given support to the fellow who upholds the law. In Western Europe, families because of their religious beliefs, are persecuted and killed. We cannot separate our welfare from any other place in the world. Whatever happens soon happens to all of us. These things soon get to be a real problem. In Florida, a Negro's home was bombed. Many of the good citizens may have talked about it and thought how terrible it was, but little else was done. Then, they began to bomb the Jewish Synagogues and the Catholic churches and businesses. It was only after it had passed the state of race that they began to really think about it and decided to try to find out who was doing it, and do something about it.

One of my chief concerns is the business of the so called peace and resistance groups that have risen in several states. It doesn't matter very much who the members of these groups are or where they branch out from, the whole truth of the matter is that their goal is that of circumvention, that of making up their own minds for the community as to what the law should be in that community. We have worked successfully in the South to do away with certain hate groups, but if we are not careful there will arise other hate groups under the name of piety to do more harm in our community.

In Mississippi these groups have started off as peaceful groups. In JET there is the article on a Negro minister in Mississippi who has been killed because he refused to take his name off voting list and encouraged others to keep their names on the list. This man was tracked down by two white men and a Negro informer. This man was killed and the so called law enforcement in the community said he had a car accident. His car was supposed to have turned over the embankment although competent people said there were bullet holes and gunpowder. Some of the people tried to get long distance calls through and the long distance operators refused to put th their calls through.

In Jackson a Negro grocer's shelves are bare because wholesalers refuse to sel him the goods. We of the minority group realize that it does require a great deal of courage to face the possibility of economic disaster. We are being trained to obtain rights in the community that we are entitled to. We are like the small voice calling in the wilderness when we stay within our own community. We must quietly assert ourselves and try to help otherpeople to believe and stand with us. When the war broke out we needed every possible hand because as a peace loving nation we had not spent money preparing for war. Because of our separated democracy, we didn't have trained hands.

In the South 75% of the Negroes did not have competency to go in defense plants of the nation to build things that were necessary to build military might that would be respected by other nations. We have to learn to talk in terms of basic principles in our communities rather than in terms of differences in people. NAACP reported last year that in 500 communities some 250,000 young people, white and colored, who had been required to attend segregated schools are now to integrate their schools. The first thing that comes to mind is that the Negro teachers are go ng to lose their jobs. On the basis of the NAACP survey, this has not been true. 45 Negro teachers have been replaced. If a Negro teacher is qualified to teach one child, then she can teach all children. Immediately as I saw these figures and the list of states I wanted to look at the relationship between states in which there had been volunteer compliance as to the percentage of Negroes that had qualified to vote. There is a very real relationship. It means that they have acted as responsible citizens in their communities through preparing themselves for the election of men and women to office who believe the constitution means exactly what the United States Supreme Court states it means. That gave courage to people who are basicly good in heart but are afraid to lose face. They said we are ready to support you in office if you have the courage to act on what is right or put you out of office if you cannot stand for what is right.

Members of your organizations and citizens of your communities should (1) hold officials responsible to carry out dutiesof office that give us our rights; (2) we, who believe in our principles, should not allow dirty politicians in our government. When we accept government as dirty politics, we have admitted our own irresponsibility as bad citizens. We, who have the experience and ability, should seek public office. Louisiana hascommitted itseld to unyielding resistance to the Supreme Court Decision. We should first acquaint ourselves with all the figures, then study them and talk with each other, and come up with a platform of action; and once we have done so we should act accordingly. Then we will achieve without violence and bloodshed in our communities our rights as citizens of the United States. In Shreveport a survey was made of 60 students. They were asked if they planned to stay in Louisiana. Only one little girl said she would stay. Most students will not continue to be driven like cattle in this community by other people. These young people will not put up with the kind of thing that has been maintained in most of our southern communities by those people who have a vested interest in segregation. Many northern capitalist leaders have a hand in this resistance of the Supreme Court Decision. They are able to get cheap labor down in the South. We are all one under God. We should not be deprived of any of the opportunities under the law that are denied us because of our race, religion or national origin.

ARKANSAS' EXPERIENCE WITH INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

Mrs. E. N. Sparling, Hot Springs, Arkansas
Vice-President, National Y.W.C.A.
Formerly Member, Arkansas Board of Education

The Arkansas state board of education divided the school districts into certain sections and then had a representative from each department for a meeting of the boards of both white and Negro schools to talk over this situation. This was the first time that the two races had been together and talked over a common problem.

Arkansas' first step towards anything of accepting Negroes into the white schools was in 1947 when the Board of Trustees of the University of Arkansas stated that any eligible candidate will be admitted to the school for any study that could not be gotten at the state supported school. Since that time there have been numerous students there. In Fayetteville they have integrated on the high school level. There were no major incidents. They have been accepted. The elementary schools in Fayetteville have not been integrated at request of Negro parents. The school is located in their community and they have formed a community center around it and would like it to continue. In Charleston they have very quietly and without any fanfare integrated a group of 11 into that high school. There have been no incidents In Sheridan, after the directory of May 21, the board voted to accept a small number of students for the September term. The day after that this was resinded by a mass meeting of about 500 parents and so these pupils are sent to a neighboring county, cost $4000 for tuition, $4000 for board to transfer these students. This is a problem that the Council of Church Women can work on in Sheridan.

Little Rock is going to continue under its present 2 school system until further direction from the Supreme Court. They say they will conform with whatever the Supreme Court says. I think they will go into integration fully. In no way are they trying to circumvent the decision of the Supreme Court. The Governor says that is the law of the land, Arkansas has always operated under the law of the land. The graduate school of Arkansas located at Little Rock has been on a non-segregated basis. The state department of education is planning a series of sessions together with the Negro and the white school people for fall meetings. They are on equalization and they feel that it is a better basis of understanding where Arkansas can move forward. We can see more integration in 1955 and 1956. In Southern and eastern Arkansas it will perhaps take a good while. On June 22 of last year there were 275 Negro churchmen and religious Negroes met and voted financial support of NAACP for immediate implementation of the Supreme Court Decision. Maybe we could not do it in certain areas immediately but if there was a correct approach it would come. The Arkansas Teachers Association, which is the Negro teachers' association, made this statement:

"The pattern of desegregation is still a legal question which should be left to the courts but the problems involved in desegregation is local and peculiar to each district. When the citizens unite for these common problems satisfactory result will come." The ChristianChruch in a vote meeting made this statement, "No person has the right to deny the admittance of another person to the house of God. We cannot separate integration in education from integration in the churches." Rev. Mitchell of Little Rock said we should meet this segregation issue squarely. We have done very well up to this point. Some districts get as high as 90 percent of the

money from the state funds for the support of the schools in their district -- white and Negro-- but after the money is allocated to the district the state department does not have anything to say about how they use it. We have come through the year in a very acreditable fashion since we are one of the southern states. I think before the next assembly meets in two years we all will be very busily about our Father's work.

I think the church people of Arkansas are going to attack this problem and work in every way to give people the chance to work with people of another race. I am a great believerof the responsibility of women on these issues. We have a great feeling for what happens to other people. We have a little more freedom to think and study. I know there are a group of church women in Arkansas who want to attack the problem there. Fayetteville had been conditioned to integrate schools because they are used to seeing Negro students up at the University. I think that would be a good point of departure here in Louisiana. It is not only the percentage of Negro population but also the education that is going to have a lot to do with it. In eastern Arkansas the counties are very much smaller than that would be in Little Rock and I think thatLittle Rock could be integrated because of the educational stands. About the church relationship schools have in Arkansas--they have not kept step with the state supported schools and I inquired from various people if there was any church related school admitting Negroes. In answer, I don't think they are admitting Negroes.

SUGGESTIONS FROM GROUP

1. Here in New Orleans we do have a peculiar situation. The percentage of children in the school in elementary schools is about 50-50. On this basis the groups will comingle at the same percentage. One of the first things is for the people to become informed and write to the school board to get a report on the school system. One of the ideas was that some efforts should be made to do away with segregation on busses, transportation and restaurants and hotels. If these things could be accomplished first, then the integration in the schools should follow. People could get together to find out what is going on in other parts of the country. If integration is atarted, I think it should be started in lower school level.

2. Before we admit defeat we should learn what has been done. We should have more meetings such as this interracial and interfaith so that information may be passed on. Other orgaizations should be urged to include a study of this kind in their existing programs.

3. In church organizations we should welcome Negroes to our meetings. A better understanding will be reached. The school teachers can have joint meetings at times and discuss problems of integration. Set up an interracial committee to discuss integration; also in recreation. Encourage Negroes to register in great numbers. We will therefore have more voters.

4. We can have church picnics and joint meetings for recreation. Each needs to consider starting in the home with our children. They must be taught that we are all God's children. We need some way of getting acquainted with children of other races now so that when they go to school together they will not feel so strange. The one thing that we need to learn is that there is one race under God and every man can be reached from God and this should be said from the pulpits.

5. Need nore groups to discuss this kind of meeting; needs to publicize so that Negro and white churches can get together for the purpose of discussion. Needs to be more small group discussions with people of varying experiences. Get people to say what they are afraid of in this situation. We need to relieve our fears and take action. Get together on activities other than race relations. If you can work on something other than race relations you can bring more agreement and understanding.

We have got to live everyday what we believe. We should let the government and the legislators know how we feel about it.

We should have meetings in places where everyone can go and let people know that they can go there.

Lets start integration at the kindergarten level.

Some of the Negro churches could invite the white to come into their services to see what they are doing.

I do think the time has come when Methodist women should meet together.

The churches are supposed to be open so let him go to church where ever he wants to go to church.

In seeking around for ways to find things to do to implement these problems, we should like to invite you to become members of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. We can help you to use a lot of talents and interest you may have.

I think that we should feel that the fact that this group has come together and have been able to get the value by coming together -- has made this meeting a success.

Fellowship Houses

January 8, 1956

Miss Anne Forbes
Gerry's Landing
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Miss Forbes:

Thank you for sending me the manuscript on Fellowship Houses. I have read it all. Frank Loescher will be in Atlanta in a few days time, and carries about with him (as we both know) a warm interest in this movement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

RECEIVED JAN 5 1956

GERRY'S LANDING
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

January 2, 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell -

Enclosed is a report on the Fellowship House movement in this country based on a survey which I made last spring of all the Fellowship Houses. Frank Loescher thought you might be interested in this and asked that I send you a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Forbes

FELLOWSHIP HOUSE - AN APPROACH IN HUMAN RELATIONS

November 1955

Introduction

This paper is designed to offer a description and analysis of one approach and program in human relations within the total community framework which has been developed over the last 25 years in several communities. "Human Relations" is becoming a field that is increasingly recognized and important in this country. It is now attracting attention of social science research as well as of community leadership, management and labor, educational and religious groups and national and international leaders. Considerable research has already been conducted, especially in the areas of causes of prejudice and the effects of certain types of controlled experiments, mostly with student groups and in industry. A few social scientists have begun exploratory inquiries and analyses of programs attempting to combat prejudice and discrimination on a broader scale, but to date their analyses have necessarily been limited due to the lack of written data and evaluative studies of the variety of programs now in existence.

Although this paper will analyze Fellowship House in terms of organizational structure, content and function, it may be more realistic to consider this approach as a "movement", rather than as another human relations agency, for while the approach has been cultivated and developed as far as I know most clearly and intensively by Fellowship House, most of the principles and practices are being used increasingly by all kinds of other groups and individuals both in this country and elsewhere in the world.

The data and analyses herewith presented are based on the following:

1. A survey of the 13 Fellowship Houses conducted in the spring of 1955 under the auspices of the Fellowship Houses Development Committee in Philadelphia - a committee consisting of several Board and staff members from the Philadelphia Fellowship House together with consultants from the Philadelphia area.

2. Personal experience of the writer with 2 Fellowships: 1 year as a volunteer staff worker with the Washington Fellowship; 3 years as Director of the Kansas City Fellowship House.

3. Intermittent visits and consultations with Philadelphia and other Fellowships before and after the Survey.

The survey method consisted of 1) a survey questionnaire given to the staff or volunteer person most qualified to know factual data concerning the organization; 2) interview given to several key persons in the group; 3) informal discussion with other members and interested community leaders; and 4) as much participant-observation as possible.

Purpose and Approach

The main purpose of Fellowship House has been conceived and expressed in a number of different ways. Perhaps the simplest way of putting it is to say that the main object is not to change civil rights per se, but rather to change peoples' lives. The idea is that given opportunity, direction and training, people can do positive work whoever and wherever they are - each person <u>can</u> make a difference.

Fellowship House has been offering a unique experience and opportunity in the community. To point up the difference between Fellowship and other groups with similar goals, the following definition of Fellowship House is suggested: Fellowship Houses (or groups) are specifically set up to offer on a year round basis to the total community opportunities for all kinds of people to meet and learn to know one another on an equal basis, and to work together on projects aimed at building a community of peace and understanding. To clarify the relationship between this and other groups, one could point out that most organizations interested in promoting intergroup and interpersonal relations tend to fall into one or more of the following categories:

1. Community or neighborhood centers having an orientation in one or another religious, racial, socio-economic, age, sex or geographical area - rather than being for members of all such groups. For example, the YWCA, where completely integrated racially, still has a Christian, female and primarily adult orientation, though its activities may include Jewish and male participation and occasional children's activities. The Jewish and Catholic community centers represent Jewish and Catholic orientations; settlement houses are oriented toward a particular neighborhood and socio-economic group; International houses and institutes are primarily for foreign students and visitors, or to aid immigrant groups.

2. Agencies dealing primarily with specific problem areas - such as housing or employment, for instance the Urban League; or legislative action in the case of the NAACP (in addition to being oriented primarily toward Negro-white relations).

3. Such agencies as Community Relations Councils, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Civil Liberties Union, anti-discrimination committees, and city Human Relations Commissions, which offer a wide variety of techniques - films, workshops, literature and mass media approaches, as well as working on specific tension areas. These differ from the Fellowship idea in that they emphasize either mass media or conference-type programs, or work with other city officials on individual incidents, rather than the continuing year in and year out programs of face to face contacts and personal growth and involvement offered by Fellowship House.

There appear to be no other groups than Fellowship House which combine the ideas of being: 1) a center and groupwork agency for the total community open to all equally; 2) a laboratory for developing techniques to intensify and spread the fellowship experience and idea and to equip the average individual to make a difference wherever he is; and 3) an organization which offers and emphasizes personal, face-to-face experience as the primary basis for developing positive intergroup attitudes.

It should be further pointed out that Fellowship House emphasizes the positive approach in its philosophy and program. This means that the program emphasizes planting seeds in peoples' minds, encouraging right attitudes and behaviour wherever tendencies in that direction are found, dramatizing and selling the idea in as many different ways and to as many different groups as possible, and above all, starting with oneself - practising what one preaches - demonstrating continually by one's own approach and behavior, and through the Fellowship group's approach and behavior, that the

Fellowship experience and idea is sound, rewarding, and works. Thus while many other groups expend considerable energy and effort in a more negative form of action - protests, denunciations, and other expressions of disapproval of discriminatory actions in the community, Fellowship House, at least in theory, takes its stand by making positive affirmative statements wherever there is an opportunity and tries to suggest, encourage or persuade right action rather than deploring wrong action.

In Philadelphia, at least, the approach of Fellowship House is conceived as having a definite religious motivation or orientation. The religious aspect is not denominational or particularized in any form, although one might say it is to a large extent oriented in the Judeo-Christian tradition, but rather it is an overwhelming conviction upon the part of many of the leaders that Fellowship has to be an inner thing before it is an outer thing - and this concept colors everything done by Fellowship House. Problems arise because of differences in religious viewpoint, but there is a common respect for one another, and the primary technique used - silence - is one that is universally accepted as meaningful and useful.

Program

The variety and range of programs conducted to further the aims of Fellowship House are great. The Philadelphia House - being the oldest, largest and most fully developed - has a vast network of projects reaching into many areas of community living; the potential programming for all the Fellowships is practically unlimited. The programs most commonly and successfully developed may be classified roughly into the following broad areas:

1. Programs oriented primarily toward adult members' personal experience and growth.

   Examples:

   Membership dinners and meetings - where members meet old friends and make new friends; where folks learn, discuss and exchange ideas together.

   Programs rooted in the spiritual bases of Fellowship - some Houses have interfaith community services or informal seminars. Many feel that the roots of any movement that seeks to overcome prejudice must be very deep. Fellowshippers, Protestant, Catholic, Jew and those with no religious affiliation, find their faith strengthened in Religious Fellowship - not a new religion, not a watering down of old religions, but a seeking and sharing together of deeper levels of thinking and feeling about fellowship.

   Work Camps - weekends of working, discussing and living together - and of sharing in helping needy folks in the community.

   Day Conferences and Weekend or Week-long Workshops - for staff, community groups, students, families etc.

2. Programs primarily designed to offer training in human relations theory (and practice).

   Examples:

   Forums, workshops, orientation courses. In Philadelphia there are 10 sessions of a "Units for Unity" series. Graduates of this course are better equipped with practical skills for working in incidents or tension situations. Some go back to churches, synagogues, clubs

and schools. Others stay in the House and enlist for active service in other Fellowship projects or for advanced study.

Socio-drama Workshops - "Incident Control" - where students learn through role-playing and discussion some principles and techniques of handling situations where bigoted remarks are made.

In-service training for teachers - a formal program of accredited courses for public school teachers in the Philadelphia area.

3. Programs taken out to the community

Examples:

Choral presentations - most Fellowships have their own Choirs which offer musical programs together with a Fellowship experience. In Philadelphia, the 100-voice Choir has also produced a joint concert with 25 choirs from all over the city called "Singing City". In addition, a group from the Choir makes tours in the South and Middle West presenting the choral-drama "The Unborn Child" to audiences in communities in those areas.

The Fellowship Doll Program - developed in many cities - takes portrait dolls to children's groups all over the city to tell the life story of the great men and women of many races and cultures represented by the dolls.

Speakers Bureau - offering panels, trios, solo speakers or other types of presentation of the Fellowship story - bringing to groups all over the community a feeling for what is happening to people in their own city.

ARROW PROGRAM - an all day pageant of presentations and child participation telling the Fellowship story to the children in the Philadelphia elementary schools.

Other techniques - a variety of demonstration programs using films, flannel boards, chalk talks, home festival, Incident Control or Rumor Clinic demonstrations etc.

4. Social Action

Examples:

Testing of practices in local restaurants, theatres and other places of public accommodation.

Demonstration - Fellowship groups participating in community life as a public witness to the Fellowship ideals.

Other action - neighborhood projects, testifying, petitioning, representation at conferences, interviews, official letters, distribution of literature, cooperative work with other agencies etc.

5. Programs for Youth

Examples:

Young adult groups
High school Fellowship
Children's programs
Day camps or day nurseries

6. Miscellaneous cultural, social and/or fundraising programs

Examples: recitals, exhibitions, festivals, Parandas, pilgrimmages, celebrating feast days, speakers on cultural subjects, bazaars, fairs, block parties.

Running through all of these programs is a thread of social enjoyment and personal enrichment through the numerous contacts and deepening friendships with many kinds of people. For active members there is a continual process of learning to work together better - a process of gaining new insights and sensitivities - through the day to day experience and through joint participation in Fellowship programs. Thus all programs have an educational function for the participant along with the other functions of the program.

Two other aspects of program should be mentioned: 1) although the membership at large is drawn from all over the greater metropolitan area, and participants come from even further afield, including foreign countries, yet there is also a certain amount of work done in the immediate neighborhood, at least by the Philadelphia Fellowship House. The success of this work is demonstrated by the kinds of cooperation offered by the neighbors as well as the growth of their interest and concern; 2) Another aspect of program is an increasing interest in working with whole families as well as with individuals.

Another outgrowth of the Fellowship program in Philadelphia is the "Pottstown Plan" developed in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, by local citizens in consultation with Fellowship House staff. This plan is designed for small communities - to involve citizens in promoting better human relations in their community. The Plan is simple: it is for each business, each organization or institution to do one act each year to improve human relations in the community. This may be conducting an interracial event, or opening up previously segregated facilities or employment opportunities, or some other tangible expression of cooperation.

Taking the Fellowship program and approach in light of Allport's grouping of action programs as outlined in his book on Prejudice, one finds that Fellowship activities are primarily centered in his categories 1) contact and acquaintance (though with a less superficial aspect than he has implied since there is a core of persons with a year round friendship involved in each program); 2) informational - with a lot of emphasis on the project approach; and 3) formal education - developed most highly at Philadelphia. There is some work done along three other of Allport's lines: 1) group retraining - in the Incident Control workshop; 2) mass media; and 3) exhortation - in some of the speaking programs. There is practically no emphasis on the other three categories: 1) legal work - except in informing members and public concerning new developments and some social action done in cooperation with the legal-minded agencies; 2) research - which is an area that might well be developed; and 3) individual therapy - in the sense of being handled by psychiatrists or trained social workers. Of course, on an informal basis, the redirecting of attitudes and emotions of individuals is perhaps the greatest accomplishment of Fellowship work.

History

Philadelphia: The way in which the various Fellowship groups got started varies quite a bit from one community to another. The first group began in Philadelphia in 1931 when a group of young church people were called on by the Quakers to work on the problem of how to get everyday people together to build a community of "equal opportunities for all and peace among all racial groups". This group - the Young Peoples Interracial Fellowship - developed many programs in race relations, including testing civil rights in town. In 1938 when a wave of anti-semitism hit Philadelphia, the Fellowship group felt

that they must tackle this too - and do it together with Jews. In 1941, the group with one part-time secretary and no funds, felt they had to open a door to all people in the community. They wanted to be in a conflict area so that their work, starting at their own doorstep, would be a practical demonstration. A bleak weathered building with no furnace was found, and Fellowship had no money for coal. But on a bitter January morning, dungareed debutantes and clerks, businessmen and day-laborers came. Armed with mops and brushes, they scrubbed and cleaned. Thus was launched the first Fellowship House with its members learning "from the ground up".

Other Fellowships: While the idea was originally developed among a group of Quakers in Philadelphia, it grew in various other groups elsewhere. In Kansas City it took hold in the local FOR group; in West Chester it was at an NAACP meeting; in Cincinnati the idea was developed by a group in the Woman's City Club. Some communities developed the idea as a result of contact with the Philadelphia Fellowship House; others began independently and learned of the Philadelphia experiment later. All together about 15 communities took up the Fellowship idea in one way or another, and to some extent patterned their programs after the Philadelphia House, drawing from time to time on its experience and resources.

The groups which in 1955 continued to carry on some form of Fellowship program and remain in contact with each other were:

On or near the Eastern seaboard: Brooklyn, N.Y.; Media, Reading, West Chester and Philadelphia, PA.; Baltimore, MD; and Washington, D.C.
In the South: Knoxville, Tenn.
In the Central states: Cincinnati and Columbus Ohio; Kansas City, Mo.

There were a few other groups that had the Fellowship idea in part, but varied in certain respects, and have now either petered out or are felt to be sufficiently different not to affiliate with the other Fellowship Houses. There are undoubtedly many like-minded informal groups throughout the country which either do not know of Fellowship House, or are not sufficiently organized to become an established Fellowship House, or else differ in some respect so that they would not qualify as a Fellowship group in the sense outlined in this paper.

The Fellowship groups listed above formed in 1950 a very loose Federation which consists mainly of 1) some exchange of news bulletins and other materials; 2) an annual meeting of delegates from the Houses for a week's conference at the Philadelphia Fellowship House Farm; 3) a relationship with the Philadelphia Fellowship through which the smaller houses may seek help of various kinds e.g. programming, seeking staff, advice on organization, fund-raising, policy etc. The document adopted at the 1950 conference expressed the relationship of the Houses and the criteria for becoming a member of the Federation as follows:

"Fellowship groups across the country are linked together by a strong bond-belief in the brotherhood of all people and dedication to the task of seeking out and increasing the forces that draw human beings one to another.

We wish this document to strengthen and to publicly declare this bond which in spirit already exists among us. At the same time we respect each other's autonomy, recognizing that this condition harbors one of the most important well-springs for fresh inspiration; so we consider this Federation to be the instrument of its autonomous members. We feel that it is good to

"be joined together, to share experiences and information, to help each other when necessary, and to encourage other Fellowship groups to grow and to become a part of us.

THE FELLOWSHIP YARDSTICK

We agree from common experience that a group having the following characteristics is a Fellowship House, though it may not yet have a house nor use this name as its title:

1. Fellowship works toward the following goals:

   a. The stimulation of personal growth for each member - growth toward identity with all other human beings, and deep concern for the welfare of other human beings.

   b. The development of a better understanding of the various racial, religious and national elements in American life through sharing in experience, in discussion, and in common tasks.

   c. Equal opportunity for all men to learn, work, play, dwell and worship side by side, without discrimination in a free community.

   d. Spirited cooperation with other agencies seeking similar goals.

2. Each group has at least 25 active members from three or more racial, religious or nationality groups. [And is open to members of all groups]

3. Each group offers a regularly scheduled orientation or training course.

4. Each group is engaged in at least one activity that aims toward the achievement of the goals of a Fellowship and that, at the same time, reaches out to other people in the community."

Physical Facilities

Philadelphia operates a 4-story house in town, and a 125-acre farm about 30 miles outside of Philadelphia which serves as a summer training, workcamp, and conference center. Baltimore, Reading, Media, Cincinnati and Kansas City all have houses, though some are too small for all the programs. Brooklyn and Washington D.C. have offices where their business is conducted; West Chester, Knoxville, and Columbus have no facilities of their own at all. These groups without houses must conduct their program in community centers, schools, Y's, churches and private homes. As can easily be imagined they work under considerable handicap having no center of their own.

Organization

Most of the Fellowship Houses are governed by a Board of Directors drawn from the active membership and interested community leaders. In some cases there is also an executive committee and/or advisory board. Philadelphia Fellowship House has a staff of about 12 persons who work with hundreds of volunteers; the other Houses have for the most part only one full or part-time director plus volunteers. West Chester, Knoxville and Columbus have never had any staff. All the Houses are dependent for the bulk of their work on the leadership and participation of volunteers. It is in the very nature of the Fellowship that the structure of the personnel organization should be in concentric and overlapping circles - from the most active members to the less active - rather than in a hierarchy of positions.

Financing and Sponsorship

Fellowships are financed for the most part by membership dues, contributions and gifts of interested persons and groups in the community. This is supplemented by fund-raising events put on by the Fellowship. A few programs are self-supporting in the sense that the participants pay for the few materials needed. There is no support or sponsorship from any other campaigns or agencies locally or nationally. There have been occasional gifts to individual Houses from funds or foundations. The problems of fund-raising present a difficult challenge to the Fellowships since time and energy spent in this direction divert staff and volunteers from carrying forward the programming of the House. However, it is felt that for members to have a certain amount of financial stake and a sharing of the financial responsibility of the House is sound and healthy. The problem arises because there is an overloading of this responsibility on persons with neither the means, nor the contacts or skills necessary to acquire the means, to carry the load. Current attempts to alleviate this severe problem include 1) attempts to make the local campaigns more organized and professionally guided, and 2) hopes of eventually finding foundations, corporations or individuals with vision and interest in promoting this work.

Who Participates in Fellowship House

Membership is open to everyone who believes in the idea and pays his minimum dues. The Fellowship group encourages the participation of as many different types of people as possible: different racial, religious, nationality, and other ethnic groups; people from different socio-economic and occupational groups; different age levels; and any other breakdowns which cut across the community population. Actually, the membership is predominantly made up of Protestants - white and Negro - Jews, a few Catholics, and a sprinkling from other groups. The membership largely comes from the middle socio-economic group, from a variety of occupations, with relatively few from the upper and lower income groups. While in many Fellowships, there tend to be mostly adult programs, some of the Fellowships carry on an extensive program with children, youth and whole families.

Fellowship members include average citizens from all over the greater community together with some community leaders from various fields. The most active members are those who have a deep concern for people - for finding ways to combat prejudice and all its manifestations in the community, for working with all kinds of other people - even those they may disagree with - to further their ideals, believing that this ideal cannot be meaningfully expressed or demonstrated unless one starts with oneself. There are persons who bring with them special skills which help in administration, programming and house maintenance; others pitch in wherever they can at all levels of activity. The persons who have interest and leadership abilities become trained and in turn train others to carry the idea out to large groups of people who have not given much time or thought to these problems before, many of whom have a latent potential interest which has never been cultivated. The largest number of people to whom these community programs are offered are probably in this "middle of the road" or "fence-sitter class. If out and out bigots are reached by the program and any effect made on them, so much the better, but no deliberate attempt is made to reach persons with deeply entrenched prejudices.

Individual Motivations, Concepts and Involvement

Persons who become involved in Fellowship House work appear to have a variety of motivations. The following breakdown is an indication of the three most common extremes of motivation or viewpoint towards what Fellowship House should be:

1. An interest primarily in abolishing community patterns without much concern about attitudes, with the idea that the changing of the patterns themselves would eventually affect attitudes as much as is necessary. This approach seems to be one held by concerned people interested in social or direct action who are willing to make personal sacrifice in terms of time, financial support, bearing through unpleasant experiences, and whatever infringement this makes on their personal lives. Individual growth is not the aim - but the person might well get involved in a substantial carry over into personal life in terms of associations with the interracially-minded ingroup, but would exclude the total approach towards all persons, and specifically, the racially or religiously prejudiced and the apathetic.

2. An approach consisting essentially of professional development toward the goal of changing patterns and attitudes in the community - following through from simple techniques and small group work development to highly skilled and sophisticated techniques of stimulating and appealing to intellects and emotions both of the masses of people and oc community leadership. This approach involves rapid expansion and ample funds. Individual growth of participants is primarily in professional and experiential directions. There is not inherent in this approach much carry over into personal life - where personal involvement develops, it is a by-product.

3. A personal involvement in developing human relationships as a full time living experience and as a job experience or high priority avocation where possible. This approach essential requires people who similar to category (1) are willing to make great personal sacrifice, but who at the same time must be concerned with changing attitudes of others as in category (2), and further - with continual self-growth as well, thus learning to personally approach literally all people at all times in a "fellowship" spirit. The ultimate goal here both for personal development, group development and demonstration to the community involves not a carry over into an outside personal life, but a total living together in the first place - an experiment in community living. The theory here is presumably that realistically the key people attempt to carry this idea through toward its ultimate goal, but the outer circle of friends and participants, while in sympathy with the concept, carry it out to the best of their ability in terms of their personal circumstances and living arrangements.

There appear to be other channels in the community for work of the type described in categories (1) and (2), whereas there is little or no opportunity for the kind of total experimental approach of category (3). However, as one might expect, only a few coming into Fellowship House with a strong orientation and background in one category or another or a personal need in one area or another conceive of the operation and their part in it as totally one or another of these extremes. Rather, Fellowship House seems to offer to the average person with "liberal" or "religious" outlook an opportunity to work in an organization with elements of all three approaches and to participate in programs involving the positive aspects of any of these three directions or all three simultaneously.

When it comes to the question of how people are introduced to and involved in Fellowship House, the following general observations may be made: first, due to staff limitations and hence lack of much publicity or direct recruitment activity, there has tended to be a rather haphazard system of locating volunteer personnel. Most new members are introduced by friends who are already involved, or are in some fashion brought in through a person to person process. A few come through publicity, professional channels, or interest in some aspect of the program such as music, art, children or the like. There are in addition a few who seek out Fellowship House and a few who are sought out by Fellowship House because of their talents, personality or other attributes.

What do Individuals and the Community get out of Fellowship House?

For the individual participants in the Fellowship House program, the Survey findings indicated that there were many kinds of consciously experienced personal rewards, growth and outlets received through their association with Fellowship House. These might be categorized as follows:

1. A psychological maturing - expressed in terms of gaining better understanding and perception, greater awareness, a personal growth or personality enrichment.

2. Social enjoyment, broadening and development. This included rewards of new friendships, contacts, etc. and for some, a learning to feel at ease with different kinds of people.

3. A feeling of courage and reinforcement; feelings of security and acceptance; of not standing alone.

4. Outlet for service to the community - an opportunity to do a job, to do one's duty, to carry out one's convictions in a meaningful direction.

5. Professional growth - experience with people, an opportunity for leadership or testing of professional ideas. And to the non-professional, an aid in various human relations areas in the individual's life - in his job, home, or new skill in dealing with people generally in his every day life.

6. A redirection or reorientation of way of life and of relating self to others, expressed by such phrases as "an invitation to live"; "an answer to why I'm here"; a "sense of oneness"; a "we concept" - a fulfillment of a desire to be more than what one already is - a part of something bigger than oneself.

In regard to the community, Fellowship House also has many meanings. These meanings depend considerably on the local situation - the size of the community, social climate, the success Fellowship House has had, and the existence of other inter-group agencies and opportunities in the community. It was found that in some cities, Fellowship House was the only center where all could meet on a really equal basis in a natural, friendly atmosphere. In other towns, it was the only place where persons who cared about these ideals could become trained and find a way to work toward them in the community together with others on a day to day basis. It was apt to be the only center which could serve as a continuing laboratory in human relations, where new techniques could be developed and tested. It was usually the only place

where people were approaching the problem of human relations by a continuous living demonstration of their beliefs. One could say that in all communities, whatever else Fellowship House represented to the community, it represented a symbol of the idea of a true democracy, a practical, concrete expression, however feebly developed, of the concern of at least one group of people in the community.

Analysis of Problems faced by this type of organization

From what has been outlined so far, one might say that Fellowship House is a sound project to embark on in most communities. While the idea of interracial and interfaith cooperation is highly controversial in southern and borderline states, yet one would expect, and it seems to be the case, that except in the deep south it could be approached without too much opposition within the framework in which Fellowship House has been operating.

From the point of view of research studies, the fundamental premises of the organization seem to be sound - the psychological principles used, the approach to community groups and problem areas, and the types of programming adopted. It would seem that all that was needed to start a Fellowship House would be a handful of people with sufficient interest, time and ability. However, the fact is that it has been exceedingly difficult to organize a Fellowship House, and even more difficult to keep it going once organized. Some of the Fellowships, after years of struggle, have hardly been able to stay on their feet, are little known, have not been able to get adequate funds, facilities or staff, and in fact have hardly amounted to more than a small symbol of good will in the community. Even Philadelphia, though it is successful and doing a big and vital job in the community, is not able to begin to meet the demand for its services, programs and resources.

After completing the Survey and studying the questions raised by it, at least some tentative observations were possible about the nature of the underlying problems besetting the Fellowship Houses. Roughly they seem to be as follows:

1. Leadership and Pioneering Problems

There appear to be a number of factors involved in finding and keeping adequate leadership for Fellowship groups. When a community first gets interested in the Fellowship idea, volunteers have to be available and competent to get the organization started and sufficient funds have to be raised through volunteer efforts to hire staff. Next, a staff person has to be found with a difficult combination of qualifications: 1) obviously there has to be interest and deep concern for the cause of better human relations together with a "Fellowship" approach towards it; 2) there have to be multiple skills and abilities since the lone staff person has to organize and participate in all phases of the work until a volunteer can be found to take over each responsibility-- this includes: administrative ability, public speaking and public relations, program directorship, office and clerical skills, house and grounds maintenance, and fund raising - to name a few; 3) there has to be the kind of personality that will attract people, inspire them and be able to project the Fellowship idea effectively to them; 4) there has to be such a total commitment and involvement that the person will sacrifice most personal life and be available for all these activities; this also often includes financial sacrifice and ability to tide over until the fundraising program is developed.

It can easily be understood from the above that persons of this sort are not readily available. In the smaller Fellowships, the job often proved to be too much for the few who did attempt it. Hence there has been a big turnover of directors in those Fellowships which were able to afford one at all - with the exception of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, besides being the first and oldest, is the only one which has had a continuity of staff direction since the beginning.

As has already been pointed out, the pioneering aspect of this enterprise is one which daunts many a staff prospect. In our society the values of job security, prestige and recognition by certain community figures and institutions are generally more important to job applicatns in the field of human relations, as in other fields, than the nature of the job to be done. The building of an institution from scratch - including its financing - is not the kind of job which appeals to most young job seekers these days. The difficulties are particularly acute in the more southern communities where the project is not only controversial, but is rejected by most community leaders. It is also probably true that certain types of interested persons favor a more militant approach and reject the positive, affirmative approach believing it to be based on fears and insecurities rather than on a philosophical and psychological approach to human relations.

2. Sponsorship and Group Process

As has been pointed out, the Fellowships have no backing from a specific group which has been established and is known locally or nationally. This makes it potentially a more truly representative group - a cross section of the community - with policy growing out of group process and group decision rather than being handed down or strongly influenced by one interest group or a group set up for other purposes. It at the same time slows up the acceptance of the new Fellowship group by community leaders and persons who might aid it financially. Another related problem is that the policy makers are selected more for their concern in human relations than because of their contacts or executive ability. This makes public relations and fundraising a more difficult task. For example, when foundations or community leaders are approached for financial aid, the question invariably raised is "who is on your Board?" And inability to point to known "names" in the community is considered to be a weakness.

There is also a slowing down of the growth of the Fellowship because there is an insistence within the group of developing the Fellowship idea within the group itself in order to sell it to the community. Thus instead of becoming absorbed with various program or action techniques in themselves, or publicity stunts, or other gimmicks which have proved successful elsewhere, there is a struggle - often without adequate leadership - to build a group first, and out of that group to train and send out individuals to develop such and such a program. When a potential leader is found in the community who is interested in the idea but unable or unwilling to spend the time and effort to grow in and with the Fellowship group, there is a conflict situation that is not always easily resolved. A certain amount of criticism is levelled at Fellowship House for this "in-group" approach, but on the other hand, where no attempt is made, or it proves impossible, to train volunteers within the Fellowship group, the idea is seldom adequately expressed when taken by them out to the community. Philadelphia is the only House which has crystallized and successfully developed this concept, and has demonstrated the value of building a qualitative base first before spreading the idea quantitatively.

Future Steps

The Philadelphia Fellowship House has a series of plans and dreams which indicate some of the directions in which the group is moving. Some of these are: 1) the developing of a training center for younger and for older people, offering a concrete way for persons to learn ways to devote their work effort and their lives to Fellowship; 2) an extension of the "Singing City" project to include such experiments as the use of Fellowship music in industry; 3) an extension and development of expression of Fellowship through the other arts; 4) encouragement of family-centered neighborhood Fellowship houses; 5) development of whole Fellowship communities.

In addition to these ideas, there are various possible steps that might be taken to overcome some of the problems outlined above. As has been indicated, these problems are both administrative ones and ones which are partly inevitable because of the nature of the organization and its interaction with contemporary value systems and social mores. While it is easy to suggest methods of alleviating the situation, it is far less easy to follow through with remedial action - the well-known vicious circle of "no funds, no program; no program, no funds!" is a hard one to break through. Neverthless, a few suggestions seem appropriate:

1. It would undoubtedly be helpful if the Fellowship Houses became better known in certain circles throughout the country - especially professional circles, student circles, and wherever there is a possibility of interest and aid either through funds or locating personnel.

2. Concentration on the proposal of further training programs at the Philadelphia Fellowship House and Farm. There is already a training program for internes from this country and abroad, but on a small scale.

3. Although the Fellowships are not ready now to join together in a closer association than already exists, there is the possibility that they will find it to their mutual advantage to do so later on.

4. Financial aid would very clearly alleviate many of the growing pains and serious obstacles to Fellowship growth. Funds for specific programs, such as the ARROW program, or for development of the training opportunities, or for the overall development of the Houses as a whole, would all be possibilities.

5. Research would be a valuable aid to the growth of Fellowship ideas and programs. While it might not be easy or advisable to attempt the kind of controlled experiments used in the class room or industrial plant, new techniques might be devised to study the effects of Fellowship programs and actions.

In any event, whatever possibilities lie in the above suggestions, there will clearly continue to be a slow development of those Houses which have gotten off to a good start. It is a matter of speeding up the process, making it available to other communities, and finding more effective ways of developing the ideas and program which present a challenge.

SUMMARY

There are 11 Fellowship Houses or groups in this country working within the total community to combat prejudice and discrimination in positive ways, and to help build understanding and peaceful attitudes among peoples of the community. The Fellowships work with all racial, religious, ethnic, age and socio-economic groups. They are centers where face-to-face contacts and building of friendships across ethnic barriers are possible, and at the same time they are laboratories where techniques are developed and persons trained to take the Fellowship experience and idea out to groups all over the community.

Philadelphia Fellowship House is the oldest and most highly developed. All of the Fellowships have faced difficult problems in finding leadership with the approach, personality, multiple skills and willingness to commit and involve themselves to the extent necessary to do the job. The fact that this is a pioneering enterprise, not well known, not sponsored by many well known "names" or established institutions, and is governed by persons selected more because of their concern for human relations than because of their contacts or executive ability, has made progress slow. The insistence on a democratic group process, group growth, and a qualitative inner base as a prerequisite to quantitative programming, has also slowed down the development of the organization.

There are possibilities for a faster and more effective development of the Fellowships in existence and for the growth of new Fellowship groups elsewhere if 1) the Fellowship Houses and program become better known in interested circles; 2) the Philadelphia Fellowship House offers and publicizes a more extensive training program for potential staff and volunteer workers; 3) the groups which are now joined in a very loose Federation become more unified and strengthen their joint approach while maintaining their local autonomy as before; 4) substantial financial aid is offered by interested foundations, individuals, or corporations in addition to - not in place of - local fundraising efforts; and 5) the possibilities of research programs are explored.

With any or all of these aids, new strengthening and more effective development of the Fellowship Houses might well result. Meanwhile, the Philadelphia Fellowship House is thinking increasingly in terms of the following developments: 1) training center possibilities, 2) extending its musical program to industry, 3) developing the other arts as media for expressing Fellowship, 4) developing family Fellowship houses, and 5) developing the idea of a Fellowship community. Philadelphia Fellowship House and several of the smaller Houses appear to be continuing in any event to develop slowly their approach and program as established during the past 10 years. They are having an increasing impact on individuals' lives, on their own community patterns, and are gradually spreading the idea to other communities both in this country and abroad.

LISTING OF FELLOWSHIPS AS OF SEPTEMBER 1955

Brooklyn Interfaith Fellowship - 265 Lafayette, Brooklyn 5, N.Y. (MAin 2-5726)
(Fellowship House - 1431 Brown St., Philadelphia, PA. (POplar 5-0233)
(Fellowship House Farm - R.D.3, Pottstown, PA. (Pottstown 9151 - summer)
Fellowship House - 317 South 7th St., Reading, PA. (Reading 3-5268)
Fellowship House - 302 S. Jackson St., Media, PA. (MEdia 6-0956)
West Chester Fellowship - c/o Mr. Joseph Fugett, 120 East Miner St., West Chester
The Baltimore Fellowship - 21 West Preston St., Baltimore, MD. (LE 9-2404) /PA./
The Washington Fellowship - 1105 K St. N.W., Washington 5, D.C. (STerling 3-7798)
Fellowship House of Knoxville - P.O Box 725, Knoxville, Tenn.
Fellowship House - 1716 Highland Ave., Cincinnati,10, Ohio. (CApitol 4261)
Columbus Fellowship Church - P.O. Box 274, Columbus 9, Ohio (DO 9579)
Fellowship House Association of Greater Kansas City - 1462 Independence Ave, Kansas City 6, Missouri (HArrison 3723).

W O R K S H O P

"THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED"
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
THE SUPREME COURT DECISION - BUILDING COMMUNITY UNDERSTANDING
Columbia, S C.

"THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED" - Whenever there is a crisis in the affairs of the South, the church women come together to face the issues and work out a program of action. They have become "The Fellowship of the Concerned," concerned about conditions in the South. Eight times they met to face current issues: Cause and Cure of War Conference; The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames); the following Workshops in different years: Demobilization; Rural Health; Civil Rights; Injustice in the Courts (and it was here the name "The Fellowship of the Concerned" was adopted); in 1953 - the pending Supreme Court decision on school integration; and in 1955, The Supreme Court Decision - Building Community Understanding.

A WORKSHOP

A Work Shop -
is a place of saw and plane
and saw dust and shavings on the floor, -
the leavings from rough things made smooth;
of square and rule,
with which things not true to line are tested
and made straight;
and a workman in overalls, not afraid to soil his hands
As he bends to his task to perfect something beautiful -
and useful out of that which may have been raw
and rough and plain...
But all done in the service of humanity.

In this spirit, we may have our workshop.
It means hard work, not afraid to handle sordid things,
to probe deep with chisel and auger to uncover conditions,
to make rough places be saw dust and shavings;
to use the square and rule to straighten conditions,
that we may make something beautiful out of that
which has been sordid and unlovely ---
But all done in the service of humanity.
---- Dorothy Tilly

GLEANINGS FROM THE WORKSHOP OF "THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED"
SOUTH CAROLINA CHURCH WOMEN
CHURCH OF GOOD SHEPHERD, COLUMBIA, S.C.
MARCH 6, 1956

THE CHALLENGES FACED:

I. The Supreme Court decision on segregated schools — acceptance or evasion. Efforts to evade:
   (a) Constitutional amendments, legislation.
   (b) Citizens' Councils and like organizations.

II. Framework for action.

III. Finding the spiritual strength and power to be
   Firm in conviction, never afraid to speak
   Persuasive in conversation,
   Patient and understanding with those who do not agree . . . .
   "Fervent in spirit serving the Lord."

CHAIRMAN - Mrs. Walter A. Davis, President of United Church Women of South Carolina

Scribe - Mrs. W. F. Greene, Secretary, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

RESOURCE PEOPLE

Mr. J. A. Bacoats, Benedict College, Columbia, S.C.
Mr. James M. Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C.
Mrs. Joseph Bonetti, Rock Hill, S.C.
Mrs. E. U. Robinson, President, Woman's Society of Christian Service, Southeast Jurisdiction, Gallatin, Tenn.
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. Marion A. Wright, President, Southern Regional Council, Linville Falls, N.C.

THE WORKSHOP

Call to Worship by Mrs. Davis
"Not by strength or power, but by my spirit, sayeth the Lord."

Special Music
"The Lord's Prayer"
Mrs. J. M. Ariail, Mrs. R. H. Miller
Mrs. H. B. Bradford, Mrs. C. D. Ruff

Message
Mr. J. M. Dabbs

Let Us Think of Greatness

In this time of need we should consider greatness; the greatness of those heroes of the Faith: Abraham, Moses, Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, David, Samuel, and the prophets. The greatness, most of all, of Peter and of Jesus. Consider the greatness of Jesus after the resurrection: that he returned to the very men who had forsaken and even denied him, and said to them, in effect, "Now, let's get on with the work." There's that after-breakfast conversation with Peter, introduced and continued by Jesus with the question, "Simon, son of John, do you love me?" For a breathless moment, Peter hung suspended over the abyss. His whole heart told him he loved Jesus, and yet if he had said he did, might not Jesus cut him with the second question, "Then why did you deny me?" And what should he say to that? But then the innate greatness of Peter rose to the surface, and surrendering himself nobly to the divine nobility he saw before him, he replied, quite simply, "Yes, Lord, you know that I love you." Thus far greatness had been matched with greatness but Jesus was not yet done. Three times he asked Peter the same question, recalling terribly to Peter's mind his three-fold denial of his Lord. Yet even on the third question Peter did not hesitate; perhaps he insisted a little upon his stand. "Lord, you know everything; you know that I love you." "Well," said Jesus, "Let's get on with the work."

Let us consider also the greatness of the task we face, for therein lies the secret of success. Men rise to great occasions; necessity is the mother of greatness. If we are trivial, it is because we see the world with trivial eyes. Let us see it greatly, and great resources will be revealed to us. Consider the two disciples on that sabbath walk to Emmaus. Saddened by the recent death of Jesus, and the destruction of all their hopes, they were talking together of the events which had transpired, when a stranger joined them and entered the conversation. They did not recognize him as he talked, though he answered for them the questions nearest their hearts, but when they broke bread together — when they acted together — they knew who he was. Robert Bridges says of this episode:

> Christ yet walketh the earth,
> And talketh still as with those two disciples once
> on the road to Emmaus
> Where they walk and are sad...

Jesus himself said that "where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst to bless them." And what is his name? He told us: Love. Where two or three are gathered in love, in the compassionate love which he himself

revealed, there he is and there will his blessing rest.

We too have gathered today, saddened by the evil of the world. With those two disciples we walk the lonely road to Emmaus. Christ walks with us as he walked with them, though our eyes, like theirs, see but poorly. He is waiting for us to recognize him; to know that, despite the cross and the evil of the world, he lives, to be the constant companion of all who love. We are now approaching Easter. He will rise again, we say. But where? In your heart and in mine, nowhere else. He is waiting for his resurrection even more longingly than we. Let us go back to the words of Bridges:

> Christ yet walketh the earth,
> And talketh still as with those two disciples once
> on the road to Emmaus
> Where they walk and are sad;
> Whose vision of him then was his victory over death...

He is walking with us now, bearing with him the resources of the universe. There is no question that God is here, in the common compassion which has brought us together. May our eyes be opened to realize that he is our companion, and that since he is with us, the world is as nothing against us.

SPEAKER - Mr. Marion Wright

The Supreme Court Decision
"The disease which affects us is intolerance"
(See address attached)

Discussion led by Mrs. E.U. Robinson

Question: Now that the "disease" has been diagnosed, what treatment is suggested?

Mrs. Joseph Bonetti, representing Father Maurice V. Shean of Rock Hill, S.C. (upon request), gave story of formation of Council on Human Relations.

"Recognition has been made by the town council of Rock Hill. We now have a Negro who is a member of the recreation committee. A survey or poll on the subject of segregation and integration of schools was mailed to 500 citizens of Rock Hill, which included professional men and women as well as lay people. Out of this number, 400 replies were received. Out of this response, the majority of people believed that they should comply with the Supreme Court's decision. However, the time was not right to take a definite stand. School teachers came out for it, and said it was the thing to do. Professional men and medical doctors did not go along with it. Lay people who worked in mills said they did not accept it. (Believed feared reprisals). Thinking people said that is what we ought to do and we may as well go on and do it. Father Shean said he would like to see the United Church Women petition the Governor of the State to form a bi-racial council of women to study this problem. One member has already presented this idea to a legislator who said it was a very good idea and consideration is being given to other organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce to petition the Governor to set up this commission."

Question: What reasons did the doctors give?

Answer: They did not think it was timely and doubted it would be accepted.

Question: Are mills unionized?

Answer: Yes. However, even if the national organization has taken a stand, the locals are against it.

Mrs. Rebecca Reid: I recommend the book, Two Men and a Bargain, by Lillian Smith.

Question (to Mrs. Bonetti): Please give plans for starting a discussion group or Council on Human Relations.

Mrs. Bonetti: Have materials and helps available. Two or three persons may get together over coffee and talk about problems confronting a nation and state as a whole until brought down to the town level. They may decide to invite a larger group to meet with representatives of the town, Negroes and whites together, to talk about things and finally get approval and recognition of the town council so that it would have prestige. The mayor was then asked to come and talk with the others. Typed an outline of the aims and ideals and how we could get together and settle this or that question in our own community living. After recognition by the town council for the value, 21 members are now appointed by town council to compose this group of representative citizens.

Question: Has a survey been made by the school board?

Mr. Dabbs: No.

Suggestion was then made that such a survey be made of schools within an area: transportation needs, teachers' loads, etc.

Mrs. Robert K. Gordon, Dillon, South Carolina, read from the workbook, God vs Segregation, written by a Negro woman from New Orleans, Louisiana, Mrs. William Collins, by permission reprinted.

REPORT OF BUZZ SESSION

What Can You Do?

Mrs. Robinson presiding
2:00 P.M.

Question: What is the church's responsibility and place?

Answer: Individual members can strengthen the hand of the preacher.

Question: How can we channel what we have here today to local communities?

Answer: Through personal friends. Get them to meet with others, Negro and white people, who would be interested and who would discuss our points of agreement and division with view to understanding one another better and problems that exist between our races. Confidence established (rapport) necessary. Prove a willingness to listen.

Mrs. Kennedy (Bennettsville): How can you make a personal contact first and move into smaller discussion groups later?

Mrs. Abel: Cooperative studies will do it. Methodist contact recommended, in my own community.

Mrs. Robinson suggested it being a minority group, they are in a position that makes them apologetic and maybe they could set up conversation groups within their own race.

Mrs. Kennedy, Secretary of Christian Social Relations, stated she had had no cooperation with whites coming together with them even to talk, and asked if they had a meeting, would anyone there come and be in attendance. There were many people who raised their hands in agreement, that they would come to a meeting with her or elsewhere when needed. It was suggested that everyone had received a great deal from the meeting; however, if they got nothing more from the meeting than an answer to this question, it could be considered a success and unless specifics were dealt with, they may not have come at all.

Mrs. W. E. Solomon: How aggressive as Christian workers should we be in this question?

Mr. J. M. Dabbs: Is segregation connected with spiritual disorder? The Negro has tried peace. What do we get by peace? Just the same as war?

Dr. J. A. Bacoats, President of Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina: This group has gone on record as supporting the Supreme Court's decision and that it was moral and right and something that was going to happen inevitably and as sisters and brothers we should get together and work it out. On a local level there are those who are members that are absolutely quiet and silent and many local leaders may take the position that this is not Christian. This is political. Some seem to feel that religion has no social and local responsibility relative to social and moral affairs. How aggressive should we as Christians be? You can not divorce it altogether from areas of tensions and areas of human relations. If we are going to live together in peace and harmony up yonder beyond the veil of tears, we have to have some preliminary experience of living so on earth even in Columbia and South Carolina. There is only one minister I feel I could discuss this with. Our religion is more evangelistic - saving souls. It doesn't have too much to do with human relations here. Attitudes have much to do with aggressiveness. Sometimes when we see actions, our reactions to their action are about as bad as their action in the first place. We will have to disprove some of the things that have been said about us. You have to have information at your fingertips. Express self will. Avoid anger and violence. If you are right, you don't need to be angry and if you are not, you can't afford to be.

Mrs. Robinson called attention to the book, Race Relations Law Reporter, February, 1956, first issue, Vanderbilt Law School, Nashville, Tennessee, $2.00.

Mrs. Tilly: I get such a thrill out of our meeting together in times of tension, to relieve tensions among people. It is a challenging time to live. Living creatively on the edge of tomorrow as being enacted out. Thrilled at it, and catch the spirit of a time like this! Innerself important - condition self by daily readings, radio, talking, notes, listening, strong thinking, correct interpretation of the Bible, seek God's will.

Mrs. Tilly told of being invited by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, to Daytona Beach, Florida, to a meeting of "Top Women of America" - that is, national presidents of women's organizations of the nation, for the purpose, as Mrs. Bethune put it, "that there might be found words with wings that would unite the women of our country in building understanding and peace in our land and in the world." In telling the story of her life to us, Mrs. Bethune said no matter what happened to her through the years, her prayer had been "Let me love, to keep me from hating." Soon she ordered her steps as she walked life's way to the words, "Let me love. Let me love." "Now I do not have to pray those words anymore. As I walk now, my steps are to the song, 'Thank you, God. Thank you, God." We who listened knew we had found the words that could unite our efforts and bring peace... "Let me love. Let me love." In this spirit we can go home and bring peace and understanding to our troubled communities.

Mr. J. M. Dabbs told a story of his elderly uncle, who, even at an old age, wished to see the progress twenty-five years hence; as times became more challenging, fifty years hence; and with greater advancement one hundred and then five hundred years hence. Then the thought occurred to him -- he might not live that long! "Well, I would just like to live to see the whole thing wound up," said Mr. Dabbs, speaking for himself and for all those present.

The Fellowship of the Concerned

CHURCH WOMEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA
Columbia, S. C.
March 6, 1956
Marion A. Wright

Who among us ten years ago would have believed that in South Carolina in the years 1955 and 1956--

A professor of education at the University of South Carolina would have been fired because he made a temperate criticism of a governor's speech and publicly expressed an honest opinion on educational policy?

A teacher at ~~Dillon~~ Mullins would have been fired because he asked a Sunday school class if they felt that throwing eggs at a Negro girl was Christian conduct?

A Baptist minister at Batesburg would have been fired because he voted his conscientious beliefs on a matter of church policy?

Hundreds of Negroes would have been thrown out of work, had their credit cut off and become displaced persons, threatened and put in mortal terror, because they exercised the American right of petition?

Would you have believed it? Would anyone living under the American flag have believed it?

Yet those things happened, happened before my eyes and yours, happened before the shocked and unbelieving eyes of the nation and all mankind. They happened in a state that calls itself-proudly-democratic and Christian.

As appalling as are the events themselves, they are mere symptoms of a disease which afflicts us, a distemper that devours.

The disease is intolerance. I do not at the moment mean intolerance of people. I mean something far worse--intolerance of ideas, of opinion. I say it is far worse because ideas and opinions are more important than the individuals who entertain them. The individual per-

ishes but ideas are the life blood of society, the thing which gives society vitality and causes it to evolve imperceptibly but surely into adaptations better suited to human needs. In that sense ideas are immortal.

How did we get this way?

I am not historian enough or philosopher enough to give any authoritative answer to that question. I suspect that, if we sought original cause, we would be back in the 16th and 17th centuries (if no farther) and at the side of men with ropes who ranged Africa in search of human prey, in the steaming holds of vessels which brought captives to the young nation, and on thousands of tidewater plantations where the beautiful and the base in our society had their common roots in the soil of slavery. The problem of how the two races shall get along with each other was not of Negro creation.

If you ask the question "How did we get this way, how did we get to the point that terror is being used to prevent men from expressing their honest beliefs?"--if you ask it, you will be told by many in high places that it is because of something that occured on May 17, 1954--that one decision by one court brought us to this pass. It is a very slick and glib answer and suits the purposes of those who give it. But it is far, far from the truth.

We will be told that because a scapegoat is a psychological necessity for those having guilty consciences. It is very convenient to have nine men sitting there in Washington to whom we may point and say "These are the villains. But for them all would be quiet below the Potomac." You see, if we say that often enough and loudly enough we accomplish certain pleasant results.

First of all, we will convince <u>ourselves</u> that <u>we</u> had nothing to do with creating the illegal, immoral and unconstitutional conditions the court had to correct.

We may hope to divert the attention of others away from ourselves, the really guilty, and to the men who have exposed our guilt. No one hollers "Stop, thief!" more loudly than the fleeing pickpocket.

And we may conceal our mental bankruptcy in dealing with integration after the decision by continuing to whine that the decision was wrong. The poorest player is the one who cusses the umpire.

Those who now assail the decision of May 17, 1954, claim to have been shocked and amazed by the court's action, as though there had been nothing in judicial history to forecast the result. If their surprise is genuine, they had been blind to the signs and trends of the times. For to all reasonable men, lawyers and laymen alike, the handwriting had long been on the wall. Their blindness was the blindness of those who will not see.

Take the very case of Plessy vs Ferguson, on which they rely and of which we hear so much. That case was decided in 1896. It was not remotely concerned with schools; it was concerned with transportation by train. What it held-all that it held-was that a passenger on an interstate train could not complain of separate accommodations so long as the accommodations were equal. There was a moving dissenting opinion by Justice Harlan in which he strongly contended that separateness because of race was, in itself, a badge of inequality, a needless humiliation of a passenger, and in violation of the constitutional prohibition against state action discriminating against a citizen because of his race. There was the warning finger, lifted in 1896.

The dissent was significant, not merely because it spoke for enlightened public opinion throughout the country, but because able dissents have a way of becoming ultimately the views of later courts. If I had the time, I think I might cite a hundred cases from the Supreme Court records in which the minority view has later become the majority view. In at least a dozen cases the great dissenter, Justice Holmes, had the

deep satisfaction of seeing his conclusions in dissent later be adopted by his brethren. Truth has a way of triumphing-ultimately-over error.

So, the warning finger. In 1896, mind you.

Now, for the handwriting on the wall.

The state of Missouri sought to discharge its duty to Negro graduate students by setting up scholarship funds under which such students might be educated in other states. A Negro student sought admission to the State University. He was refused upon the ground that education fully comparable was provided by scholarships to institutions located elsewhere. The court struck down the contention, holding that the state could not thus discriminate between white and Negro students. The spokesman for the court was that conspicuous New Deal subversive, Charles Evans Hughes. The word "MENE" appears on the wall. Earl Warren was an inconspicuous citizen at the time.

In an Oklahoma case, a Negro student named McLaurin had legally won admission to the University, but had separate class room, library and cafeteria accommodations. He again went into court to have these restrictions removed. In ordering them removed the court said:

> "These restrictions were obviously imposed in order to comply, as nearly as could be, with the statutory requirements of Oklahoma. But they signify that the State, in administering the facilities it affords for professional and graduate study, sets McLaurin apart from the other students. The result is that Appellant is handicapped in his pursuit of effective graduate instruction. Such restrictions impair and inhibit his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students and, in general, to learn his profession.
>
> "Our society grows increasingly complex, and our need for trained leaders increases correspondingly. Appellant's case represents, perhaps, the epitome of that need, for he is attempt-

ing to obtain an advanced degree in education, to become, by definition, a leader and trainer of others. Those who will come under his guidance and influence must be directly affected by the education he receives. Their own education and development will necessarily suffer to the extent that his training is unequal to that of his classmates. State-imposed restrictions which produce such inequalities cannot be sustained."

"MENE, MENE" appears on the wall.

In the Sweatt case from Texas, it was clearly recognized that a law school for Negro students had been established and that the Texas courts had found that the privileges, advantages and opportunities offered were substantially equivalent to those offered to white students at the University of Texas. Apparently, the Negro school was adequately housed, staffed and offered full and complete legal education, but the Supreme Court clearly recognized that education does not alone consist of fine buildings, class room furniture and appliances but that included in education must be all the intangibles that come into play in preparing one for meeting life. As was so well said by the Court:

....."Few students and no one who has practiced law would choose to study in an academic vacuum, removed from the interplay of ideas and the exchange of views with which the law is concerned."

That decision was the final TEKEL, UPHARSIN. And who do you think wrote it? That Yankee outsider meddling in our affairs, Justice Fred Vinson from Kentucky. Where was Earl Warren at the time? Why, he was the efficient Republican Governor of California.

So, what happened on May 17, 1954, was not a bolt from the blue. Already segregation had been outlawed in graduate schools, colleges and universities, in inter-state travel, in housing, in real estate covenants, in labor employment and in other fields. The decisions had been written by judges of all shades of political belief. The one thing that

they had in common was a conviction that no man should be forced to endure legally inflicted penalties because of the color of his skin.

The politician who professes shock and surprise at the May 17 decision merely admits his inability to read the obvious signs of the times. He thereby writes himself down as a very poor guide for the present or the future.

I think we should keep that fact firmly in mind as we examine some of the schemes they now seek to have us adopt.

First of all, they propose to lease or convey all public school property to individuals or corporations who would conduct private schools. Many hundreds of millions of dollars representing the taxes of South Carolinians would be involved. The opportunity for graft would be limitless. Teachers would be arbitrarily deprived of tenure and left to seek employment from these private schools or elsewhere. To make the stratagem work, the state would have to abolish all supervision of such schools and teachers and completely eliminate all standards and qualifications. There would be not the slightest guarantee of the character or quality of education provided by such schools. I think it entirely safe to say that the diplomas of none of them would be recognized by institutions of higher education anywhere in the land.

Then there is discussion of payment by the state to the parents or guardians of children of amounts to cover tuition in these unsupervised private schools. The state could not compulsorily require attendance of pupils and there would be not the slightest guarantee that the state would receive any kind of value for its tuition money. And the state could not operate buses to convey these children to their schools. We would be back to horse and buggy days with a vengeance.

But South Carolina's peculiar contribution to the art of statecraft lies in ~~dreaming up~~ proposing a triple school system, one for whites, one for Negroes, and one for children of both races. Now, I think if there is

anything upon which we may all agree, it is that the dual system has been far more expensive than an integrated system would be and it has presented great difficulties in administration. The triple school system would be one-third worse. We must bear in mind that all three schools would have to be literally equal in all facilities and instruction, even though one of the schools might be attended by no more than a dozen pupils. Surely, irresponsibility in government must have reached a new low in the triple school suggestion.

Yes, there are enormous difficulties and unrelieved evils in every suggestion which has been made for evasion of the law of the land, if these devices could conceivably be legal. Are they, in fact, legal? It is to the great credit of the University of South Carolina that its law journal in the Fall, 1954, issue printed a scholarly article by Professor Francis B. Nicholson in which all of these schemes were dissected and found to be unconstitutional. The same conclusions have been reached by the Dean of the Law School of George Washington University and a Professor of law at the University of North Carolina. Bear in mind that these articles were not by "outsiders meddling in southern affairs" but were by southerners subjecting the institutions of the South to dispassionate analysis. Their conclusion is that, however sophisticated the scheme may be, the court will reach its decision by considering the motives behind it and the objectives it is designed to attain.

South Carolinians, of all people, should beware of the facile promises so glibly made by our politicians. We are the burnt children who should dread the fire. Just a little excursion into legal history, if you please.

The 14th Amendment to the Constitution forbids a <u>state</u> from abridging any of the rights of its citizens because of their race or color. The state of Texas had on its books certain statutes which authorized

political parties to prescribe rules to determine who might vote in their primaries. Pursuant to such authority, the Democratic party set up rules excluding Negroes from membership in the party. The United States Supreme Court promptly held such action unconstitutional.

The governor of South Carolina then convened a special session of the legislature to repeal all statutes of this state relating to primary elections. Without them, the Democratic par ty, it was argued, would be to no extent a creature, agent, or instrumentality of the state, but on the contrary, would be a mere private club, like the Elks or D.A.R., completely free to prescribe qualifications of its members. That bright bubble lasted just long enough for a case to reach the courts. The light of truth pierced this hastily created smoke screen of legal fiction. Under protection of law Negroes voted in Democratic primaries.

Doesn't the parallel strike this unsophisticated group full in the face? Now, certain of our politicians are saying: "We will repeal all laws relating to public education. We will convey or lease our school property to private citizens. They will run private schools. They will determine who shall be enrolled." If you will merely substitute "school" for "Democratic party," you have the identical legislative procedure formerly and ignobly and ingloriously employed.

Any high school student would be able to tell our legislators that a private school will last no longer than the party lasted as a private club.

So, in any discussion which you may have with friends or groups of people, you have the assurance that the schemes would be costly and destructive if they were legal but that, according to the best legal opinion obtainable, the court will strike them all down. But vastly more important than such considerations, is the naked fact that the schemes are tainted with fraud. It is a serious thing when responsible public officials urge their state to embark upon immoral policy. Let us never

forget the moral issue involved.

But let us get back to the question of how we got this way, sick with a mortal sickness. The patient is the state. Let us examine together the chart of this patient.

We must go back a little bit before May 17, 1954. We must go to the city of Charleston. A federal judge--Waring by name--not from California, not from the malicious and ruthless North, as our politicians would describe it, but a native South Carolinian, struck down the sham andfraudulent primary law, as we have seen. He thereby struck a blow for the rights of the common man, that is, a blow for you and for me.

It matters nothing to his blind critics that his decision was unanimously upheld by the Supreme Court. He was subjected to abuse unparalleled in the judicial history of this state. There was an early symptom of our disease. The symptom was wrapped up in the point of view that, if you can't win by fair means, resort to foul; if truth is against you, try slander.

Then came May 17, 1954, with a decision which surprised no one with an I.Q. above that of a seventh grader. The first reaction was from the higher levels of our political life. There was wider sowing and deeper plowing of the seeds of suspicion of our courts. New Dealers the Supreme Court members were called, as though both parties had not for years advocated full rights for all our people. Recklessly men in high places began to call members of the court radicals bent upon destroying the South. The verbal assaults upon Judge Waring now were transferred to new objects of wrath. The fever was spreading.

It spread not only in the objects at which the assaults were directed. It spread in the level of those who succumbed to the fever. Lesser men, inspired by official example, began to feel that they must act, imitatively, like puppets. They began to form their little councils. High principles they professed. None of this KuKlux stuff.

They would use persuasion and reason upon the misguided Negroes. After all, were they not the best friend a Negro ever had?

That phase of the disease was of short duration. The next, inevitable step was quickly taken. Reason and persuasion were not enough. Some people are a little stubborn in insisting upon their rights, you know. The fever rose a little higher on the chart. Boycott, repression, intimidation, these were the next symptoms. Even now they are daily exhibited. All originally directed at Negroes.

But, beyond the comprehension of members of these councils, certain able white persons did not succumb to this mass lunacy. They had views and principles of their own. They stated them, publicly, boldly, as they would have been stated by Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt. So the distemper moves into its present phase. Such renegade white persons, placing humanity above race, must suffer penalties. They must be punished for their honesty, their Christianity. So, a brave professor at the University, a teacher at ~~Dillon~~ Mullins, a preacher at Batesburg, an editor at Florence--and a host of others--feel the blows inflicted by brutish hands.

The course of the disease is indicated not merely by this chronicle of events. It is indicated also by words which have crept into our speech. Since May 17, 1954, for the first time in our lives we have heard "evasion" and "circumvention" of a court's decree publicly ~~and~~ advocated by responsible officials. Those are not the terms with which to describe honorable conduct. But they imply, at least, lip service to the decree while actually failing to comply.

But that was not enough. Some of them now advocate what they call "interposition", a polite term for violation of law on the grand scale. That from men sworn to uphold the law!

Where does all of this lead? Whither do we tend?

Boycott, intimidation, repression--those are not the end of the

trail. They are sign posts on the path to brutal violence and murder. A governor who advocates "interposition" is also, by that act, an advocate of cross-burning, egg-throwing, bombing--though he may lack the intelligence to perceive it, The "respectable" Citizen's Council, in advocating economic boycott of Negroes, is blood brother to the Klan. Emmet Till was done to death in Mississippi by men who took their cue from governors and senators.

Let us keep certain points clearly in mind.

When I seek to evade a law which I do not like, I weaken the strength of all other laws which I do like. What dragon's teeth are sowed by men who advocate evasion of law!

Depriving a color minority of its rights under law will be the first step toward depriving other minorities of their rights under law, such as Catholics, Jews, labor unions and any other group which does not have its hands on the power of government.

If public officials today may wink at a denial of my rights, tomorrow they may wink at a denial of yours. Winking may become a habit, you know.

The rights and liberties of none of us are safe under a government which deprives any one of us of his rights and liberties. The bell tolls for us, too.

Let me lay a question upon our consciences. I should like to see

it lie there and writhe and burn and gnaw until an answer is forthcoming. What is the duty of a Christian church or a Christian association in these times?

If there is anything of reality in what I have said, we in South Carlina live in a time of moral crisis. Cunning men with perverted minds seek to fasten an immoral regime upon us. They presume to act as our spokesman, our agents. Shall Christianity stand idly by, dumb, mute, while this infamy is being perpetrated?

(omit)

The glorious chapters in the church's history were not those in which it remained quiescent in the presence of vice, perhaps even carried the torch for libertine monarchs, gave ecclesiastical backing to corrupt governments.

omit

The chapters which stir us and lift us up were those in which gaunt, shaggy, consumed and fervent men confronted the evil host about them and risked the rack, the stake and the cross to denounce corruption. John Huss, Martin Luther, Bruno--theirs was the breed.

Not again in our generation will Christians have so rich and rare an opportunity to exert whatever moral authority and power they possess. Crises winnow wheat and chaff. If the churches and associations such as this now act--exhibit in their own membership the actual brotherhood of <u>all</u> mankind, assume the leadership of all forces of enlightenment, move to the attack upon the powers which seek to throttle our spiritual growth--they will perform in the noble tradition of the faith and prove their right to wear the name of Christian.

FILE COPY

GLEANINGS FROM THE WORKSHOP

of the

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Montgomery, Alabama

March 7, 1956

W O R K S H O P

"THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED"

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION - BUILDING COMMUNITY UNDERSTANDING

"THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED" - Whenever there is a crisis in the affairs of the South, the church women have come together to face the issues and work out a program of action. They have become "The Fellowship of the Concerned," concerned about conditions in the South. Eight different times they met to face current issues, as follows: Cause and Cure of War Conference; The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames; the following Workshops in different years: Demobilization; Rural Health; Civil Rights; Injustice in the Courts (and it was here the name "The Fellowship of the Concerned" was adopted); in 1953 - the pending Supreme Court decision on school integration, and in 1955, the concern was the part church women must play in building community understanding.

A WORKSHOP

A Work Shop -
is a place of saw and plane
and saw dust and shavings on the floor, -
the leavings from rough things made smooth;
of square and rule,
with which things not true to line are tested
and made straight;
and a workman in overalls, not afraid to soil his hands
As he bends to his task to perfect something beautiful -
and useful out of that which may have been raw
and rough and plain..
But all done in the service of humanity.

In this spirit, we may have our workshop.
It means hard work, not afraid to handle sordid things,
to probe deep with chisel and auger to uncover conditions,
to make rough places be saw dust and shavings;
to use the square and rule to straighten conditions,
that we may make something beautiful out of that
which has been sordid and unlovely ---
But all done in the service of humanity.

---- Dorothy Tilly

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Church Women of Alabama
Trinity Lutheran Church
Montgomery, Alabama
March 7, 1956

Subject - Breaking Down Barriers

Chairmen - Mrs. Earl Andrews
Mrs. R. T. Adair

Scribe - Mrs. Robert Hughes

Welcome and opening remarks - Mrs. Earl Andrews

The topic for the day was announced as being "Breaking Down Barriers," and a barrier was defined: "Any line or boundary, natural or artificial, which serves to separate or limit."

Worship - The Rev. Robert Graetz, Pastor, Trinity Lutheran Church

Scripture read from the second chapter of Ephesians (RSV) shows that we are not the only ones concerned about barriers. So was St. Paul.

There are, have been, and always will be barriers. There are economic barriers, barriers of language, and barriers of professions or occupations. In Paul's time, the barrier of which he wrote was that between Jew and Gentile, that "dividing wall of hostility."

Our concern is in what we are going to do with barriers of our day, and the answer lies in the things that Christ has done.

1. Christ has created <u>one</u> new man. The sacrifice on the cross brought peace. We need peace in Montgomery, and Christ is the only one who can bring real peace.

2. We have access in one spirit to the Father. Christ spanned the barrier between sinners and their Creator, so that we all approach one Father in the same spirit.

3. We are all fellow-citizens with the saints. We are to be built by Christ into a Holy Temple, and he will use all of us in the building of that structure.

There are barriers always, but through Jesus Christ we can make these barriers meaningless to us.

Prayer --

Introduction of Mrs. M. E. Tilly -- The Chairman introduced Mrs. M. E. Tilly from Atlanta, a very special guest. Mrs. Tilly is a former jurisdictional officer in the W.S.C.S. of the Methodist Church, served on the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and is in charge of work with women in the Southern Regional Council.

Showing of Film -- "The Toymaker."

Mr. Ray Swords of the Montgomery County Mental Health Society showed the movie, "The Toymaker." It portrayed two hand puppets who, thinking they were different because one had red spots on his head and the other had red stripes, fussed and fought themselves into a frenzy. Then they discovered that the same toymaker made and loved them both and that they hurt themselves when they hurt each other. Then peace prevailed.

Barriers from the adult angle -- Rev. R. D. Crockett, Alabama State Teachers College.

In making suggestions for removing barriers, Dr. Crockett stated that most barriers are built on differences. People who think they are similar tend to draw together and to draw away from those whom they think to be different. These are positive suggestions, to be used by a person or a group, to deal with differences:

1. Get as many unbiased facts as possible about the person or group. When each gets the facts, we find that all have some things in common. and it is with these similarities that we must begin.

2. By an act of imagination, place yourself in the other person's stead.

3. Develop the attitude of tolerance toward differences. We will never get rid of differences, for there will always be those cultural, physical, language barriers. Our founding fathers faced with the problem of religious differences arrived at the principle of freedom of religion. The differences are not destroyed but there is unity in the freedom. People are not so different that they cannot cooperate.

Wherever we live there are levels of community thought and action. Christianity calls on us to identify ourselves with the highest level. We are all identified with groups, "we" and "they," and we think that when the group is threatened, the individual is threatened. Where there is a choice to be made, the Christian must choose the better, the higher. The Christian has a call to serve all, to work with all, to love all.

Loving all sometimes creates problems. How can we love our enemies? Love does not mean a "pleasant feeling" for someone; it means respect for human personality. If we are Christian we have to love in that sense of respect, whether the person is WCC, NAACP, or any other. We all have the same history and the same culture. We must love even if we can't like.

Most of us imagine a lot of things that will never happen. We naturally associate with those with whom we agree, and even when laws are changed there will still be differences. We would not <u>want</u> uniformity.

We can work together, share experiences, put ourselves in others' places, appreciate each other. We can be American and Christian. The love of God comes first.

Barriers from the Adult Angle -- Rev. J. R. Boggs, Pastor, Our Holy Redeemer Lutheran Church.

Rev. Boggs began by quoting two passages of scripture, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," and "So faith, hope, and love abide, these three; but the greatest of these is love."

Love is the direct opposite of prejudice. Prejudice is the chief barrier among adults; it keeps people from accepting others. What does prejudice mean? What are its dangers? What are its cures?

Prejudice is emotional bias. There are some personal prejudices that are personal and harmless, such as prejudices toward certain foods or toward clothing, but bias against people of different colors is grave.

Laura Hobson's young son defined prejudice as "thinking someone is a stinker before I know anything about him."

Where do prejudices come from?

1. Experience in life - ideas based on our contacts.

2. News, TV, radio, jokes - stereotypes and preconceived ideas.

We are members of some minority - religious, linguistic, cultural - yet minorities and majorities use others as scapegoats for much of their responsibility. Christians were blamed for burning Nero's Rome; Jews were blamed for the Bubonic plague in Europe.

In the 18th Century an English pamphlet was circulated against a small group of French Hugenots living there. They were called dirty, irresponsible, and blamed for all the ills of the country. One hundred years later the pamphlets were reprinted and distributed with the word "Jew" substituted for French Hugenots Today there are some who are willing to stoop to reprinting the same pamphlet with the word "Negro" there.

Prejudice thrives when morality is disregarded. When restraints imposed by Christianity are gone, "dog eat dog" becomes the controlling principle. We are a generation taught formal religion, but we have overlooked deeper meanings. We have come to care more about the way the church looks than the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the Church stands to be indicted on this point.

Since prejudice blinds and creates disunity, what is the cure? The cure is not in faith alone nor in eliminating poor economic conditions. We must love each other as brothers and sisters in Christ. As Christian people we must take the forefront, not waving banners, but acting as leavening.

Group discussion --

From the floor -- Appreciation was expressed for the concept of love given by Dr. Crockett.

From the floor -- How can we extend our feelings of "we?"

Dr. Crockett: In rearing a child, the mother and father help him to extend his appreciation for others. Contact with members of other groups also helps. All of us can broaden our "we" group, not to the point of becoming one group, but with the idea of "Brothers, go ahead and live."

Dr. Boggs: Just such experiences as these go a long way toward breaking barriers. It is good for Christians to come together.

Dr. Crockett: There are barriers of titles. Many people will call a Negro "Reverend," "Doctor," "Professor," or anything except the simple title of "Mr." On the other hand, many Negroes are sensitive o the pronunication of "Negro." We can say Nero and hero, but why does it seem o difficult for us to say Negro.

From the floor — We all tend to generalize and to magnify little things, so we need to be very wise in choosing who from other groups will speak to our groups. Impressions are formed on little things.

From the floor — In reference to the sensitivity to the pronunication of "Negro," the most liberal student on the University of Alabama campus and the only one who spoke in terms of admitting Miss Lucy to classes immediately consistently said "Nigger." That was the word used by his culture and the word he had been taught. Would we discount his usefulness for the way he pronounces one word?

Mrs. Andrews: We here in Montgomery know how to pronounce Negro, for our Negroes are our heroes.

Mrs. Tilly: During a recent meeting of the Georgia legislature, I was leading a group of women in the study of Dr. Laubach's book, Prayer, The Greatest Force in the World. When we came to the chapter on praying for leaders and officials, they wondered how they could pray for our leaders who were sitting in the legislature passing acts to destroy basic freedoms and to defy the Supreme Court decision. But they prayed first for God's love to flow through them and then found it possible to pray for our leaders.

Mrs. Tilly also spoke in tribute of the bus protest, calling it a "great historical drama" and commending the spirit of it.

Mrs. Andrews: There is a city ordinance against unsegregated meetings, but it does not apply to churches.

From the floor — It seems particularly fitting that women should come together to discuss problems. Women are a minority group too, and through the ages have received the blame for many of the ills of the world. It is good to come together for constructive purposes.

Rev. Boggs: We must pray for people so that they will begin to think internationally. All of this affects other sections of the world. Are we actually Christian America? Two days after the boycott began, it was headlined in Pravda. It is not just a local thing! White people are thinking so narrowly as if the boundaries are just in the State when actually it is a uch larger thing. The ministers of this city need your prayers. Many of us are facing situations of difficulty in leading our people.

Mrs. Andrews: A friend in Germany wrote to ask that I write and explain the things that are happening here in Alabama. How could they be explained? I haven't answered the letter yet.

From the floor — It would have been possible for Methodist women in Alabama to have had a one-day workshop on World Understanding with Indian, Japanese, and American leaders. But since an interracial meeting could not be agreed on, it was decided not to have the workshop. We must pray for people, for God can change them.

From the floor — It has been reported that 60% of the white people have stopped riding buses too. Things may be better than we think.

From the floor — In a city where integration has taken place in the schools, a little white boy and a little Negro boy were inseparable friends. When the mother of the white child questioned him about the color of his Negro friend, he said to her, "I don't know what color Tommy is, Mom, but tomorrow I'll look and see." If we can get young people freed of prejudice, we will have progress, rapid progress.

From the floor — In our situation I am reminded of Roosevelt's famous statement about fear, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." We must stop being afraid of each other and begin helping each other.

From the floor — In Pittsburgh a woman helped to build understanding by hanging in classrooms pictures of Negroes who had helped our country.

Mrs. Andrews: Attention should be given to some current publications: "What the Negro Wants," by Harry V. Richardson in New South, January 1956; an article by the Rev. Thomas Thrasher in the current issue of the Reporter; and an article by William Faulkner in the current issue of Life.

Adjournment for Lunch

* * * *

Afternoon Session

Opening remarks - Reading of a definition of love by Mrs. Andrews

Introduction of afternoon panel speakers - Mrs. Adair

Breaking Down Barriers in Adolescents -

Mrs. William I. Reeves - Tuskegee, Alabama, wife of a Presbyterian minister and worker with young people.

Miss Mary Lee - Montgomery, Alabama, worker with young people at Church of the Ascension.

Breaking Down Barriers in Children -

Mrs. James E. Capell - Montgomery, Alabama, founder of "Dear Neighbor" clubs, nurse, mother of three children.

Miss Myrtle Williamson - Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Professor of Bible, Stillman Institute.

Breaking Down Barriers In Adolescents

Miss Lee: A questionnaire containing such questions as, "What do you think is the cause of racial barriers?", "Do you discuss current racial tensions with friends?", "What are some solutions of racial problems?", "Does the Church have any part to play?" was presented to adolescents in a Sunday School class, to those in a white neighborhood, and to a group of Negro young people. Answers, of course, were varied, but they revealed that youngsters of both races are thinking and talking about racial problems and that many of them are looking to the Church for solutions to these difficulties. There is a great need in the adolescent for a scientific attitude. They want information, the truth, and it is highly important that during this time of searching and insecurity they be equipped at every opportunity for the discovery of truth.

Mrs. Reeves: A questionnaire submitted to white adolescents in Tuskegee yielded only one reply, but it was obviously a carefully prepared one. It contained three questions and these are partial answers:

1. List some racial barriers - prejudice, ignorance, lack of Christian love.

2. What are sources of racial barriers? Taught by parents, learned everyday through associations and experiences, some know and don't want to learn, we Christians have failed some place.

3. What are your suggestions for overcoming barriers?

   a. Search soul and mind and find out why one feels the way he does.
   b. Read Bible and pray that God will give us guidance.
   c. Those who find truth should tell others.
   d. Approach those who would teach prejudiced ideas with Christian teaching about the problem.
   e. The Christian approach.

How are we going to come to grips with these young people? How are we going to help them? These books provide some of the answers:

Alpenfele, Ethel J. Sense and Nonsense about Race. Friendship Press, 1946. Paper, $.25

Havighurst, Robert James. The Developmental Tasks and Education. Longmans, 1952. Paper, $1.25

Powdermaker, Hortense. Probing Our Prejudices. Harper, 1944. Paper, $.75

Smith, Lillian. Now Is The Time. Viking Press, 1955. Paper, $.35
$2.00

Wittenburg, Rudolph. On Call for Youth. Association Press, 1955.
$3.50

Breaking Down Barriers in Children

Mrs. Capell: Scientific studies by psychologists enlighten us about prejudice in the small child. Parents of both races can lessen prejudice in their children by praying, studying, providing a loving and understanding home, and providing wholesome recreation.

Mrs. Williams: Barriers are learned, so children "catch" them from their parents and other older people. If we believe in love, if we believe in one family in Jesus Christ, we must do something about barriers. What can we say to mothers and fathers? We must help our children to see people. We must never be any more aware of the color of a person's skin than we are of the color of his eyes or dress. No mother would dare poison her child, yet some of the attitudes our mothers are teaching their children are deadly. Little children know no barriers; they "catch" our attitudes. Therefore, they can "catch" the spirit of love from us if we will allow them.

From the floor -- Is there some way in which this group could become a permanent organization?

From the floor -- There is need for such an interfaith, interracial group.

Mrs. Andrews: It seems preferable that we have no formal organization.

From the floor -- Perhaps organization is not what we need, but could we have enough machinery to guarantee another meeting?

From the floor -- The loosest organization is the best, for sometimes formal organization strangles a group.

Mrs. Andrews: And an organization must be "for" or "against."

From the floor -- There is need for some group to whom a person can go when difficulties arise, for in Tuscaloosa the officers of the - - - - have been called upon constantly.

From the floor -- Perhaps what we need is a convener, someone to call the group together.

Mrs. Andrews: Person from each place to accept responsibility as "convener" -

Birmingham - Mrs. Tatum
Tuskegee -
Tuscaloosa -
Montgomery - Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Adair

Mrs. Andrews: The time has come now to go home, think through, and decide on next steps.

Introduction of guests by Mrs. Andrews: Mrs. Graetz, Rev, Glenn Smiley of FOR, Rev. Robert Hughes of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Benediction: Rev. Hughes

10

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESOLUTION
FROM CONFERENCE OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
OCTOBER 16-17, 1958

I. We recommend that the Southern Regional Council take steps toward initiating a "Save Our Schools Campaign."

The first step would be to call a conference of the Southern business, educational, civic, professional and religious leaders, of both races, to form a permanent "Save Our Schools" organization.

This group should assume the responsibility to set up local counterparts.

We further recommend that in such a campaign the organization use all forms of mass media such as TV, Radio, Newspapers, Bill Boards, etc.

II. We recommend that the Director of the Fellowship of the Concerned be instructed with the help of such a committee as she desires to appoint, to send from this conference a letter to the President of the United States. In this letter we would wish to express:

a.) Our moral conviction of the injustice of segregation and the justice of integration;

b.) Our urgent desires that the president should use his great influence in a national effort to "Save Our Schools." To this end we would request that he call immediately a National Conference of concerned citizens to work together on the implementation of the Supreme Court Decisions on Public Schools. We would recommend that the concerned citizens include southern business educational, civic,

professional and religious leaders of both races, especially those who are assuming the responsibility for local leadership toward positive action to prevent further incitements to violence.

c.) We further recommend that we as individuals get as many others as possible to follow this up with personal letters to the President of the United States on this subject.

III. That each of us take responsibility for mobilizing individuals and groups with whom she is in contact to insure adequate representation of concerned citizens in all the preparatory groups for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. That in this effort we use the following methods:

1. Write Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. for Booklet on 1960 White House Conference. Booklet is free.
2. Get local representation on city and state committees.

G L E A N I N G S

WORKSHOP
of the
FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Southern Regional Council

Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia
October 16-17, 1958

"Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

"O Righteous God, we confess that too often we are indifferent at the sight of injustice. Forgive us. Grant us the grace to get angry and indignant and take constructive action when we see one of thy family being mistreated." Amen.

Reverend Caxton Doggett

WHO'S WHO

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work, Southern Regional Council

Dr. F. D. Patterson
President, Phelps-Stokes Fund

Mrs. Esther Stamats
Director, Christian Social Relations, United Church Women

Reverend Caxton Doggett
Minister, The Methodist Church, Winter Park, Florida

Mrs. Clifford Bender
Associate Secretary, Woman's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church

Mrs. Lois L. Reeves
Faculty Member, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

Mr. James M. Dabbs
President, Southern Regional Council

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, The Temple, Atlanta

Reverend Lester Rumble, D.D.
District Superintendent Atlanta West District, The Methodist Church

Mr. St. John Barrett
Second Assistant, Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice

Mr. Morris Abram
Attorney, Atlanta

Mrs. David Jones
Vice-President, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina

Mrs. E. U. Robinson
Board of Missions, Methodist Church

Miss Dorothy Height
Associate Director for Training, Leadership Service Department, National YWCA

Mr. Sam Lubin
Director, Atlanta Area Office, American Jewish Committee

ATTENDANCE -- The delegation came from twelve states.

SUMMARY of the questionnaire listing organizations to which you belong and the approximate membership of each:

Women in attendance have more or less close contact with 790,320 people.

Reports of Discussion Groups

Mrs. Margaret Bender, Leader

In the first discussion group the following list of subjects were considered:

1. Where do we go from here on the school situation?

    a. Type of activity we are engaging in communities where there are suits.

    b. Newspapers - editorially and news - what can we do to make a better climate.

    c. What is going to happen to the economically under-privileged child where schools are closed?

        1. What about these teachers?

        2. What about bombing and violence? What can we do?

2. What can be done about our politicians?

3. How does one go about organizing voices of good will to break the silence?

4. What about voting and registration?

5. What can we do about the feeling of our young people on race relations?

The answers to these questions seemed to be that most of all we must not be afraid to state our moral convictions to others. Only by a campaign of speaking one to another can we create a better climate. There was a feeling that each of us had a responsibility to try through the proper channels to influence our newspapers editors to be strong in their convictions and to back the fight for moral right regardless of popularity. It was the consensus of opinion that families can play the largest part for good in creating good climate by starting at home to educate their children in right thinking and to help them be unafraid in their dealings with colored children of their own age and their own background.

As far as voting and registration is concerned there is a movement in all Voters groups to try to bring enough effort from these groups to see to it that the registration laws allow the colored to vote.

A colored participant stated that she felt that many of us as Christians were silent and peace loving and we must speak out because those who do not love peace are being so loud about what they have to say.

The second discussion group was led by Miss Dorothy Height. The discussion was based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and our responsibility on its Tenth Anniversary. Resource material: Community Activities Kit.

1. Our eyes must necessarily be on the world.

2. We need to understand and face fear and be lifted by sense of common problems.

3. We need to meet our common responsibility.

4. We need a good example audit.

5. We need tools for involving others.

6. The forces of good will need to be related to positive good specific issues.

When people live in freedom, they will not vote themselves into a war--except in self-defense or to defend principles which they consider essential to the survival of their free society. And if all peoples lived in freedom they would not need to fight in self-defense, for there would be no aggressive wars. The United Nations proclaims this new connection between peace and freedom.

All this brings the matter of peace and freedom back to each of us. Peace comes from freedom. Freedom spreads if it works. It works if you do your part.

Whenever you practice person-to-person democracy, when you strive to understand people of other religions, races and nationalities, when you fight intolerance, when you stand for equality before the law, when you speak up for freedom whenever it is threatened, you are making an important individual contribution to peace. You are setting an example that is seen a round the world.

Thus the lessons we learn about living together and harmonizing our differences--in our families, our schools, our communities, and our nation--are the same lessons that will help us live with other nations in a world where there is peace based on justice and human freedom.

From - Article One - Universal Declaration of Human Rights

NOTE:

The message of Mr. St. John Barrett of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice is summarized in the attached leaflet, "The Commission on Civil Rights."

Reports Made at The Fellowship of The Concerned
October 16-17, 1958

Two groups of parents, The Charlottesville Education Foundation and Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling were organized to care for the students while waiting some decision from the courts after the Negro pupils applied.

Twelve were named to be admitted, two in the High School and ten at Venable elementary. The governor declared these schools closed.

The elementary teachers had signed up with one or the other of these groups to work in private homes temporarily.

The School Board asked the high school teachers to keep their contracts and they would be paid. These teachers in turn, as a unit, asked the two groups to merge or unite, furnish buildings, and they would care for the teaching.

This was all arranged on a temporary basis as the governor had promised to reopen the schools in some way.

We are now waiting the outcome of the tests of the various emergency laws passed by the legislature.

Mrs. H. H. Walker
Charlottesville, Virginia

. . . . . .

My report to The Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta in October: The school situation in Virginia at this time is not good. Six Junior and Senior High Schools in Norfolk have been closed by the Commonwealth and 10,000 children are scattered here and there. A few are in tutoring groups, some are in neighboring cities and communities, many have been sent "home to Grandma" to go to school, some have gone to Business College, trade schools, to work, while some have decided to get married and give up school.

Teachers are sitting home, tutoring, visiting in other cities, etc., while drawing their salaries and waiting around to hear the results announced. Those that live out of town are afraid to go home and expect to be called to meetings for instructions so they are living in a very "unsettled state" at the present time.

All of this came about after the opening date of school had been three times postponed. Then when the show-down finally had to be faced the School Board decided to go ahead with their plan called "the Pupil Placement" plan where the qualified Negro students were to enter the schools where they had been assigned. There were 17 such children who

had been given very rigid scholastic tests, had been graded on moral and social standing and found to be beyond question "eligible to enter white schools." These six schools to which the 17 had been assigned were closed by order of Goveernr J. Lindsay Almond. Even the facilities, books, and equipment cannot be used.

Parents, teachers, and some interested persons have formed a group called The Norfolk Committee for Public Schools and have been working tirelessly getting signatures to a petition to the Governor to open the schools. This committee hopes to have 5000 names to take to the Governor on next Friday and hope for results. (6000 names were secured) Then the Mothers have organized and planned for a Mother's Rally which was held Monday night. They had over 1000 present where they presented the petitions and plans to call on the Governor. I have talked with a member of the committee who reported a very successful rally. The Norfolk press did not give very good coverage to the Rally. But in the past they have given especially good coverage to and all plans that were directed toward opening public schools. It was reported to be felt that in this instance pressure by a political group had been brought to withhold news of the efforts of the Mothers.

Small tutoring groups have hindered the desire on the part of some to work for opening of schools. Since the children involved in the groups are being cared for those parents are not concerned for others, and demonstrate a complacent attitude. It has been announced that after this one term or semester that no tutoring groups will be allowed, or that public school teachers will be restrained from assisting in this tutoring.

Mrs. Katherine M. Ennis
Norfolk, Virginia
As reported October 17, 1958

. . . . . .

I urge you to use Little Rock as the "horrible example" of what could happen to any community. In Little Rock the four public high schools are closed by proclamation of the Governor; the private school plan for using former public school buildings and faculty was ruled out by the court; teachers in the public high schools report daily to empty classrooms with no knowledge of what will come next; five of the six-member school board broughtup the superintendent's contract and resigned; school children are scattered over the entire United States; three so-called private schools are operating in make-shift quarters; a few children are taking correspondence courses in homes and churches; many children are receiving no instruction; a suit has been filed to stop payment on the bought-up contract of the school superintendent; a Congressman of 16 years standing was recently defeated by a write-in candidate simply because he believed in moderation and had made efforts at mediation in the Little Rock school crisis; a Women's Committee was formed in mid-September in an effort to preserve the public schools and has now grown from the original 60 members

to over 800; the city faces an election on December 6 to choose a school board from a slate of 14, three women and 11 men. The Little Rock school crisis "boils and bubbles onward."

Mrs. Velma Powell
Little Rock, Arkansas

. . . . . .

My purpose is to tell you how the youth feel toward racial differences.

1. Last week for the purpose of promoting United Givers Fund we had a film-strip showing a Negro family receiving aid, and a mental patient. At each of these there was a loud cry of laughter. However, after the assembly, many of the students condemned the laughter of a few and were very embarrassed and ashamed of the outbreak.

2. Before World Communion Sunday, we briefly discussed communion in my English class. The teacher turned to a Jewish girl and said cuttingly, "You do not have communion in your church, do you?" Both the student and the class were embarrassed and hurt at the teacher's statement.

3. At a recent M Y F Program on immigration, most believed it was necessary to limit immigrants but not to eliminate them. One boy, who was quite prejudiced against Italians because of an article featuring an unreliable crime report blurted: "I had rather go to school with some "niggers" than with Italians."

Here you see that there are some prejudiced and some open-minded youth. You have suggested at this meeting "that we start with the youth or that we start with the adults." A youth cannot defy his parents' orders or wishes without the risk of punishment or at least displeasure: for example having certain privileges denied him. If you work solely on adults, you give the younger generation more time to grow in the attitudes they possess, but the youth for the most part cannot defy their parents. Thus the attack must be aimed at both the youth and their parents.

Miss Betty Burt
Jackson, Mississippi

THE GOD OF JUSTICE, TRUTH, AND LOVE

Reverend Caxton Doggett

Our aim during this half-hour is to perform an act of worship rather than listen to an address. The Object of our worship is the infinite God. But the nature of God is too vast to be in its entirety the focus of our narrow, limited minds. What we can do is to meditate on several attributes of God which inspire people who are dedicated to the achievement of improved human relations. And we can pray, in silence, each in his own way, even though our group includes Protestants, Catholics, and Jews.

The God of Justice

We worship the God of justice. These words of the prophet Amos will help to direct our thoughts. "Thus says the Lord, the God of hosts, the Lord... 'Let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an everflowing stream." Try to visualize this spectacular picture of justice thundering down from above like Niagara Falls and flowing across the land with the majesty and power of the Mississippi River.

If we are devoted to God we are devoted to justice. This devotion to justice means at the very least that we pay attention to injustice, that we develop a capacity to feel indignation at the sight of injustice, to feel a deep personal dissatisfaction over the mistreatment of human beings, and to be willing to make a protest, to cry out, to call attention to the victims of wrongdoing.

In central Florida a few years ago a colored man named David McKendrick Reese was arrested and charged with murder. The jury acquitted him. Then public officials just forgot about him. They kept him in jail nineteen months without charging him with any crime. It was the sort of thing that could only happen to an ignorant, underprivileged man. Yet when the facts came out there was no widespread wave of indignation such as there would have been if the man had been a white man from a prominent family.

In Alabama, Jimmy Wilson was condemned to death for the theft of $1.95. The Christian Science Monitor called it "an echo from the Middle Ages." Indignation saved Jimmy Wilson. All over the world people expressed outrage, especially the colored people of Africa and Asia. The governor finally commuted the sentence to life imprisonment, but many of us would feel better about it if more of the indignation had come from our Southern states.

Indignation is not a comfortable emotion but it is a Christlike emotion. It doesn't make us sleep soundly and feel that "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world," but it does make us act as people ought to act who worship a God of justice. Martin Luther King writes in his great book, "Stride Toward Freedom" that on the eve of the Montgomery bus boycott, "Something began to say to me, 'He who accepts evil without protesting against it is really cooperating with it." That, it seems to me, is what it means to worship the God of justice.

Let us now bow our heads in silent prayer that God will inflame us with a passion for justice and a heartfelt indignation at the sight of the mistreatment of human beings. Let us pray.

(Period of silent prayer)

O God, make justice roll down over our society like a mighty waterfall. Help each of us to translate our devotion to Thee into human attitudes and civil laws which bring justice to the weak, the ignorant, and the poor. Amen.

The God of Truth

We worship the God of truth. The author of Psalm 51 sang: "Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward being." Jesus said to Pilate, "For this I was born, and for this I have come into the world, to bear witness to the truth."

To worship the God of truth is to be devoted to truth, to have a passion for truth, to stand in reverence and humility before facts even though they may contradict cherished opinions.

Prejudice is the greatest enemy of truth because it is an emotional attitude which flourishes in detachment from the facts. Thus it has come about that in the current school crisis, truth has been one of the first and greatest casualties.

Recently I was invited to lead a discussion group of young adults in a state conference of my church, The Methodist Church. The group was made up of young married people, from all over Florida, including a number who had been brought up and had gone to school in northern states.

Quickly the group moved into a discussion of school integration and inevitably a segregationist voice was raised to make the so-called ultimate argument. He was opposed to integration because it would bring about large scale intermarriage.

I decided to forget the books and pamphlets I had before me on the table and try to get at such facts as could be established within the personal experience of the group. I asked how many members of the group had gone to integrated schools. Four or five hands went up. Then I asked these how many interracial marriages had occurred among their schoolmates. The answer was "None." Next I asked how many interracial marriages they had even heard about in the communities in which these schools were located. Again their answer was "None." So the fact we faced was that those in our group who had gone to integrated schools had no personal knowledge of a single interracial marriage. The further fact we faced was that our red hot segregationist wasn't the least bit impressed with this fact. He had made up his mind, he was filled with a great fear, and facts had nothing to do with it!

The 1954 Supreme Court decision has been bitterly denounced because, according to its critics, it was based on sociology and psychology. But truth is "a many splendoured thing." There is mathematical truth and biological truth and astronomical truth and psychological truth and sociological truth and it is all God's truth.

The Supreme Court acted upon a truth of psychology, accepted all over the world as a fact by the authorities in that field of knowledge, the fact, namely, that segregation, with the sanction of law, instills a feeling of inferiority which retards the growth and education of a child,

so that no matter how fine the school building, education is inferior if it is segregated. This fact has been denounced and rejected but it has not been disproved.

To worship the God of truth involves a willingness, yes an eagerness, to get at the truth of a matter. "Behold, Thou desirest truth in the inward being...You shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." Let us bow in silent prayer before the God of truth,

(A Period of Silent Prayer)

O God, great source of all truth about man and the world in which he lives, give us wisdom to recognize thy truth and the will and courage to live by it. Make us humble before any truth which challenges the falsehood within us. Amen.

The God of Love

We worship the God of love. "God is love, and he who abides in love abides in God, and God abides in him." (I John 4:16). John said that. He also said: "We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren." (I John 3:14). "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength and with all your mind." (Luke 10:27). Jesus said that.

And now I want to read a beautifully written commentary on such passages of Scripture. I have in mind a portion of a chapter entitled "Central Fire" from the new book, "Southern Heritage" by James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council. (One of the by-products of the struggle over segregation is the appearance of a new type of Southern literature, a literature depicting not the mouldy, decaying South of William Faulkner or the lewd and illiterate South of Erskine Caldwell, but a new South of splendid promise, fresh vitality, and strong leaders. When has the South produced finer books than "Southern Heritage" and "Stride Toward Freedom"?)

We come at last to the central fire burning at the heart of the South, which, fanned into a blaze by the winds of our time, will do more than anything else to destroy segregation. This is the Christian spirit of love.

To this point we had to come. If, as John said and Jesus showed and we believe, God is love, love is both the beginning and the end of our endeavors, the source and the goal of our thinking...

It is the spirit that struggles to express itself in the lives of those who call themselves Christians. It is the flame they cherish and sometimes by God's grace see burst into a blaze. We ask, then, are segregation and racial discrimination fuel for this flame, good works done in the world which encourage and kindle the doubting heart? Or are these actions cold water quenching the inner fire? Whatever justification we may find for them, is it possible to justify them on the altar of this human-divine love, which burns, however flickeringly, within the heart? Are they such first fruits as can be offered to God?

...I think we must answer no. Still, however, some of us may doubt. We see that most of the reasons offered for segregation are, upon careful examination, flimsy; we see that the dangers against which it is supposed to protect us are for the most part unreal; we see that some of our attitudes in the matter are simply habits, and others a cloak for selfishness, and still others the result of the confusion of life, which is sacred, with segregation, which is only one of its perishing forms; we see, finally, that these old habits stand in the way of certain positive forces within us struggling for expression, chief among them the spirit of love which Jesus expressed and commanded--and yet--and yet--we are afraid it can't be done. We think it ought to be; we really don't want to defend it ourselves; but we're afraid it can't be--at least not now.

Perhaps this vague fear exists in the minds of many Christians. If so, we should name it for what it is. For its proper name may shock us into a deeper awareness of ourselves, and in the fantastic world we have created in the South, that would be all to the good.

It is lack of faith. Faithlessness. No more and no less. If we had more faith in God, we should have less fear. If we were filled with faith, we should have none...

As we believe in love--which is to say, as we have love--we do not have fear. As we are afraid, then, we lack love, and lack faith in a God of love. Our fearfulness is the mark of our faithlessness, and simply means that the essential fire of Christianity burns but flickeringly upon the altar of our hearts.

How may that flame be steadied? By placing it alongside the original, the brightest of all its expressions, the life of Jesus. Contemplating that shining example, we shall find his spirit growing within us and the fears that now cling to our hearts like miasma along Southern ditches in summer dispersing before the beams of the rising sun.

--"Southern Heritage," Chapter XVII

There is one aspect of love that I want to underscore in closing. That is love as sympathy and understanding. Perfect understanding between human beings is impossible, but a working understanding, sufficient to make daily association bearable and even pleasant, is possible, though difficult.

I am a minister. Let me draw an illustration from my profession. Look at the vast difference between the working conditions of the white minister and the Negro minister in the South. The Negro minister who champions the cause of integration does so with solid support from his congregation and from community leaders outside his church. His stand on this question draws him into even more intimate fellowship with the men and women with whom he works daily. In fact, he may even become a hero in the eyes of his people. The Negro minister has therefore with good reason been called "the freest man in the South."

The white minister, on the other hand, is shackled and bound. He may go before his congregation with the same message yet with exactly the opposite result. The majority of his congregation will turn against him.

Some of the men and women with whom he must work closely will now regard him with suspicion and hostility. He no longer enjoys their confidence and the fellowship circle is broken.

I am not defending the excessive caution and timidity of white ministers. I am saying that the Negro minister has in his personal experience nothing to compare with the experience of the southern white minister who tries to persuade his congregation that integration of schools is right. So it comes about that many Negro ministers feel their white brothers are cowardly and indifferent, while white ministers in their frustration conclude that their Negro brothers are unfair and unreasonable.

One is reminded of these line by Elizabeth Burrowes:

Between us silence stretches far,
My brother, oh my brother.
How can we hail a distant star
Who cannot speak to each other?

I remember some lines from a Broadway musical I saw several years ago. It was "Lost in the Stars," Maxwell Anderson's musical version of Alan Paton's beautiful but tragic story of South Africa, "Cry the Beloved Country." Stephen Kumalo says to his wife: "Ther's a great gulf between people, Grace, between husband and wife, between parents and child, between neighbor and neighbor. Even when you live in the same house it's deep and wide, except for the love between us. But when there is love, then distance doesn't matter at all--distance or silence or years." Then Stephen sings a hauntingly beautiful song to his wife. The song is called, "Thousands of Miles."

"How many miles
To the heart of a child?
Thousands of miles, thousands of miles.
When he lay on your breast
He looked up and smiled
Across tens of thousands,
Thousands of miles.

Each lives alone
In a world of dark,
Crossing the skies
In a lonely arc,
Save when love leaps out like a leaping spark
Over thousands, thousands of miles."

Today we can paraphrase this song:

How many miles between white and black?
Thousands of miles, thousands of miles.
Each lives alone
In a world of dark,
Crossing the skies in a lonely arc,
Save when love leaps out like a leaping spark,
Ocer Thousands and thousands of miles.

(Reverend Doggett continued)

To worship the God of love is to take into one's soul agape, the divine love, the spark that leaps across thousands and thousands of miles that separate brother from brother. Let us ask God to give us more of that love.

(A Period of Silent Prayer)

O God, we confess that we have not loved thee with All our heart and soul and mind and strength. We have not loved our neighbor as ourselves. Have mercy upon us and forgive us and fill us with good will to overcome the bitterness in the South today. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

FEARFULNESS IS FAITHLESSNESS

James McBride Dabbs
President, Southern Regional Council

You remember how, back in 1940, after months of quiet, the Germans launched westward across Europe. I learned something then. For the moment I was frightened as I thought of the possibilities. Then I said to myself: you call yourself a Christian. This is the time to prove whether you believe what you say. Does God rule in the affairs of men or doesn't He? As a Christian you say He does. If He does, what is there to be afraid of? Whatever happens, what is there to be afraid of? All things will still work together for good to those who love Him.

Strange to say, I didn't worry any more. I had shamed myself into faith. I had reminded myself of what I said I believed, and had asked myself if I was sincere; and I had found peace--as Melville once put it--deep down and far inland there, beneath the tornadoed Atlantics of our being.

Today, in the midst of our painful struggle in the South, we need to ask ourselves the same questions. For the basic fear we have to face is fear itself, in ourselves and in others. It curls through our hearts, like miasma along Southern ditches in summer; it steals across our inner landscape until the bright sun of God's love is darkened. How often have you heard good people say, how often have you yourselves felt: I know it should be done; I know our treatment of the Negro is unjust and we should correct it; I would like to do it--but I'm afraid it can't be done--not right now! Is that any way for a Christian to talk? Doesn't it show a lack of Christian faith? After all, is it we who are going to correct this evil? If we really think that, we ought to be fearful; indeed, we ought to despair. What did Jesus say? Fear not; follow me. Take one step with me today. The future is in my Father's hands; even I don't know it.

The simple question we ought to ask ourselves is this: Do we believe these words of Jesus or not? Do we have faith in God or do we not?

Our presence here indicates that we do. But, as is always the case, we continually need to recall our faith, to remind ourselves of what we live by. Especially is this true in our world, where the rush of events half deafens us; most especially is it true in the South, where some men claim they live by segregation--our way of life, they call it--when, really it is poison they die by!

So, we need to recall our faith. We are the Fellowship of the Concerned. May I suggest what I think our ideal is? May I describe this group as I see it? We are those who care without care. We care without being careful. We care without being full of care.

To walk between care and worry is to walk, I think, that narrow path that leads to salvation. Narrow? It's like a razor's edge, and I dare say no one holds it steadily for long. Hence, the significance of the prayer: "Lord, I believe; held Thou mine unbelief." Even in the moment of affirming our faith in God we falter. Either we do not care

enough; or we care too much, we are burdened with care. Either we are indifferent, selfish, unconcerned with the needs of others; or we are over-concerned, anxious, and care-worn.

How is it possible to be concerned without care? without worry? without anxiety? We have come to Atlanta because of our concern. Because of our concern, we have attached ourselves to this group. Together with this group, we have attached ourselves to the cause of justice in the South, especially interracial justice; the needs of children and youth; the hopes of parents. But now that we have attached ourselves to these ends, how can we still remain so detached that we aren't troubled by the delay, the obstructions, the disagreements, the antagonisms we have to face? How can we pour our hearts into an effort, and yet remain calm and unworried about it?

The Biblical answer, of course, is very simple. Cast your cares upon God. For He careth for you. But there's the rub. Too often, we aren't sure He does. We just lack faith.

It was partly to reassure yourselves that you organized this fellowship. You haven't come here as a number of separate concerned women; you have come, and you are meeting, as the Fellowship of the Concerned; you will return to your homes as the Fellowship of the Concerned. This fellowship is the main source of your faith. To be more exact, I should say that you organized this fellowship because of earlier fellowships you had known: in the family, among friends, in the church. For, as St. John truly says, we cannot have faith in, we cannot love God, unless we love our neighbors. It's the love of God we seek: the human-divine fellowship. "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless until they rest in Thee." But we find this fellowship first on earth and among our fellows.

If such a group as this exists for the deepening of our faith in God, if this fellowship is the earthly sign and symbol of the human-divine fellowship we seek, then in this fellowship we find love and faith, and upon this fellowship we cast much of our care. It is because of this fellowship that we can care without being full of care, that we can be concerned without being anxious. I said we walk a narrow road in the world being between, being indifferent and being worried. If we had to walk it alone, we could never walk it. But we are not alone. Always there are the others, sometimes gathered together like this in happy converse, sometimes separated by the miles but present in spirit, holding our hand, walking with us the narrow road, between indifference on the one side and anxiety on the other, concerned but free from care.

I have a friend--she is also a Friend with a capital letter--a Quaker--who seems to me over-concerned. She is so keenly aware of the woes of life that she is oppressed and saddened by them. I cannot think this is best. It's true, compassion is necessary for healing. The woes of life will not yield to those who have not felt them. But in addition to compassion, there should be confidence, happiness, even joy. The New Testament is a book of joy. I sometimes wonder about the picture we have of Jesus as a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. Doubtless at one level he was. But he was also a good companion, a friendly man, a warm-hearted friend.

The thought of Jesus reminds me that our fellowship also stretches backward through time. It is rooted in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, to which all of us belong; it is also rooted here in the South, where we learned that tradition. We Southerners are apt to forget this, especially in trying times like the present. We live in a region noted for its conservatism, where people don't emphasize ideals. Indeed, I had an uncle whom I once overheard remark to an aunt: "Ideals are a sin, Alice. We should love God." He was a Christian gentleman and I was an idealistic youngster, and I was shocked. I had been attending Y.M.C.A. conferences at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, and had participated in vesper services on the slope below Robert E. Lee Hall. Seated on the grass there, I had seen the sundown fade over the Great Craggies, and had beheld my ideals outlined against that luminous sky. And here was a man whom I loved and respected saying "ideals are a sin."

I think I know now what he meant. He was a true Southern conservative, who loved his land and his neighbors and life in all its actual complexity, the good interwoven with the evil, and he was suspicious of people who got notions in their heads, and idiosyncracies; who took the bit in their teeth, and ran away after this or that or the other, calling it God. Yet he had ideals; a conscience and a code; and he would never have thought of betraying them. They were ideals, however, deeply rooted in the life around him.

Well, so were the ideals I had at Blue Ridge. I've had no occasion to deny them, though I shall admit I find them more difficult of attainment than I thought then. But even then the scene that expressed them for me was symbolically true. For I saw them, as I said, at twilight, resting upon the mountains and rising against the sky, The Psalmist said, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills whence cometh my help." I beleived then, as I believe even more deeply now, that the Lord who made heaven and earth will also help me. The force that upholds the hills upholds me too, me with my dreams and hopes for a better world.

Where did they come from, these dreams and hopes? Where did our ideals for a better South come from? Whence our ideal of justice? From the South, as we came from the South. Body and Soul, we came from the South. When we speak, we are the South speaking. Our dreams are Southern dreams. If you say, No, these are Christian ideals we stand for, that is true, but they are Christian ideals that the South transmitted to us and colored in the transmission.

We should be ashamed to remain silent while people say that segregation is a dream of the South, our way of life. It is, in fact, a towering nightmare, a way of death. Whatever truth it may have had--and all customs have some truth, or they couldn't become customs--whatever truth it may have had is fast seeping away, and it becomes more and more a sham, a falsehood, in the world we live in. Of course, it's a tradition--though a rather young one. Hot biscuits and fried chicken are traditions. Now, that's what I hold to. But, to be serious, so is our desire to be agreeable a Southern tradition; and our sense of justice. Every society has many traditions; some helpful, some indifferent, some harmful. In what does our freedom consist but in choosing from the many traditions, the

many ways of acting that have come down to us those that seem to us most vital and compelling? You may follow the tradition of hot biscuits complacently--if you disregard the bathroom scales. You may support and exemplify the increasingly negative and evil tradition of segregation. OR--you may do what we're trying to do here: lay your hand upon the great heart of the South, feel it throbbing still, and receive from it the life that will carry you forward in confidence and strength.

I'm calling your attention to the fact that the Fellowship of the Concerned exists not only in the present, as represented by this group here today, but existed in the past, and here in the South. If we feel lonely, it's because we don't know the tradition we belong to, don't feel our ideals deeply rooted in the South. Where else could they be rooted? Roots, even of ideals, must penetrate earth and wrap themselves around things. If you were brought up in this land and among these people, it is in this land and among these people that your ideals are rooted.

And here, my friends, is where we of the South have an untold advantage over the idealists of other parts of the nation. Our past has been manifold and varied;filled with the sharpest contrasts; the gayest comedy, the deepest tragedy; splendid success and utter failure. We have the advantages the Prodical Son had over the Elder Brother. I'm not praising sin; I'm merely recognizing the uses of adversity. We had the fleshpots of Egypt in '61 and were eating with the swine in '65. This great fall is a source of regional wealth we haven't yet tapped. I don't mean wealth for fiction and poetry. We have tapped that pretty well. I mean wealth of character, of experience.

We shall not, then, like some liberals, run in wide circles and bay the moon. It may be a little difficult for us to say exactly what we're striving for. But our ideals, though vague, are deep and enduring. The fellowship we feel today is rooted in the past. Consider several of these ideals.

In the first place, as Southerners we desire to be agreeable, we want to get along with people. We approach people--almost anybody--with the feeling that we'll find them friendly if we stop to talk. We expect them to meet us halfway, and usually we aren't disappointed. A significant thing happened in Little Rock last fall. Disturbed by the condition at Central High School, the churches of the city held a day of public prayer. By and large this is what they prayed: "Lord, we've had bad manners; we've been disagreeable to one another; we're ashamed. Forgive us and make us agreeable again."

What were we told, over and over as children, when we had done some unmannerly thing? "Ain't you 'shamed!"

I don't say that this Southern ideal of agreeableness will make the world over, or even the South. It certainly won't do it tomorrow. Also, if that's the only ideal we have, we haven't much to tell the world, or even ourselves. But we are certainly opposed to disagreeableness.

The problem is this: How to be the friendly person Jesus apparently was, and yet speak the sharp words and do the clear deeds he did.

If we go back to Little Rock, we can pick up the second Southern ideal, honored, it is true, somewhat more in the breach than in the observance: the ideal of justice. This belongs clearly to the Judaeo-Christian tradition. It is significant that Little Rock--again speaking generally--neither begged forgiveness for past injustice nor pled for future justice. Apparently it didn't think of it. How, then, can I maintain that our ideal of justice is rooted in the South?

I shall suggest that, though deeply rooted here, it has never flowered here, but that the climate today is rapidly changing and that soon it may. It is we who will help bring it to bloom. I speak then to the roots of justice in our hearts in the belief that this is the season for cultivating them.

As I suggested, the South is considerably like the Prodical Son. One reason that young man was saved was that he chose such an outrageous way of going to the devil. The Elder Brother really went just as far from home. Indeed, he went farther: you remember he was still absent, he just wasn't there when the younger brother returned. But he never knew that he was absent, that he'd ever left home at all. You see, he was a successful beef farmer, a member of Rotary, and probably an elder in the First Presbyterian Church. But he wasn't, to his own heart's knowledge, his father's son. His younger brother, however, observing at close range the snouts of the swine, recalled by contrast his Father's face and his own true inheritance: he came to himself and headed home.

The South, like the Prodical Son, chose to get rich quick by the outrageous method of frankly owning and exploiting Negroes, first under slavery, later, less successfully but still directly, under segregation. Because the method was so outrageous, the South generally speaking hasn't since the Revolution been assured of the basic justice of its social order; indeed, it has had the rankling sense that this order was based upon injustice: and this sense has deepened with the growth of the humanitarian and democratic spirit in the Western World. Though continuing to act unjustly, the South has always been troubled by the fact; indeed, it has tried to quiet its troubled heart by the agreeableness we spoke of just now.

There are many admissions in the history of the South of this continuing injustice. I shall quote only a few sentences from our own Southern historian, Bell Irvin Wiley, of Emory University. Mr. Wiley is speaking of slavery, but the same general comments can be made about segregation; in a sense, segregation is an even less moral and responsible system than slavery was. Says Mr. Wiley: "It is a well-known fact that slavery was widely regarded as an evil among Southerners of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.... In November, 1861, Mary Boykin Chesnut, at the conclusion of a long apology that plainly revealed a troubled conscience, wrote in her diary: "We are human beings of the nineteenth century, and slavery has to go of course...I hate slavery... When the tide of war turned against the South the guilt complex became more oppressive and some devoted Southerners who were honest with themselves confessed the conviction that God was punishing the South for its sin of slavery." Similar remarks have been made about segregation. A

conservative business man said to me a half-dozen years ago: "Of course, we're unjust to the Negroes; but what else can we do?"

So by plain injustice, the root of justice has always been kept alive in the Southern heart. But what reason is there to believe that now the spring is coming and the root will put forth leaves and flowers?

The reason is that there are powerful, growing forces within and without the South demanding justice. Justice is a two-way street; men come and go upon it; there is give and take. We do justice both because the love within us desires it and because forces outside us demand it. Today, the Negroes themselves demand it; and they have increasing economic and political power to back up their demands. The colored world, composed of more than fifteen hundred million people, demands it; and as citizens of the United States, desiring survival, we are not deaf to those demands. Therefore, when our deep heart urges us to move forward toward interracial justice, it is the buried heart of the South that urges us; it is also the wide world that urges us, the demands of colored people everywhere, the plea of our country for survival amid the bitter winds of today. In brief, God is working, both within us and beyond us, to bring justice to the Negroes of the South.

There is at least one other ideal we have that is deeply rooted in the South. This is our interest in people, our feeling that life is personal, our desire to establish personal relationships. This is also the basic Christian ideal; and this is one of the main things the South has been driving at, though very poorly and in a sadly limited way. The matter is too complex to be discussed here; I can do little more than mention it. It is commonly admitted that the South has always been a highly personal society; even our institutions are personalized; even there we tend to deal with one another as men, not as bureaucrats or "organization men." Many of these relationships are highly arbitrary; many of them highly unsatisfactory. But they tend to be personal. The one great exception is the white-and-Negro relationship; and even this is by no means a complete exception. Between the races we whites have drawn the curtain of segregation--we might call it the Cotton Curtain, since it came mainly from cotton. By interposing this curtain, we have tried to make the Negro impersonal--not a man just a Negro. By God's grace, we haven't entirely succeeded in this evil, this selfish attempt. Some personal relationships still manage to be maintained through the curtain, and in spite of it. But the main point is this: the curtain separates us not only from the Negro, but also from our own deepest nature: it goes against our grain. Deep down, whites and Negroes want to treat one another as they treat the members of their own race--like people. Therefore, when expressing your Christian ideal of the value of the person, you draw aside the clinging curtain of segregation, you are also expressing a basic Southern ideal.

I may have wandered widely in the last half-hour, but I hope I haven't been baying at the moon. What I have said is really very simple. If we will examine our hearts, especially as we know ourselves in this Fellowship of the Concerned, we shall find the faith to forget our cares and overcome our fears. For we shall find that no one of us is alone,

that we are all rooted in this fellowship, in the rich and human history of the South, and, finally, in God, in whom we say we trust. If we don't trust Him, we might as well go home. If we do, we can leave the care to Him, and run with joy the race that is set before us.

. . . . . .

Statement by Rabbi Rothschild
Reported by
Mrs. John S. Correll

Rabbi Rothschild appeared on the afternoon of Thursday, October 16th. These are his words. The results of the bombing turned out to be:

1. The bomb released inhibitions of people of Atlanta and the South. The newspapers in Atlanta have been given a new freedom of speech.

2. The magnificent response from the entire community has been overwhelming. The spontaneous welling up of feeling in the community against this violence is proof to him of the acceptance of all religion in our community, and that most people are decent.

3. He had been asked if his outspoken attitude on community problems could have any connection with the bombing and he said no, this did not have a connection.

4. He felt the bombing had no connection with integration. It is and seems to be a result of "A band of bigots whose direction is Anti-Semitic. He said he had received a letter in which he was accused of: "being worse than the Negro." He felt this is an outcome of a group who advocate violence and he stated that we must do something about this act because "if you counsel violence you no longer can control its direction." Nashville and Atlanta have been the only two cities where violence has been committed that there has been such a terrific indignation expressed when the violence was against a Jewish temple.

Note: January 6, 1959 - We have just called Rabbi Rothschild's secretary:

Question: Has there been sustained interest in the city in the bombing of the Temple?

Yes, it has never lagged. The interest was especially sustained around Christmas time. It is amazing how many letters were received around Christmas. The bombing drew the city closer together. I was greatly amazed by the interest of the whole community and whole country.

Seekers of the Way
Mrs. Lois Reeves

1. Temper my Spirit O Lord

2. O the Triumph Song --

   Decision for Christ
   I cannot sing it long enough
   I cannot sing it loud enough
   Yes I must share it with the throngs --

3. Where Cross the Crowded Way of Life
   Where sounds the cry of race and clan
   Above the noise of selfish strife
   We hear thy voice O Son of Man.

4. Now I see the crowded way--
   Haunts and huts
   Dives and Shanties
   Mansions and Missions
   Estates of Plenty-Hovels of poverty
   "There's where His feet rest among the poorest, the
      lowliest and the lost.
   Pride could never approach to where He walketh
   In the clothes of the humble My heart will ever seek the way
   To where He keepeth company, With the companionless among the poorest
   The lowliest and the lost.

5. WHAT SHALL I DO WITH MY LIFE?

6. Once to every man and Nation comes the moment to decide!
   In the strife with truth and falsehood!
   For the good or evil side!
   Some great cause God's New Messiah!
   Offering each the bloom or blight!
   And the choice goes by forever!
   'Twixt that darness and that light.

7. I shall take my soul and stand by Him -
   And walk and talk forever with My Lord -
   For as long as there is one imprisoned body, one imprisoned mind,
      one imprisoned spirit, one black woman on her knees -
   Hands and heart upreaching or one white woman secretly at prayer -
   Tucked in her closet pleading for the cause of Christ and His love
      for all mankind or one black baby standing in ignorance and
   Poverty in some be-blighted cotton fields still slaving for a crumb
      or crust of bread, or one white child in gulped in much and plenty
   But so denied the right to learn the truth or one big blustering
      demogogue hurling fear into the hearts and minds of hollow men,
   Throwing bombs on Synogogues and churches; and on who next? My God
   We do not know but this one thing I know I cannot be free! --
   Only as I walk and work with Thee my Lord among the poorest The
   Lowliest and the lost
   Who ever they are or where ever they may be.

8. Join in the Triumph Song and Let the Master hear your voice reply --

9. Where cross the crowded way of Life where sounds the cry of race and clan
Above the noise of selfish strife - we hear thy voice O Son of Man.

10. Yours may be a feeble voice, and yours a strong, and yours a determined one,
And yours a searching one and yours a doubtful one, and yours just loud
Enough to wing the breeze, But this one thing I bid you do --
Let the Master know - I hear your voice O Son of Man.
And others who hear you will answer by and by.

11. And a way and a highway shall be there
And nothing unclean shall pass over it.

12. To every man there openeth - a way - ways and The Way -
The high souls choose the High Way
The low souls choose the low
And inbetween on the misty flat - The rest drift two and fro
But to every man there openeth
A high way and a low
And each Man must decide upon
Which way his soul shall go.

13. I am the way the truth and the life and no Man cometh unto His Father
but by me.

14. We are the Women of the Way and may we come together with divine
affection and appreciation for the Women of the early Church and
The women of the past two centuries for it is upon the foundation of
their love and faith in Christ Jesus that we continue the building
of the Kingdom of God and for this purpose we have come together
today in one accord seeking the will of God for our lives
"for such a time as this."

We hold dearly our hopes for the future and our unconquerable faith in
God and our children for we are inescapably bound to what ever the
future holds for them.

15. Who will seek and find Him and follow Him because of My love and My
life for Him?

16. O God may it be Thy Holy Will that we remain in the Prophetic Procession
of the Seekers of the way and may the Concern of this fellowship
And the abiding love of Christ Jesus link us tightly to the women of
the past, the women of this day and the women of tomorrow who know
the peace and joy of His love, seek to share it with all mankind.

17. Come quickly Lord, send Thy holy spirit and bless us forever.

18. For we are the seekers of the way And may our hearts reach out for
yours each day
For we are now the keepers of the flame and if the darkness comes we
too shall be to blame.
O Heavenly Father -- Let us never, no never forget -- We are the Seekers
of the Way. -- Amen

'What Will It Profit Us...?'
by
Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution, February 24, 1959

"If each of us can be helped
by science to live a hundred
years,
What will it profit us if our
hates and fears,
Our loneliness and our remorse
Will not permit us to enjoy
them.
What use is an extra year or
two
To the man who 'kills' what
time he has?"
--David Neiswanger, president
The Menninger Foundation.

Last year, while medical science was announcing progress in the fields of medical and scientific research which will extend the life span, some 16,000 persons destroyed their lives. More than a million others moved into the chronic stupor of alcoholic or drug addiction. They thereby learned, however, that their frustrations were not "drowned" but could swim in sherry, beer or booze.

The writer of the nation's largest syndicated advice column, noted for the sincerity of her efforts to advise, said in a recent conversation that one of every six alcoholics is a woman and most of them are solitary home drinkers. "They seem to think," she said, "that if the drink doesn't come out of a shot glass it isn't really drinking."

One would not expect to encounter the psychological effect of legends and traditions in such drinking. But most of the feminine, solitary sherry drinkers come from the South. Psychologists think probably it is because one of the old plantation traditions was that of the decanter of sherry.

Whatever the reason, many of the feminine alcoholics are sherry drinkers. They belt away as much as a fifth or a quart a day, retiring to their bedroom with a "sick headache" or a "gall bladder attack" in the late afternoon before the children come home. Save that they are protected and not likely to be arrested, they are close kin to the "wino" bum who drinks his in an alley and is picked up for being drunk on the street.

These mentally sick women rarely turn to Alcoholics Anonymous because they live with the fantasy that they really don't drink. They drift on to disgrace themselves and bring sorrow to all about them.

At least 10 million Americans are in some degree incapacitated by some kind of emotional disorder.

Juvenile delinquency, which is itself a mental disturbance reflecting some aspect of home life, including often that of the drunken father or mother, was up 17 per cent.

Science is making life longer. It can make life better. The sick and suffering mind can be cured.

It first must be understood that mental illness is a greater destroyer than any one of the great killer and crippling ailments such as cancer, polio and heart trouble.

Mental health associations in the various states must have the understanding help of the citizens who first must understand that the "warehouses" filled with mentally sick should be replaced by multiple hospitals served by adequate staffs of trained psychiatrists.

As it is important to detect cancer in its early stages, so it is with mental illness.

It is a revealing commentary on our time and the state of the nation's mental health that literally millions of disturbed persons have no place to turn for advice save to writers of newspaper columns on that subject.

A Phi Beta Kappa key cannot unlock the answer to many problems any more than an inarticulate person who cannot frame the words to ask.

There is much evidence of a vast immaturity in our national life. We have perhaps taken too many images from the movie screens and the picture tube of what some call the idiot box.

But whatever the explanation, this problem of mental health is the greatest one before us.

"DRIVER HAD BEEN DRINKING"
These four words account for more of our tragic
automobile accidents than all other causes combined

Condensed from Traffic Safety Paul W. Kearney

Reader's Digest-October 1959

Last November a Detroit driver wiped out seven lives. Befuddled by liquor, he was driving the wrong way on a four-lane divided superhighway in Ohio when he plowed head-on at high speed into another car.

This killing was not unusual. Though the public is unaware of it, the "had-been-drinking" driver is involved in more than half of all our traffic deaths today!

Such statistics do not make a personal impact on most of us because we think they involve "drunken drivers"--and "we don't get drunk." But studies show that the greatest highway menace is not the reeling, babbling drunk, as most of us believe, but the typical social drinker of acceptable status who rarely, if ever, gets crocked. His name is legion and for this reason the police symbol HBD--Had Been Drinking--has a deadly pertinence.

"It can be stated unequivocally that alcohol is the single largest factor in our motorcar-accident situation," Dr. Horace E. Campbell, chairman of the Colorado State Medical Society's automotive-safety committee, told the conference of the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators last year. "It is equal to all other causes conbined."

Grim confirmation comes from autopsies promptly performed on drivers killed in accidents. In Montana, 55 percent had sufficient alcohol in their blood to impair the driving of the average individual; in Nassau County, N. Y., 50 percent; in Grand Rapids, Mich., 60 percent; in Baltimore, 52 percent.

Of 69 drivers who were killed in New York City in 1957, medical analysis showed that 38 had been drinking.

One of the most convincing studies was made in Westchester County, N. Y. Doctors autopsied 83 victims of single-vehicle accidents--those involving neither other vehicles nor pedestrians. They reported to the American Medical Association that 58 had been drinking enough to impair their abilities. A similar test by the Delaware state police showed that 80 percent had been drinking.

The use of chemical tests of the breath or body fluids in diagnosing inebriation is now accepted by the American Medical Association, the American Bar Association, the National Safety Council, and the supreme courts in 41 states. Legally, any driver with .15 percent or more alcohol in his blood is considered intoxicated. Any driver with .05 to .15 percent is not considered intoxicated unless there is corroborating evidence.

When the American Medical Association endorsed these standards in 1944, it observed that "these limits are purposely made liberal so that no injustice will be done to the person with unusual tolerance." A

mounting volume of research and experience proves that the limits are much too liberal, that driving skill begins to deteriorate measurably after more than one drink, or at about one fifth of the blood alcohol level our courts consider intoxicating. Said seven world medical authorities on the subject at the Symposium on Alcohol and Road Traffic at the University of Indiana in 1958: "It is the opinion of this committee that a blood alcohol concentration of .05 percent will definitely impair the driving ability of some individuals. . .and at a concentration of .10 percent all individuals are definitely impaired."

Not only do individuals differ in tolerance to liquor; the same person varies form time to time. But generally Mr. A can handle more than Mr. B because his system oxidizes (burns up) the alcohol faster; hence he can drink more with less effect on his brain. The 150-pound adult can oxidize about two-thirds of an ounce of whiskey per hour. Thus one ounce of whiskey (or one bottle of beer) per hour is considered safe drinking for most people who are going to drive home later. Such an intake would hardly register in a chemical test an hour after the drink.

The typical drinker will approach a blood alcohol level of .05 percent on two ounces of whiskey or two bottles of beer, retaining this concentration for at least an hour. (Some experts insist that this is a definite zone of impairment.) If he takes a minimum of four more ounces of whiskey or bottles of beer over the duration of the usual social gathering of two or three hours, he will probably reach the .15 percent level of legal intoxication. Even if he now stops drinking, his driving may be impaired for another six to ten hours, because the average adult's blood alcohol level decreases by only .015 percent per hour after the final drink.

Widespread tests show what happens to drivers at even the low blood alcohol level of .05 percent. They have difficulty in deciding what to do in emergencies requiring judgment. Though their manual reaction time may be fairly good, they take much too long to decide what to do. And they show a "so what" attitude.

Most of this has been known in scientific and law-enforcement circles for a long time. But trying to do something about it has been about the most frustrating and discouraging of all police work. Convicting even the obviously intoxicated is a long and difficult process. Since a conviction is serious, and since the bulk of the offenders are socially acceptable, they spend heavily to get out of the jam. Tolerant juries are disposed to "give the guy a break" unless he is pretty unsavory. They are all too willing to believe the defense testimony that the suspicious odor of alcohol was only a medication applied by a dentist; that the accused was staggering because he had bumped his head in the collision; or that he was a diabetic who had taken too much insulin.

Early this year the son of a famous man was charged with drunken driving after police found him slumped on the wheel of his car beside the road. A chemical test showed a blood alcohol content of over .20 percent. But the defendant said a business associate had driven his car

there and left him; being very tired, he had moved over into the driver's seat and fallen asleep. The jury acquitted him.

The police long ago quit banging their heads against a stone wall and began booking all but the obvious drunks on such charges as "reckless driving," "excessive speed," "driving on the wrong side of the road," or some other relatively palatable offense. In the words of the Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, "public apathy and the frequent lack of support from courts tempt traffic police to make arrests only when a conviction is assured. In many sections of the country this assurance does not exist."

What can be done? The advent of chemical testing brought the first encouragement: the city of Detroit more than doubled its convictions the first year. In some cities, such as Milwaukee, Wis., Fresno, Calif., and Tucson, Ariz., authorities have fortified chemical tests with color movies which show the appearance and behavior of the accused at the time of his arrest. Tucson obtained 36 convictions in its first two months with this method, without a single not-guilty plea. After the defendant and his attorney see the film, they don't care to have it shown in court.

New York State enacted an "implied consent" law in 1953. This automatically revokes the license of any motorist who refuses to submit to a chemical test when arrested on a drunken-driving charge. As a direct result, New York City's HBD arrests skyrocketed from an average of 200 a year to about 2,000, while state police arrests on this charge more than doubled. Eight other states have adopted similar laws.

The problem is tricky, but some countries have faced it forthrightly. Canada defines the offense as "driving while impaired" as well as while "intoxicated"; in Norway the law flatly states that it is illegal to drive with a blood alcohol level above .05 percent--one third of our legal limit for intoxication. The law is made to stick by periodic spot checks around the larger cities, in which <u>every</u> driver is stopped and tested. Police may also test drivers who have visited cafés or social gatherings where it is likely that liquor has been consumed. Even if there has been no accident, any driver found with a blood alcohol level of .05 percent or more may be sentenced to a minimum of 27 days in jail.

After 20 years' rigid enforcement of such laws, no one feels apologetic about saying, "No, thanks, I'm driving." Making such sensible control fashionable here would save many lives. It offers far greater hope than intensified enforcement, or severe punishment after the tragedy.

In Finland, authorities crack down hard on drunken drivers. Conviction almost always brings a term in prison or a labor camp--40 to 90 days for the first offense if no one is injured, up to three or four years in more serious cases, or even eight years if the driver seriously injured or killed someone. Drunken drivers serving out their sentences of hard labor helped build the beautiful airport at Helsinki.

One simple key to accident prevention for the social drinker is the one-ounce-per-hour formula. (It goes without saying that any motorist should be a teetotaler while on the road; and the toll turnpikes deserve

credit for having banned the sale of beer and liquor in their restaurants.)

Dr. Horace E. Campbell, previously quoted in this article, has made an important and constructive suggestion: "The liquor industry itself can do more to foster and develop civilized drinking in this country than any other institution--more than churches, schools and the National Safety Council. The industry is one of the largest and richest. It devotes sizable sums to suggest the prestige and glamour of drinking its products. Let it lay the facts of alcohol and motorcar operation directly on the line, in full-page ads and on the billboards of the country. Noblesse oblige."

But, most of all, the solution lies with the individual--the decent, respectable individual who means no harm to anyone when he starts home after a few friendly drinks. Let him remember the architect who was on his way home one night from a cocktail party. Up ahead in the road was a group of 20 high-school kids having fun on a hay ride. He smashed blindly into the rear of the hay wagon, scattering youngsters all over the road. Eleven were seriously injured. One girl lost a leg. The architect did what he could. He paid $50,000 in cash into a trust fund for the injured youngsters. He deeded over his farm. (He also went to jail for six months.) It was a high price to pay for a few social drinks. But none of it wiped out the pain of those 11 kids, or restored that pretty young leg.

ROOTS OF FREEDOM

GLEANINGS OF

WORK SHOP

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

WE SEEK:

A conviction that will not let us rest.
A faith that will not shrink,
A courage that will not waver.

WE WOULD BE:

Firm in conviction, never afraid to speak the truth.
Persuasive in conversation,
Patient and understanding with those who do not agree--
"Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord"

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

NOVEMBER 5, 6, 1959

GLEANINGS FROM THE WORKSHOP OF "THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED"

ROOTS OF FREEDOM

Southern Regional Council
Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia
November 5-6, 1959

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work
Reporter - Mrs. Reed Polychrone, Atlanta, Georgia

OPENING WORSHIP - Mrs. E. U. Robinson - Board of Mission, The Methodist Church

SPEAKERS

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director, Southern Regional Council
Dr. Lynette Saine, Coordinator of Reading Center, Atlanta University
Rabbi Harry H. Epstein, Ahavath Achim Congregation
Dr. R. L. Hunt, National Council of Churches, New York, N. Y.
Dr. Jerry Walker, Pastor of Saint James Methodist Church, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Lewis H. Deer, Director, Social Education and Intercultural Relations, Disciples of Christ, Indianapolis, Ind.
Miss Eleanor French, Director, Christian Social Relations, United Church Women, New York, N. Y.
The Most Reverend Francis E. Hyland, Catholic Bishop Diocese of Atlanta, Atlanta, Ga.

OBSERVER - Dr. F. D. Patterson, President, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York, N.Y.

DISCUSSION LEADER - Mrs. Clifford Bender, Official Observer of the United Nations

WORKSHOP LEADERS

Reverend David Allen, Missionary Assigned to the Belgian Congo
Mr. J. M. Dabbs, President, The Southern Regional Council
Mrs. L. L. Jackson, President, Women's Society Christian Service, North Alabama
Mr. Arthur Levin, Director, Anti-Defamation League, Atlanta
Mrs. Mable C. Morley, Director, Leadership Education Department of the Presbyterian Church, Atlanta

WORKSHOP REPORTERS

Mrs. Mercedes G. Davis, New Orleans, Louisiana
Mrs. J. C. Harris, Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Lillian Levin, New Orleans, Louisiana
Mrs. Eleanor Martin
Miss Azie Taylor, Austin, Texas
Mrs. C. O. Williams, West Point, Georgia

CAST - "Why Me?" - A Dramatic Presentation

Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick, Atlanta, Ga.
Miss Connie Vance, Clark College, Atlanta
Mr. Jesse McDade, Clark College, Atlanta
Dr. E. Jerry Walker, Chicago, Illinois

Reports of Workshop Groups

Mrs. Clifford Bender, Leader

"The Church in the School Crisis" - The Clergy, The Laymen

Group One - Mr. Arthur Levin, Discussion Leader
Miss Azie Taylor, Reporter

Individual and Group Responsibility

1) As individuals, we have the responsibility for the action of organizations to which we belong.
2) As individuals and as organized groups, we should make known our feelings concerning keeping the schools open. We should back our ministers and other persons who speak out on this issue and create a favorable climate for such persons to speak out.
3) We must join with other groups who are like minded beyond the church both as individuals and as a group.
4) We should help to condition ourselves and others to desegregate the schools through education and understanding.

Suggested Courses of Action

1) We should get the information and the facts and distribute them to as many people as we can possibly reach. We should call upon and utilize all of the sources at our disposal.
2) We should make known to our representatives our feelings with regard to the school problem.
3) We should work to educate any church group with the goal in mind that they will issue a statement opposing the use of church facilities for the use of private schools.

Group Two - Mrs. Mable C. Morley, Discussion Leader
Mrs. Eleanor Martin, Reporter

Individual and Group Responsibility

1) We must carry out responsibility of respecting human dignity as individuals. Souls have been acknowledged as created in the image of God.
2) Religious groups should speak up. However, the question arises how can religious groups advise in the public school situation when they themselves are not integrated?
3) Ministers as representatives of God should present a definite stand. The responsibility of recognizing human rights and guaranteeing those rights is the joint responsibility of both minister and parishioners. We must remember that economic security is not the only criterion for silence on the issue.
4) We should live to carry out the precepts of God, not merely talk about them.

Suggested Courses of Action

1) We should select small groups and orientate them to the problem through study. Much patience has to be used. We should work in this respect with groups and clubs of young people and women. We need continually to impress the need for recognition and concern of human dignity and respect.
2) We should make our opinions known to our legislators.

Comments about Status of Integration or Lack of Same in Public Schools

Madison, Kentucky, has integrated some of its schools without incident and in Paducah and Louisville, Kentucky, some schools have been integrated using as a basis, academic achievement and where the children live.

In Mecklinburg County, the schools are still segregated as geography has determined that the majority of white children are in one area and the majority of Negro children in the other.

In Johanna, South Carolina, integration is not a problem as there isn't any. People who belong to the NAACP lose their teaching positions. Outsiders test the Negro children and they are disqualified.

In Mississippi, the Negro schools run during July and August and the children are taken out for harvesting during September, October and November.

It is felt that the integration picture in Alabama is an extremely gloomy one.

In Nashville, Tennessee, they are integrating a grade each year. This year it has been the third grade.

Group Three - Mrs. L. L. Jackson, Discussion Leader
Mrs. Mercedes G. Davis, Reporter

Individual and Group Responsibility

1) The problem of keeping the schools open - of integration is one for all of us and not any particular section or segment and we must pray for the strength to accept our responsibility.
2) We must be aware that the Little Rock situation can happen anywhere and be prepared in our thinking for a positive approach.
3) We must realize that change is gradual and think about what we can do to bring it about peacefully. It is a step by step process and we must be understanding about the impatience of the Negroes.
4) We must attempt to cope with the struggle for power and with greed and the lack of ability to act on Christian beliefs.

Suggested Courses of Action

1) We must reduce prejudice in the home beginning with the children and must work also with the older members of the family.
2) We must work to restore the lines of communication between the races and get to know each other and work together as we do in other group situations.
3) We should work with small groups of parents and teachers to break down barriers of communication and to develop concern for the rights and dignities of all groups.

Comments about Status of Integration or Lack of Same in the Public Schools

In Nashville, Tennessee, integration has been accomplished in grades 1-3, and has worked well with some few incidents.

Kentucky has some measure of integration in Louisville, Madison and Paducah, and seems to be moving ahead.

Group Four - Miss Eleanor French, Discussion Leader
Mrs. C. O. Williams, Reporter

Individual and Group Responsibility

1) That we do need the love of God in our hearts to solve our problems

Courses of Action

1) We are agreed there is no easy solution and that there must be a tremendous increase in opportunity for communication.
2) The politicians are listening so we should try to be heard whenever possible. We need competent women in politics.

Group Five - The Reverend David Allen, Discussion Leader
Mrs. Lillian Levin, Reporter

Individual and Group Responsibility

1) We believe it is morally wrong for the church to relieve the public of its responsibility for education. Churches should work for re-opening the schools if they close.

Courses of Action

1) People of good will should take a public stand and support existing organizations working for public education and fight apathy. We should try to organize through personal influence. We should try to stress practical goals such as economics and education but not abandon final goal of brotherhood.
2) We must educate both adults and children so as to smoothe the path of integration.
3) We must use petitions. It has been found that qualified voter's name appearing on same have more influence.

Group Six - Mr. J. M. Dabbs, Discussion Leader
Mrs. J. C. Harris, Reporter

Individual and Group Responsibility

1) We believe that it is the moral obligation of the church, its ministers and its members to take a public stand for public education, using a members manifesto in addition to the ministers manifesto.

Courses of Action

1) We must circulate petitions to keep the schools open signed by members of voting age.

"The Church's Place in the School Crisis"
Dr. R. L. Hunt, Executive Director
Department of Religion and Public Education, National
Council of Churches

I like to talk about two questions that I have very much on my mind. How should the public schools deal with religion? What is the responsibility of the Christian towards the public schools?

The Bible was written and the Constitution framed before the problems of our day came into being so we must look for our answers elsewhere, perhaps in the hearts of men.

The public schools in the South have developed since the Civil War and the high schools since the turn of the century. The educational system must be preserved at all costs.

The churchman has a great responsibility for the public schools and he has a responsibility for children other than his own. You are a part time citizen if you vote only. You are called on for more. It is the will of God that you give more than you receive and be a complete citizen. This law must be upheld both nationally and internationally. Jesus said, "I am come that you may live abundantly." Will the church follow or lead the community. In this crisis in the public schools, we must lead. We have been endowed by the Lord with a job to do.

"A Realistic Look at Our Public School Program"
Dr. Lynette Saine
Coordinator of the Reading Center, Atlanta University

> In approaching this problem we cannot turn back the clock to 1868 or 1896. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the nation. Only then can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of equal protection of the laws.
>
> . . . (it) is the principle instrument for awakening the child to cultural values in preparing him for later professional training.
>
> . . . Does segregation of the child in public schools solely on the basis of race even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprive children of a minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. To separate them from others solely on the basis of race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community.

These are words from the last edition of the Atlanta Journal, May 17, 1954. On that day of the Supreme Court decision in 1954, I read every paper to see just how various editions interpreted it. Previously, I had studied in an integrated institution and had enjoyed the satisfaction of full citizenship. I knew, therefore, just what such a decision could mean in the lives of those who had known years of deprivations. Indeed, I felt real joy in these possibilities.

I realized, also that this decision took courage on the part of the Justices of the Supreme Court, men from all sections of our country, with varying backgrounds and traditions. After long hours and weeks of deliberation they had come to an honest decision about a problem which threatens our democracy.

Soon I noted, however, that as a result of the decisions, the bars of discrimination became stronger rather than weaker. I found that my friends of the white race now had other engagements when previously we had done a great many things together. This, needless to say, surprised and saddened me. I resolved to take a realistic look at the school situation in the South, and in Georgia, particularly.

This kind of approach was possible because as a teacher here at Atlanta University I am invited into numerous inservice meetings, to address commencement exercises and to participate in school evaluations under the sponsorship of the Georgia Committee of the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. Through these various channels I have visited at least fifty Negro schools in Georgia, one in South Carolina and several in Florida and North Carolina.

I have found, first of all, that the Negro constituents want the best possible educational opportunities and wish to remain in the South to receive them. In inservice meetings teachers express this desire in sessions devoted to professional upgrading or general school routine. As I have addressed graduating classes of from 16 to 66, I have thought of our inservice reviews of Dr. Conant's recent report on high schools in this country. Among the many things that he said was that it is virtually impossible for a child to receive a comprehensive education where the senior class has less than one hundred students. I have wondered how much these classes could have received with limited staff, equipment and resources. I have talked with these students and have found that they are not bitter about democracy but extol its possibilities in classrooms and on platforms.

In the second place, there is no doubt in my mind that it is impossible for Negro children to enjoy full opportunities in segregated schools. I have seen, for example, that in smaller towns the central school administration has built extremely handsome schools for both whites and Negroes, but the Negro ones are monuments to the ills and poverty of the South. They are generally erected in a depressed area of town with little or no paving and landscaping. The libraries and laboratories are limited in facilities and materials, and yet, the States of the South spend twice as much of their total income for education as do many of the more educationally-advanced systems in the northern and western sections of our country. In this school situation it is not wholly a matter of the Negro question, but of an entire region that needs to come into its own.

Finally, I believe that as long as segregation exists there will be a lack of self-respect toward those who experience this unfavorable position. In my own personal experiences I have enjoyed fine relations with clerks and other workers only to have them marred by improper use of a first name when the only appropriate reference would be "Miss" or "Mrs." Then comes the question, "Shall I destroy the fine relationship or request the level of respect which this person wishes for himself or herself?"

In my effort to take a realistic look at our public school program I have attempted to make these three points:

1. The Negro wants the best and wishes to remain in the South to receive it.

2. Under a segregated school system it is impossible to give equal rights to each race.

3. As long as segregation exists there will be a lack of self-respect and motivation which make for true citizenship in any group.

We must all work for equity with understanding so that we shall not let democracy down.

"A Salute to the Fellowship of the Concerned, a World Fellowship"

Miss Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations, United Church Women

I was introduced to the "Fellowship of the Concerned" while in Canada with the YWCA. I have been out of the country for more than a decade and am just now in the first few weeks of a new job and getting reacquainted with the country. Mrs. Tilly had asked me to tie in the racial relations program here with the world picture.

Of course, we all realize the racial problem here is not a regional one but an American one. While abroad, I tried to answer honestly the many questions asked me. I am sure many groups here are working in this field but one does not hear of them very often. I am sure all of us are discouraged at times about the immensity that confront us. But we must realize that this is the concern not only of Southern women but of peoples throughout the world.

Let us speak from my experience in the World YWCA with whom I worked for about twenty years and we will go behind the headlines in South Africa where there are groups of the concerned working quietly and steadily for the same goals as we.

The YWCA in South Africa was first started in 1886 but the movement there has suffered because of a split in thinking. Distressed at the situation there, a staff worker was sent to try to improve matters. As a result of her work and that of other dedicated people, there are now 60 associations there. A National Council of South African YWCA's has been founded. This group at their meetings are fed and housed interracially, a great step forward.

Another illustration of the world wide nature of the "Fellowship of the Concerned" I might take from the World Council of Churches in its recent and continuing "Study of the Common Christian Responsibility Towards Areas of Rapid Change." At the Evanston Assembly, there had been considerable concern regarding the responsibility of the churches towards Asia, Africa and Latin America where extraordinary developments are taking place and the implications in this for the West. In view of this, the aforementioned study was undertaken. The questions asked were four in number.

1. Impact of the West on Asia, Africa and Latin America.

2. The problems of village and rural life where the old patterns have been destroyed.

3. The problems of urbanization and industrialization which arise as countries seek rapid economic development.

4. The need for Christians to understand their responsibility to the building of new political orders conductive to human welfare and freedom.

They have conducted major studies in twelve countries and smaller studies in several other countries. The findings are correlated at the general meetings and action is implemented.

There is a dimension of depth as well as universality in the work of the "Fellowship of the Concerned," people everywhere who are working for justice and equality. Discouragement is there, yes, and isolation when communication breaks down. Sometimes it seems no doors will open but think of the blessing when the barriers are pushed aside and justice rolls down like water. When after soul searching, we choose to be involved in controversial issues, knowing God is in the midst of the struggle.

"Full Partners for Peace"

Miss Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations, United Church Women

Because an appreciable number of the Fellowship would be observing World Community Day today if they were at home, it was thought by those who planned our sessions appropriate to include this on our agenda. I propose that we examine briefly the meaning of this year's theme for World Community Day, "Full Partners for Peace." As you know it is sponsored by the United Church Women.

We in this country are much inclined to have numerous days or weeks set aside for the observance of one particular thing, such as Pencil Week, Apple Week or back to our subject, World Community Day. The latter paints a larger picture, really a world canvas. It is observed all over the world. Despite what a man from Mars or the other side of the moon would say there is an advantage in setting one day aside for a specific concern.

Now let us examine the theme. "Full Partners for Peace." Full may be redundant but it is necessary. I feel the legal definition of partners to be very pertinent here "One or two or more associates as joint principles in carrying on any business with a view to joint profit." The last word is peace. We all know that peace is not the absence of war and will continue to work to remove social obstacles to peace.

I might use the World YWCA as an example of growth towards full partnership. In the beginning the traditional relationship between the newly established "Y" associations and the country where they were established was that of patron to those served. This worked poorly and eventually the idea of mutual service came into being. The World YWCA served as a sounding board for all the needs and gifts, large and small, of the associations. Every branch has an equal access to its resources. One must bear in mind that there are both poor and prosperous associations. All realize, however, that they have something to offer as well as the fact they, themselves, have definite needs. The Jamaica "Y", small and more limited financially can help the "Y" in Canada and so it goes. All those groups feel equal and this situation has evolved over the years.

We may have our doubts about Secretary Day or Pickle Week but we are grateful for the challenge of World Community Day and may it bring us nearer that reality.

"Waiting on the Lord"

Dr. Lewis Deer, Director
Social Education and Intercultural Relations
Disciples of Christ
Indianapolis, Indiana

I feel very strongly that the whole church should be involved that a limited group should not do all the work in the field of race relations. However, we are here because of our faith and belief. We see this challenge as part of God's work.

I would like to read the 40th chapter of Isaiah which deals with the incomparable majesty of God and the never failing strength He imparts to those who seek Him. In a world so fast, social upheaval, rapid motion and mechanical instruments, it is impertinent to talk about waiting.

Henry Leiper wrote in "Social Action," March, 1959, the following:

> "If the present population of the world could be represented by a thousand persons living in a single town, 60 persons would represent the population of the United States and 940 would represent the people of all the other nations. The 60 Americans would have half the income of the entire town; The 940 persons would share the other half. Three hundred and three persons would be white; 697 would be non-white. The 60 Americans would have as average life expectancy of 70 years; that of the 940 would be under 40 years. The average American family, Christian, would be spending $850.00 a year for military defense and less than $3.50 a year to share with other residents the knowledge of why they are Christian."

This is the kind of world we live in. Isaiah compares the idol to God and at every point brings in the challenge. He declares that the majesty of God cannot be compared to things or nature or the activities of men in history. He is far greater than these. He says that they who wait on the Lord are renewed and invigorated for the task ahead. For those who "wait upon the Lord" the picture of Him is not of a God who is just around the corner nor does He picture Himself as being ahead of the Lord. The Hebrew for "wait upon" means "entwine around." Those who are entwined around the Lord are prepared to say they are parasites, dependent for every moment upon Him, the faithful, everlasting Lord.

The Lord says in a political crisis "Go forward." Could you see Jesus hesitating as He faced toward Jerusalem? Withdrawal from activities will not bring change. You are involved and God is too. As you seek to serve Him, the strength and courage will come to do as He requires. They who wait upon the Lord, rest upon Him as a ship upon the sea, a plane upon the air and a swimmer upon the water. You are engaged in reducing racial hostility and will work until there is dignity and opportunity for all. It is the task that God demands and is His will.

As we work and find ourselves at the bottom of the pit, remember that God brings life out of death and we will bring about an integrated community and world which is what He desires.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

"Kind Hearts and Gentle People"

The Most Reverend Bishop Francis E. Hyland

Many years ago during the aftermath of World War I, a national fund raising drive for some worthy cause adopted the slogan: SUPPOSE NO ONE CARED. These four bold and effective words stared out at the nation from billboards, newspapers and magazines. SUPPOSE NO ONE CARED.

It is encouraging to know that there are some who care, or to use the proper expression of this occasion, who are concerned about the serious problems which confront us in the Southland. It is a distinct pleasure to be with you and to address the Fellowship of the Concerned. May I say that women are usually on the side of the Angels and judging from what I know about your esteemed Mrs. Tilly, I am certain she must be ranked among the Archangels.

In speaking on the subject of race relations, I always feel that I have two strikes against me. Of course, I suppose the ladies know that three strikes are out. As the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Atlanta, I represent a very small minority of the total population. In the 71 counties of North Georgia which comprise the Diocese of Atlanta our Catholic people are scarcely 2% of the population. Among our 28,000 Catholic people, only about 1,500 of them are members of the Negro race. The second strike - and in the view of some Southern people a most inglorious one - is that I am a Northerner by birth and rearing. But I am approaching my 10th anniversary in Georgia, and if it is true, as it was when I went to school, that the material elements which compose the human body change completely every seven years, then I must be considered. I used to say to my good mother - she died only three years ago - that if I ever travelled to Philadelphia and found snow there, I would remain at the railroad station or airport and avail myself of the first possible means of getting back to Georgia. But it is not only the atmospheric climate of Georgia that I like. I have become genuinely fond of our Georgia people, not only my own Catholic people, but all the people of Georgia. Among my friends in the North, Georgia has no more stalwart defender than the Catholic Bishop of Atlanta; not indeed that everything in Georgia can or should be defended, but one does not like to hear outsiders criticize his own State.

As a Catholic and as a Bishop of the Church I am wholeheartedly in sympathy with the Negro people in their just aspirations to acquire all the recognition and all the rights to which they have every claim not only in charity, but in justice as children of God, as members of the one human family and as American citizens. On the other hand I realize to some extent the problems which confront the white people of the South the unfortunate and unhappy pattern of segregation has prevailed here for about a century.

Our Negro people are to be congratulated and indeed admired for the tremendous patience which they have manifested during all the decades. Their leaders are to be commended for approaching the solution of the problems of their people through the orderly process of law; admittedly it is a slow process, but it is a sure process which will ultimately result in victory. It is often said that morality cannot be legislated into people. This is a cliche which we have come to accept without analyzing it. Certainly human

law does not possess the inherent quality of changing the mind and hearts of people - something which is most desirable particularly in the field of race relations. But human law can and usually does give the right direction to things and the sanctions of human law can and do see to it that the right direction is maintained.

The pendulum is definitely swinging in the direction of the just aspirations of the Negro people, and there is nothing that can stop it: its movement may be slowed up or be retarded temporarily by die-hards, but it cannot be effectively stopped. Although, in the opinion of many, race relations have deteriorated by reason of the specific school issue and I fear this may be true, I venture to say that the overall atmosphere is more favorable now than it once was. In 1954, shortly after the Supreme Court declared segregation unconstitutional, I was requested by the Associated Press to answer a series of questions on the Catholic Church and race relations. I was happy to have this opportunity to give expression to the teachings of the Church and my own convictions. When my reply was published in the secular press, I received a number of letters of denunciation. Several suggested - to use a mild term - that I ought to get back to the North. Last November, the Catholic Bishops of the United States issued a statement on the subject of race relations entitled: DISCRIMINATION AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE. This statement of the American Catholic Bishops was carried partially in practically all secular papers. It was published in full in our own Catholic bi-weekly which reaches every Catholic home in Georgia. Copies of the statement were made available to our people in all our churches. There was not a single letter of protest. On the contrary we received many requests for additional copies of the statement and some went out of their way to express gratitude for making the statement available to them. I do not mean to imply that too many hearts and minds have been changed - let us hope this is the case - but certainly people of intelligence can see the handwriting on the wall.

I think the majority of the American people can be depended upon to respect the law of the land. Perhaps they see a parallel in the just aspirations of the Negro people and in the struggle of the laboring man for the just recognition which is his due. Thirty or forty years ago, the laboring man in our country was an economic slave. Neither capitalist nor politician gave them a second thought. For all practical purposes worthy people were without rights and without power. Today, on the contrary, labor exercises tremendous influence in the councils of our country. I dare say that no one can be elected to national public office, and in many areas to state public office, who does not have what is called a good labor record. I think it was the struggle of the laboring man for his just due which was the main cause in bringing about a change in the philosophy of law in our country. At one time the courts of the land were primarily engaged in the defense of property rights. Today the principal concern of the courts of our land is the defence of human and personal rights. Hence, the Supreme Court, which once upheld separate but equal facilities, is gradually but effectively removing from the statute books of the country every law which constitutes a violation of human or personal rights. The Negro in his just aspirations has fortunately fallen heir to this change in the philosophy of law in our American courts.

Your Fellowship of the Concerned is by its very nature small in numbers in comparison with the total population. But I am certain there must be any number of people in our Southland who are genuinely concerned not about any

specific issues in the field of race relations, but about the underlying cause which gives rise to these specific issues - the unjust discrimination practised against the Negro people. I would find it diffucult to believe that there are not a goodly number of people in the Southland who would be happy to have the race problem solved peacefully, equitably and effectively tomorrow, if this were possible. But the people of good will in the South have been without effective leadership. In this time of crisis many of the political leaders of the South have failed the people; indeed they have grossly misled them. I single out political leaders because these men have the eyes and ears of the people, as no one else has. Their every statement is published in the newspapers, broadcast over the radio and reported on television. These men could easily have given the correct turn to events in the South; instead they have led the people to believe that they can effectively oppose the supreme law of the country; they have created fears which would have little or no basis in reality, and they have passed laws and made resolutions which serve only to stifle people of good will and intentions. But these latter are nothing but temporary expedients, delaying and irritating actions which cannot and will not stand up under the scrutiny of the law.

In addition to the laws and the courts, there are hopeful signs in other areas. The public golf courses of our city have been integrated. Public transportation has been integrated. Both these phases of integration have been accomplished without incident, or certainly, thanks be to God, without serious incident. I think hope is to be found also in the younger generation. Several years ago - I think it was before the Supreme Court decision of 1954 - one of the students' publications at the University of Georgia advocated the admission of qualified Negroes to the University. Nothing ever came of it, but it did serve, did it not, to show that the hearts of some of our young people are in the right place. Prejudice is not innate in anyone. It has to be acquired or instilled. Granted that some measure of prejudice has been both acquired by and instilled into our younger generation, we must remember that during the past decade or so the question of race relations has been brought out into the open; it is now freely discussed; countless articles are written on the subject. All this means that young people have a much better opportunity than their parents had to form their own minds on this issue. Because of its impact on the young generation it is not at all unimportant to mention the tremendous achievements of the Negroes in the field of athletics. Today our young people speak about Hank Aaron and Ernie Banks - to mention only two of the great Negro professional athletes - just as we of the older generation used to speak about Babe Ruth. Today among our younger people there is a more liberal point of view and I use the word liberal in its very sense. I do not know what you think about the younger generation, but I would be inclined to believe that in the areas of freedom, rights and human relations, they are very likely to be found, like you good ladies, on the side of the angels.

For the remainder of what I would like to say this morning, I must beg your indulgence if I become somewhat personal. The larger and more important external issues of the field of race relations can be left safely in the hands of the courts. The internal change in minds and hearts can I think be committed with confidence to the field of religion. During my ten years in Georgia, I have come to understand that something can be accomplished in better race relations if one goes about it quietly and without fanfare. I am rather proud of the measure of integration which has been

achieved in the Catholic Diocese of Atlanta. Some may think it is not worth mentioning, although I seriously doubt if any other religious group can match it; it is far from what is actually and ardently desirable, but at the same time it represents a tremendous improvement over the past. I shall not go back any further than my own installation as Bishop of the then newly erected Diocese of Atlanta on Nobember 8, 1956. There came to Atlanta to officiate at my installation the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, the personal representative in our country of the Holy Father. In the past, on such important occasions, it had been the custom to hold a public reception in one of the better hotels. Of course, this automatically ruled out Negro Catholic people. On the occasion of my installation, we decided to have the reception in one of our parish halls and to invite all our Catholic people. Many photographs were taken on that occasion. I am particularly proud of one of those photographs which shows our Catholic people, both whites and Negroes, standing side by side in line waiting to greet the Apostolic Delegate and myself. One of the presentations that evening was made by a Negro boy of the parochial school of Our Lady of Lourdes.

Many of our Catholic societies and organizations are formed on a parish basis, but many of them have a diocesan-wide organization calling for monthly, quarterly or semi-annual meetings as the case may be. Some of these societies, in addition to these meetings, sponsor at times some diocesan or city wide observances. For example, next Sunday the Holy Name Union will sponsor a rally at the church of St. Thomas More in Decatur. Sunday a week ago, our Catholic Youth Organization sponsored a Holy Hour in our Cathedral Church. This same group sponsors a Vocation Day each spring. Our Diocesan Council of Catholic Women holds an annual convention. At these diocesan meetings as well as to all these sponsored events, all our Catholic people, both white and Negro, or their representatives are invited to participate and they usually do. I might add that on a number of occasions we have broken bread together. Yesterday our diocese was privileged to be visited by His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York. All our Catholic people were invited to attend the Mass of the Cardinal in our Cathedral Church.

During the past three years we have held a special Confirmation ceremony for adults in our Cathedral Church. On all three occasions a large percentage of the people in our Cathedral Church were Negro people. At the first such ceremony the pastor of one of our parishes in Georgia brought four of his people to the Cathedral to be confirmed. The pastor wondered how his Georgia cracker people had reacted to the interracial ceremony, something that was entirely new to them. On the way home the pastor asked what people had thought of the ceremony. The answer came with sudden and unexpected finality. "Father," one of the men said, "Wasn't it nice to see so many Negro people being confirmed in the Catholic faith?" My housekeeper is a fine, devout Negro Catholic woman. Several months ago when I was absent from the city, my secretary had to go to the Cathedral to offer one of the daily Masses. He took our housekeeper with him. On the way home, the priest asked, "Rachel, what did you think of the Cathedral?" She replied, "Father I think the Cathedral people are real nice. Some places you go people stare at you. But to those people this morning I was just another Catholic at Mass."

These measures of integration have been achieved quietly, without fanfare, without publicity and without any previous announcement. We just decided to do these things and we did them and it is truly remarkable and at the same time consoling how successful these ventures have been. I think therefore I can assure the good ladies of the Fellowship of the Concerned that there are many who share your concern and who earnestly look forward with you to happier days for all the people of the South.

WHEN NEGROES CAME TO OUR CHURCH

by E. JERRY WALKER

It was the hardest assignment I ever faced.

I had been at Chicago's St. James Methodist church for little more than two months when Silas Brown applied for membership. Of course, churches are always eager to receive new members. But Silas was a Negro.

Already a prominent member's wife had given me "the word" on church policy. It was really quite simple. If the minister insisted on any foolishness, such as "mixing the races" in church, so many pledges would be canceled so fast the the program, and probably the church itseld, would die on the spot! The handwriting, it seemed, was on the wall.

I soon discovered there were two sides to the wall, and the picture was no better outside than in. As far up as school children could reach, the sides of the handsome Gothic building were scribbed with chalk and crayon. Tin cans, paper, broken bottles lay in heaps where they had been flung against the building.

The church custodian was resigned. "Our neighbors don't seem to like us very well," he drawled. "I don't know why."

During the next several weeks I turned up some interesting answers to his observation. Its present building erected in 1925, St. James is Methodism's largest and finest church plant in Chicago. There is a parish house with 75 rooms. The sanctuary will seat 1,000 worshipers. There are two pipe organs, a full-sized gym, two sets of outdoor chimes and most everything else that could be desired in the way of up-to-date equipment.

In the heart of the once-elite, south shore district, the rolls of St. James church contain names like Gustavus Swift, founder of Swift and Company. In the late twenties St. James became known as the "cathedral church" of Methodism in Chicago.

With the expanded war economy of the forties, tens of thousands of Negroes moved to Chicago. In a period of little more than 10 years our predominantly white neighborhood became 85 per cent colored, and the Negro population of Chicago passed the 500,000 mark.

Public schools, in particular, felt the pressure. Large additions were constructed, other buildings purchased. More than 5,000 pupils were enrolled in three public grade schools within a mile of St. James church.

Our Sunday school, meanwhile, had dropped to an average attendance of 25 youngsters, or one for every three rooms in the parish house.

Bishop Charles W. Brashares of the Chicago Area had warned that this would be a tough assignment when he appointed me in July, 1953. "Whatever

happens," he said, "even if the church closes its doors in six months' time, we'll stand behind you." I was wishing he was standing in front of me the day I had to face Silas Brown.

Mr. Brown lived in our neighborhood, but his letter was in a Negro Methodist church several miles away. I could think of nothing to do but be honest with him. feet were hardly on the ground, I explained. Would he wait just a little longer and be patient with me?

Next Sunday I looked anxiously over the scattered congregation in our large auditorium. Would Silas Brown be there? Or, offended at this racial bigotry, would he have disappeared for good?

Silas Brown was a big man. He was in his accustomed pew. Like most people, Mr. Brown was responsive to sincerity. Because he believed in my purposes, he was willing to be patient.

One of those purposes was to minister to the people who lived in the shadow of the church, rather than exclusively serving a constituency which had largely moved away. On most weekdays, as children streamed noisily by on their way to and from school, my secretary, the custodian and I were the only persons inside our buildings. It was obvious that we were accepting no responsibility for our neighborhood.

"I think," I told 84-year-old banker Albert W. Harris, "we should begin to bring the children into our building."

Bearded Mr. Harris, whose eyesight is nearly gone and who listens through a hearing aid, pounded his fist on his desk. "You are right!" he said. "Start with the children!"

But where does one find leadership? We had the buildings, but we had difficulty staffing a Sunday school for 25 children. Although our books showed 1,463 members, we knew this figure contained nearly 1,000 people we never would hear from again, except to transfer their names to other churches.

We began to inquire for leadership at the Chicago Boys' clubs, the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Junior Achievement and the YMCA. We offered to make a deal--put up our facilities if they would provide program. The "Y" was immediately interested. A part-time director, Ross Young, was assigned to the church from the Hyde Park YMCA, largest "Y" in Chicago.

Our gym was scrubbed, its floors refinished and relined, and soon the building was a bustle of activity after school and on Saturdays.

I was relieved when church members took obvious pride in this service to our own community. But when an interracial Sunday school was proposed, several pledges were canceled and a few memberships transferred elsewhere. "He's giving our church to the colored," one lady protested. Shortly afterward, a fine damask tablecloth and several other items disappeared from the church parlors, evidently so they would not fall into "undeserving hands."

One particularly vocal club woman protested to my district superintendent, "You have betrayed us! We asked you to send us someone to bring us comfort, and instead you sent him!"

"Have patience, Jerry," my bishop counseled. "It is a difficult situation. But it is good to know there is no question but what you are on the right side."

Church officials saw it that way, too. By an overwhelming majority, an interracial church school was approved. Now all I had to do was organize it.

Strangely, this was not so difficult as it might seem. Following the plan used to put our gym and recreation rooms to work, I looked for leadership on the outside.

Since most Sunday-school teachers already are busy Sunday mornings, we opened our church school in the afternoon. Searching for a director of religious education, I turned to the Chicago Church federation. At the top of their list was Mrs. Virginia Smallman. She was thrilled with the idea.

Soon she had recruited a staff of 37 people--more than the entire attendance in the morning children's division. Six theological students drove down from Garrett Biblical institute in Evanston. Others came from the University of Chicago. Several were teachers in other parishes, including three Negro churches.

Mothers in the community became interested, and under the leadership of Mrs. Sylvesta Bramlette, a former PTA president, a group was formed to make door-to-door calls inviting children to our "Sunday Afternoon Club." It is interesting to me that nearly all this calling committee took Mrs. Smallman's teacher-training course and are now active in the church-school program.

We set a goal of 150 students for that first eight-week trial period in May and June of 1954. By the second Sunday we had passed our goal. One Friday night, TV Cowboy Bob Atcher drew 357 people into our recreation hall. It was the largest crowd from the community ever to come into the church.

All that seems a long time ago. The experimenting is over now. We are beginning to run at full speed. At a community night a month ago, a puppet show brought 1,246 children and parents into the church. The YMCA now has one full-time and four part-time directors assigned to its extensive program in the church.

Silas Brown is a member, along with a growing list of other fine Negro folk who are taking their places in church activities, choir and official board. Several new organizations have been formed, including a junior choir with 127 children enrolled, and a young adult breakfast club which has in it many university and college students. Our church school has been moved to the traditional morning hours now that we have

trained an adequate interracial staff of our own people.

And the handwriting on the wall has nearly disappeared. Our new custodian says there isn't a fourth the rubble along the sidewalks he encountered during his first month with us. Even Halloween left no scars from chalk, crayon or soap. And we haven't had a broken window in over 10 months!

The handwriting on the inside? Well--we've had a rebirth, a Christian experience. And interestingly enough, our growing congregation today includes more white people than there were in the whole congregation a year ago.

To me the most gratifying part of it all is the attitude of these white members. At a board meeting last October, I pulled a list of 10 Negro names from my pocket and asked what I should do with it. That was when a most remarkable thing happened. I guess you would call it a sort of testimonial meeting.

Here was a man who, three months before, had said, "If any Negroes sit in my pew, I'm leaving for good!" Now he stood up to say, "I'm going to do my part to see this through."

A woman planning to leave the community said, "But now I don't see how I can. I must stay and help."

A trustee who, six weeks before, had suggested we follow the precedent of nearly all churches who find themselves in our plight and sell out to a Negro congregation, now rose to say, "I want to be the first to welcome our new members. It's the only Christian thing to do!"

A retired executive of the Pullman company confessed, "Five years ago I refused to shake hands with a Negro on one of our trains. I'm ashamed of it. Let's do what is right and do it now!"

The president of a nearby college, who is one of our trustees, said after the meeting, "It's amazing how people have changed these past few months." Then he smiled as he added, "I guess I've changed too."

Our Methodist founder, John Wesley, believed in the personal experience of conversion. When Negroes came to our church, our congregation had a spiritual conversion. As one of our octogenarians recently commented after looking over the best congregation we had had since Easter, "Nothing is going to stop us now!"

I think he is right.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 23, 1960

Dear Secretary of Christian Social Relations:

I am sure you know the School of Missions of the Central Jurisdiction will be held here at Clark College the week of June 12.

I am to teach the course on alcohol--and in order to keep the course from being too general and to bring it closer, at least to the state scene, I am asking for your cooperation.

Please secure from your State Commissioner of Revenue a copy of your state laws on the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages. You may be able to get it by writing to him or you may have to get it directly from him.

If, for any reason, you will not be able to be at the School of Missions, send it to me or give it to someone who will attend the school.

Thanks in advance.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

P.S. To secretaries whose conference crosses the state line, please see that we have a copy from each of the states.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 31, 1960

To the Presidents and
Chairmen of Christian Social Relations
of the 12 Southern States

Dear Friends:

The annual Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, Atlanta, November 15 and 16.

In other years, the state Chairmen of Christian Social Relations of United Church Women have been invited, but we are more than delighted this year to include the state presidents.

We are thrilled also to tell you that your National President, Mrs. William Sale Terrell; your General Director, Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod; and Miss Eleanor French, Chairman of Christian Social Relations; will be with us. Isn't this wonderful? There will be other leaders also.

Please mark these dates on your calendar and make plans to be with us. The Fellowship of the Concerned is both interfaith and interracial. Thus you will be a part of over a hundred women who will come together to face the mighty challenges of these stirring times, to probe deep into the problems that confront us, to seek to find what God is saying to us is His will and His way, to find our place in His plans.

Clark College is one of the very fine Methodist Colleges for Negroes. Its Kresge Hall is ideal for a Workshop as you know if you have attended one of our Workshops.

We have funds for your entertainment and your travel by bus, plane or train--the easiest for you.

You have the choice of staying at the Piedmont Hotel or in the College dormitory at night. Your three national officers and other leaders and I also will stay in the dormitory, as well as a large per cent of those who attend.

We are hoping you will be with us. We need you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/lec

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 2, 1960

Letter mailed to YWCA list

You probably know something of the Fellowship of the Concerned of the Southern Regional Council and its Workshop each year for leaders in the field of Social Action. The Workshop for 1960 will be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 15-16.

Miss Florence Harris, who is one of our advisors on the Workshop has given me your name as a leader of the Y.W.C.A. in your city, and we are delighted to extend this invitation to you to be a participant in this 1960 Workshop. We are enclosing a sheet that will give you some idea of the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The Workshop is interracial and interfaith. The various denominal heads furnish us each year with a list of the people to be invited. If you can be with us you will be a part of over a hundred women who will come together to face the mighty challenges of these stirring times, to probe deep into the problems that confront us, to seek to find what God is saying to us is His will and His way, to find our place in His plans.

We have funds for your travel and entertainment and sincerely hope you will find it altogether convenient to be with us. You have the choice of staying at the Piedmont Hotel or in the College dormitory at night.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec
Encl.

JUSTICE WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE

GLEANINGS OF WORKSHOP

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

CLARK COLLEGE

NOVEMBER 15-16, 1960

Justice is turned back
and righteousness stands afar off
for truth has fallen in the public squares
and righteousness cannot enter.
Isaiah 59:14 R. S. V.

Let justice roll down like waters
and righteousness like an everflowing stream
Amos 5:24 R. S. V.

Love thy neighbor as thyself.
Mark 13:31

Providing for honest things not only in the
sight of the Lord but also in the sight of men.
II Cor. 8:21

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

I pondered a long time to find a title for this workshop and finally found the answer in a street scene in my home city.

It was the day the Negro college students had announced that they would march to the Capitol and hold a prayer service. They had talked to the Chief of Police and he had promised them protection.

Two thousand more or less of them began their long march to the Capitol but as they neared it they were diverted by Chief Jenkins because of the danger they would face.

He had seen an angry mulling crowd about the Capitol and the 98 State patrolmen stationed there at 6:00 a.m., and armed with clubs, and ordered by the governor to use them, if necessary to keep the students off the grounds. The Chief, true to his promise, was protecting Atlanta college students from the State police - and angry people.

I stood at a window on the 4th floor of Wesley Memorial building and saw them going down Auburn Avenue. Denied the right to pray on the Capitol steps, they were going to a church to pray. They were marching two by two and obeying every traffic light. The distance had been long and concrete streets are not easy on feet. Here and there were girls with pencil-like heels on their shoes, but never faltering, although I knew they were suffering.

I felt hot tears on my arms, my tears I did not know were falling. I knew they were not marching to gain something just for themselves alone, but for me and all others, that our country might be what it started out to be - a land of equal rights for all people.

I knew then, the title of the Workshop had to be JUSTICE WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE.

Dorothy Tilly

GLEANINGS FROM THE WORKSHOP OF "THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED"

JUSTICE WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE

Southern Regional Council
Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia
November 15 - 16, 1960

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work
Reporter - Mrs. Reed Polychrone, Atlanta, Georgia

OPENING PRAYER - Rev. J. J. Sneed, D. D.

OPENING WORSHIP - Mrs. Mable C. Morley, Director, Education Department of the Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia

SPEAKERS

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director of the Southern Regional Council
Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary, Department of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church
Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Bernard Lee, Student, Morris Brown College
Mr. Lonnie King, Student, Morehouse College
Miss Mary Ellen Bender, Bethlehem Center, Nashville, Tennessee
Miss Lana Taylor, Student, Spelman College
Mrs. J. B. Pendergrast, HOPE, Inc.
Mr. Marion Wright, Vice-President, Southern Regional Council
Mrs. William S. Terrell, National President, United Church Women
Mrs. John Patton, President, United Church Women of Georgia

DISCUSSION LEADER - Miss Eleanor French, Director, Christian Social Relations, United Church Women, New York, N. Y.

WORKSHOP LEADERS

Mrs. I. Wilen
Mrs. Alfred Lexow
Mrs. David Cathcart
Mrs. Earl Andrews
Mrs. Philip G. Hammer
Mrs. Thomas Green
Miss Thelma Stevens
Mrs. Harry Strauss

WORKSHOP REPORTERS

Mrs. Stanley Rawn
Mrs. Warren Besselieu
Mrs. John Patton
Mrs. Jennie Ruth Crump
Mrs. G. H. Martin
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox
Miss Mary Lena Wisehart
Mrs. H. W. Williams

SONG LEADER - Miss Rosa Page Welch

ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-NINE women gathered together for the yearly Workshop. They came from the following cities and states:

ALABAMA
- Anniston
- Birmingham
- Montgomery
- Prattville
- Tuskegee Institute

ARKANSAS
- Fayetteville
- Fort Smith

CALIFORNIA, San Pedro

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FLORIDA
- Hollywood
- Jacksonville
- Lakeland
- Miami Ft. Lauderdale

GEORGIA
- Albany
- Atlanta
- Augusta
- Conyers
- Decatur
- Elberton
- Thomaston

KENTUCKY
- Fort Thomas
- Lexington
- Louisville

ILLINOIS, Chicago

LOUISIANA
- Lafayette
- New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI
- Jackson
- Meridian
- Water Valley

NORTH CAROLINA
- Charlotte
- Greensboro
- Raleigh
- Rocky Mount
- Sedalia

NEW YORK
- New York City

OKLAHOMA
- Spencer

SOUTH CAROLINA, Greenville

TENNESSEE
- Knoxville
- Maryville
- Nashville

TEXAS
- McKinney
- San Antonio

VIRGINIA
- Arlington
- Chase City
- Danville
- Fairfax
- Norfolk
- Richmond

BASIC BELIEFS AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

By Thelma Stevens - Executive Secretary
The Department of Christian Social Relations - Woman's Division
The Methodist Church

It seems very presumptious for me to try to bring a message on this subject to a group as experienced and dedicated as you. Your courage under the tensions of these times should call all of us to new commitments and action as we seek understanding of the meaning of our basic religious faith for our social responsibility in today's world.

I cannot think of a better way to begin my message than by relating to you briefly a story about Mrs. Tilly - and Mr. Tilly! I should like to pay tribute to their greatness in these times with one little story. Even many years ago they would go for drives in the early mornings always with Mr. Tilly saying as they looked at the needs and suffering of people - "Dorothy, if I make you see this suffering and these needs often enough you will have to do something about them" And through the years they have translated their basic Christian beliefs into their social responsibility!

Let me call your attention to the world we live in today. A world where the revolution of expectation has become the revolution of demand. In a thirty year period, many things have happened in our world. . .Three great power blocks have arisen, the West, the East and the great unknown quantity of the newly awakening nations of Africa and Asia. The old colonialism is dead and a new colonialism is riding abroad. We may become a part of this new colonialism if we don't take care.

One hundred years is too long to leave the abcess of segregation on our land but "The end of the play is known" as Ralph McGill has said! John F. Kennedy has said "We must prove to a watching world we are the wave of the future." What kind of a wave that will be is up to us. Let us ask ourselves these searching questions. Are we losing the world by default? Are we speaking softly and carrying a feather? This does not apply to the women here! Are we obsessed by the traditions of the past? Have we let the climate of conformity dull our consciences and stop our action? People are so immersed in fear of this kind. The silence of the voices of moral and religious groups across the country has caused young people to question the church itself. This is true among Protestant youth. They wonder when the church of Jesus Christ will loose itself from the shackles of tradition and conformity and step into the world of today.

Micah, the Prophet, has said "What does God require of you but to do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with your God." Isaiah said "You shall be called Oaks of Righteousness." Paul wrote his young friend Timothy saying "God did not give us a spirit of timidity - but a spirit of power and love and self control."

We are called today as of old with "A Holy Calling" that lies at the very heart of our Judeo - Christian tradition.

God did not create us for a life of self-satisfaction and greed, but to a life of commitment to the fulfillment of His purpose for His world - to seek justice, righteousness, mercy, reconciliation, humility and yes - suffering. In our

southland we have let the greedy power made politicians use bigotry and prejudice as their platforms.

God has called us with A Holy Calling to be His witness in our home town, our nation and to the whole world.

This individual witness and the prophetic witness of our churches and synagogues can become a great world shaking mountain of power with its source rooted and grounded in our religious faith, which means in brief: The person in God's image - one Father of us all - Justice and love - The coming of God's Kingdom of Righteousness. Its goal is the Redemption of the community life of which we are a part. This community life has no boundaries of geography. In this new age there is "no near, no far."

Even neighborhoods have no real boundaries - only the artificial barriers made up of man's prejudices and fears and lack of understanding.

One of the committees of The World Council of Churches in a report in 1959 made the following profound statement:

"This is what we understand to be the prophetic function of the church. . .to be the watchman, discerning where God is and where the enemy is; warning men of danger. But the task of the watchman is performed not only in speech but by the character and power of his life and the suffering he may have to endure."

In the context of such a witness we are called to do many things. I shall summarize some of these that seem most urgent to me under three interwoven responsibilities:

1 - Information - As responsible leaders whatever our religious rootage may be we must know the facts about our community and our world. We cannot evaluate needs, understand propaganda, or determine priorities for our own task without information. Ours is a complex world with no simple answers - but the very heart of our Judeo - Christian directive is the worth of the person as a child of God.

2 - Indentification - When I was a child I was always hearing the word "Vicarious." It was a strange word to me then - and even now it becomes too much for my comprehension. As I have studied the great prophets of old and Jesus Himself - they "lived" the sorrows and needs and even the sins of the people! The call to repentance by the prophets of old was God's call to His people. But in a world like this we must identify ourselves with the suffering and injustices of people wherever that suffering and injustice exists. We need to understand the fears that make us sin against God's law; understanding brings the healing of reconciliation. We must also understand by this same identification the aspirations and cries of the human heart for freedom and dignity - the chance to be a person! For this there is no retreat! Even the day of the "revolution of expectation" has become the day of "the revolution of demand." Identification may mean suffering and sacrifice to do God's will.

3 - Involvement - To know the facts and vicariously suffer with the peoples of the world is not enough. We must involve ourselves in the redemptive process as God's channels to bring His Kingdom a little nearer. This may call for some

very simple task on our part or for great leadership. It may call for a new voice and a new courage within us - eg. (1) It may mean trying to understand the meaning of the "student Sit-in Movement" as a symbol of God's spirit of reconciliation for His world in Mississippi or Virginia or North Carolina or Oklahoma! It may mean a simple word of concern and support to the students involved. It may mean working to coordinate the forces of goodwill in a community to change the patterns of tradition and practice in relation to segregation. It may mean enlisting responsible citizens to make sure that law enforcement powers act with the highest form of integrity. It may mean going to the minister, priest or rabbi and the official governing group of your local congregation and talking together about the responsibility of your church or synagogue in facing these issues. For some groups the Kneel-In-Movement has called us to new repentance. (2) It may mean sitting in a court room to make sure all the citizens receive a fair trial. (3) It may mean going with some citizens in your community to the registration center or the voting precinct to make sure there is no hitch in utilizing the rights guaranteed under the Constitution. (4) It may mean placing a sign on your front lawn when new neighbors of another race or minority group move in - a sign that says "This House is not for Sale - I like my neighbors." (5) It may mean some economic pressure to assure equality of opportunity in jobs. I can buy my dresses from a saleswoman of a different color from my own and enjoy the process just as much. (6) If enough citizens of all faiths who believe in justice and human dignity made their voices heard and involved themselves in the process of achieving freedom and justice, laws to change patterns would not be needed. Unfortunately this is not the case! Therefore one of the most urgent tasks before us is to work for Federal and State laws that protect the freedoms of all our citizens.

God has called us all with "A Holy Calling" - "The frozen misery of Centuries" is breaking all over the world. The hot bricks in a four mule wagon on a cold January day in - - - - - -County, Mississippi have been replaced with the modern Ford or Chevrolet and a sprinkling of Cadillacs with the comfort and luxury of built in heaters. The four lane highways have replaced the red clay slippery roads - -

But the voices of the White Citizens' Councils in Mississippi or Alabama, Louisiana, or Texas (men and women!) have reached their neighbors on the Rejang River in Sarawak (Borneo) or the far flung communist camps of West China or on the borders of Burma. We are living in a changing world! The shots we fire that destroy human freedom and dignity are heard around the world. Somehow we ourselves and the people we symbolize in our local churches and synagogues have not always let our neighbors know that we are called of God to be His witness. We are called with "A Holy Calling."

"CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE"

by

Marion A. Wright

Linville Falls, North Carolina

Presented at the Annual Meeting of

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

NOVEMBER 15, 1960

Atlanta, Georgia

Emerson wrote: "Your manners are always under examination and by committees little suspected.... but are awarding or denying you very high prizes when you least think of it."

Our manners, then, are always on display. We are forever being judged by them. How do we pass the manners test?

Since February 1, 1960 -- of course long before, for that matter -- the manners of Southern whites have been an object of world interest. On that date a few Negro college boys entered a lunch room in Greensboro, North Carolina and ordered a cup of coffee.

Good manners, on which we pride ourselves, should have prompted us to say, "sit down, draw up a chair, have a cup of coffee" -- things we have been taught to say since childhood. But we didn't speak those warm and simple phrases. Because of our failure, we have undergone some months of turmoil and unrest. We have produced a sense of shock throughout the world.

There began on a regional scale a campaign of civil disobedience. The idea was not new of course. The principle of non-violent resistance to tyranny was old when the pyramids were raised.

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

But Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to his face told Nebuchadnezzar "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image thou hast set up."

And so they walked unscratched through the fiery furnace.

So on the plains of Babylon there was born an idea. Some centuries later, in the city of Jerusalem, it was expressed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. And so, by way of Walden Pond in the words of Thoreau, by way of India in the salt marches of Gandhi, by way of Montgomery, Alabama, in the person and example of Martin Luther King, the idea on February 1, 1960, entered a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The doctrine of non-violent civil disobedience is an honored one in this country. It, of course, does not mean that a man has a right to disobey any law he doesn't like. But he has the right peaceably to protest against laws which offend his religion or conscience, or which place upon him burdens from which his fellow citizens are exempt.

The consciences of Quakers do not permit them to engage in war. They are, therefore, excused from military service. Consciences of Jehovah's Witnesses do not permit them to salute the flag -- which they liken to a graven image. Non-violently, they refused to do so and their action was upheld by the courts. The right of Quakers to refuse to take oaths

in court, or elsewhere, is respected. School children of certain faiths are not required to attend religious chapel services. And so on.

These activities conflict with conscience. The proper way to raise the legal issue is to refuse non-violently to conform.

In the same way one raises the legal issue when he is denied rights and privileges enjoyed by others. To refuse to submit is the direct and practical means of testing the law or custom by which one is penalized. So long as he submits there can be no test.

I think it is evident to all students of constitutional law that, once the legal issue is squarely presented, the right of Negro persons to eat at public eating places will be upheld.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any state action discriminating against a person on account of race. When a state issues a charter, or a city a license, to engage in the restaurant business, there is state action which makes the operation legal and permissible. If the operation is featured by racial discrimination, there is conflict with the Constitution.

Under modern conditions, public eating places are an essential feature of normal living. To deprive a person of a right to eat is to subject him to unnecessary inconvenience and hardship. A place of business, operating under state sanction, is forbidden by the Constitution from racial imposition of such inconvenience and hardship.

With every privilege there is a corresponding duty. When one secures the privilege of operating a public necessity, he accepts the privilege with express or implied limitations. Among these is the qualification that the business shall not be so operated as to needlessly inflict damage upon members of the public. To discriminate racially against possible customers is to inflict upon them the physical hardship and the mental anguish inseparable from denial of service.

A business avails itself of facilities and instrumentalities provided by the public. It could not exist without them. The road, the sidewalk, in front of his store, are provided by public funds. His police and fire protection and, water and electricity, are publicly supplied. There is inspection of sanitation, of premises, and health of personnel. Taxes pay for all of these services. A part of the Negro's tax dollar is included. Is it constitutional for the Negro to be required to pay for services in aid of a business serving only white people?

It was against injustices such as these that the sit-ins were directed. They are in the best tradition of this country from the Boston Tea Party to the Greensboro Coffee Party -- from Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to Martin Luther King.

Thomas Jefferson announced the principle that there are certain rights with which everyone is born. Since they were not conferred by government, government is powerless to take them away. Among them is the right to life, liberty and the

pursuit of happiness. No federal government, no state or city government, and no business authorized by anyone of them, may place road blocks in the way of such pursuit.

The sit-in movement is a test of the validity of that principle. It is based upon Jefferson's maxim.

We are concerned with the national image. That image acquired new luster from the conduct of college boys and girls, of both races, calm, poised and resolute, who demonstrated that moral power alone, schooled, channeled and disciplined, is the inevitable and ultimate victor over oppression.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities, they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this somber process, you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process.

That is, not for human beings. I understand that a few scientists are cross breeding horses in an effort to reproduce the dwarfed and stunted Eohippus, primal ancestor of the breed of present day horses. The bunglers who propose to close

schools and libraries would make cave men of us all.

Few among us go that far. But those who seek to preserve segregation retard, if they do not reverse, the normal evolution of society into finer forms.

Men grow by experience, by contact, by absorption. Segregation limits the area of contact, the range of experience. Shut out from the lives of white and Negro alike has been the rich and rewarding experience of acquaintance with those who would bring to association and friendship a wealth of new background and social potential. Whites should realize that they too, are victims of the order they have created.

Occasionally one reads of a demented parent who has for years kept his child secluded in some attic or basement, shut off from contact or association with other humans. The police find the child, undernourished, stunted, filled with fantasies and delusions, ridden with misconceptions and fears. Such life becomes when the world is shut out.

Southerners of both races, without awareness of it, have undergone an isolation differing only in degree from that of the unfortunate child. We, too, have lived without the main stream of life. The circle of those whom we might have known, who might have enlarged the range of our sympathies and understanding, who might have enriched our lives by imparting into them a new breadth and depth, -- that circle has been racially constricted. We, too, have lived in a world of myth and fantasy and fear. We devise our own delusions of grandeur and of inferiority.

We begin now to tug at the bonds. We seek escape and exit into a brighter world. When, happily, full release has been achieved, we will laugh at the fears which so long possessed us and begin, at last, to devote our lives to noble purposes and happy ends.

WORKSHOP PANEL "The Unfinished Revolution" - Miss Eleanor French, Moderator
(Panel to form a backdrop for workshop discussion groups)

"A Southern Point of View"
Mrs. Eliza Paschall

Having spoken for groups such as the League of Women Voters and others for years, recently, at last, I have been able to speak for myself. Finding myself in disagreement with the constantly expressed and traditional "Southern Point of View," I decided I would express my own southern point of view. I should say at this point, that I was born and bred in the South. I married a Southerner. Both my grandfathers fought in the Civil War for the Confederacy, so I am as southern a product as can be found.

I sat down at my typewriter and I did express my southern point of view. It was only a very few pages. I mailed them off to the Atlantic Monthly. A note came back from Mr. Weeks, editor, saying he had been very impressed with the sincerity of my article and that he would work it into one of the forthcoming issues.

I graduated from Agnes Scott here in Atlanta and since the article has been printed, I have received many letters from Scott alumnae saying how relieved they were that I had spoken out. It was a great help to have this support as there have deen derogatory outcries as well.

In writing the article I feel I have been true to myself in declaring my feelings on integration and reiterating my belief in justice for all peoples. I know that this will come to pass in the years ahead.

"The March on the Capitol-Montgomery"
Bernard Lee

When we planned the Montgomery march on the capitol, we realized that the local authorities would be extremely hostile. Montgomery is in the heart of Dixie and is the cradle of the Confederacy. So following the Ghandian philosophy, we informed them of our intentions. The sheriff told us we would be turned back by state troopers. We continued our planning, nonetheless. It was planned for the demonstration to be on a holiday and 700 students assembled to march. We had expected the police but we had not expected a crowd of 5000 white people. We saw that some of them were armed with guns, knives and bayonets. We proceeded with the march and were turned back. This march showed the great courage and purpose of the students.

"The March on the Atlanta Capitol and the Atlanta Kneel-ins"
Lonnie King

In Atlanta, as Montgomery, we students had a march on the Capitol on May 17, 1960. We announced the plan concerning the march at a state NAACP meeting in order to enlist further support. A reporter was seen heading for the door and the next day the Constitution carried an item on page two that Negro students were planning turbulence at the State Capitol in connection with the Supreme Court Decision of

1954. Governor Vandiver issued a statement that the Georgia Militia would form a cordon at the Capitol.

No one knew if the march would come off or not but the paper had let some 4000 students know when and where the march would take place. On the day of the march, the students assembled. We felt we had to go on or the entire Negro community would suffer a moral defeat. So two by two we started down Chestnut Street through the Negro section of town with a police escort.

Chief Jenkins told us we were to turn back when we reached the downtown area but if we did that and stayed within city jurisdiction, everything would be all right. When we arrived downtown, he gave a direct order that we were to turn back and not go on to the Capitol. As we have a police of non-violence and since going on would have meant pushing through police lines, we turned and marched to the Wheat Street Church where we had a tremendous rally.

We proved that the Atlanta people were not fooled by the noise of officials. We showed we were not afraid of sticks and stones and we proved a great deal to our own people.

As to the kneel-ins, we all of us, were sincere in going to the churches. It is awfully hard to turn people out of church.

My group went to Druid Hills to church and were offered a basement room which we refused. We tried to register and they tried to prevent that. We feel that Church, the House of God, is the last place on earth where discrimination should exist. Segregation is wrong in all forms and discrimination is wrong in most all forms. The kneel-ins are being accepted more now and probably as time goes on will be even more so.

"The Sit-ins - Greensboro"
Miss Mary Ellen Bender

The sit-ins and kneel-ins began in Greensboro, N. C. It started when three freshmen from Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina and Bennett College sat-in at a Woolworth lunch counter. This had happened before but this time it caught on. There was very little violence there because of the support of the college leaders, the mayor and the community leaders. After a few initial sit-ins, a six-week cooling off period was called. After that was over, the sit-ins became a very organized effort with the more steady, reliable students participating.

The Greensboro movement was very long. It was about six months before the lunch counters were integrated and in the meantime some of the students had been arrested.

Surely what the students did there in assuming this position and seeing it through means that they are neither a lost or shiftless generation.

"The Sit-ins - Atlanta
Miss Lana Taylor

Student leaders in Atlanta decided something had to be done about the lunchroom situation. Atlanta is often called "the Athens of the South" and the cause had not been far advanced here.

The movement was very well organized right from the start by forming a Committee. Said Committee prepared "An Appeal for Human Rights" which was one complete page in the Atlanta newspapers. They wanted the public to know why the sit-ins were being planned.

The Committee planned the first sit-in for March 15, 1960. It was to occur at the cafeterias of tax supported places. The students were selected very carefully to be sure the non-violence aspect would be preserved. There were to be nine simultaneous sit-ins, the city hall, the Capitol, and the purpose of them was to get a test case to test the Georgia law in this matter. The students were arrested and then released. It is doubtful that their trials will ever come to court.

Again this summer, another sit-in was organized. The Action Committee made the plan and the Research Committee looked into the lunch counters to be utilized. It was planned for October, 1960, in the downtown, Broad Street area. This time the idea was "Jail instead of Bail" so a test case could be procured. In times like these it is the moral law of the universe versus man-made law and we must abide by the universal law when conflict arises.

REPORT OF WORKSHOP GROUPS

I. "The Church and Human Relations"

A. Mrs. I. Wilen, Chairman
B. Mrs. Alfred Lexow, Chairman

1. Since the Church is the House of our Lord, and we are members of His Household - we, the individual members of the Church decided we needed a greater total commitment of our membership if we are to improve human relations. As individuals in our Church, we have a responsibility for individual human relations and as a Church we have a responsibility for human relationships in the community and as a group.

2. It was the consensus that to just invite anyone into our Church membership was not enough. We all agreed that the invitation must be genuine, sincere and warm. In order to do this we must understand each other.

3. Our minister is more apt to take a stand if he knows his congregation is loyal, standing behind him. It helps him to know his higher eschelons agree with him also.

4. Church women should start youth and adult interfaith and interracial groups. In many communities the people have not taken any positive steps to stop anti-Semitic hate-mongers. Fear exists among the Jewish people in the South. Our witness is blurred by what we have not done. Jewish women are involving themselves so that there will be greater understanding. They know ministers cannot stand alone.

5. Churches should hold study groups in the church and in the communities on such subjects as Foreign Policy and on problems in their cities. They might use the "Great Decisions" course.

6. Churches should encourage their members to look after foreign students.

7. We must be motivated by what we believe - the greatest thing we have to fear is fear.

8. The effect of the strife in the South has had a far reaching effect on our nation, on the extension of God's Kingdom and World Peace. We are ashamed that some Christians are such poor followers of Jesus and are not practicing what they preach. The Beatitudes mean so little to us.

II. "The Unfinished Revolution"

A. Mrs. David Cathcart, Chairman
B. Mrs. Earl Andrews, Chairman

1. Support the students and interpret the motives and purposes of the sit-ins and kneel-ins. Make an effort to support or initiate bi-racial groups to seek the just solution.

2. Set up an interracial committee of citizens to interpret the student movements, serving as a liason group.

3. Churches should invite the Negro students to their youth functions. Other ethnic groups should be secured to help with the demonstrations.

4. Surveys could be conducted to ascertain reactions to the demonstrations.

5. Church women should attend the hearings and talk with the students showing their concern and expressing their interest. Help both morally and financially the students who might be expelled from school.

6. A study should be made where economic boycotts have been successful.

7. Dedicated women should send in their charge cards. Others could write the stores that they are willing to accept desegregation.

8. The Southern Regional Council has material to be given business men and merchants showing that little or no loss of business has been incurred when eating facilities have been desegregated. We should support the merchants who are willing to establish services without discrimination. Letters of appreciation should be sent them and whenever possible a word of approval in a personal way.

9. These are not just student concerns and problems, but ours too. The change is inevitable. The handwriting is on the wall. We must translate the Lord's words into deeds and actions.

III. "Basic Human Rights"

A. Mrs. Philip Hammer, Chairman
B. Miss Thelma Stevens, Chairman

1. Believing that integration is right, we would move towards the goal peacefully in this transition period. We must have understanding, not only of our past so we know what our prejudices are, but we must get our convictions across to the community as individuals and as groups. The Negro should understand psychological aspect of integration on a white person and the whites must see the Negro as a person of dignity, deserving the rights of citizenry.

2. Our children must be made aware of others point of view. Early impressions at home are very important. They must be made cognizant of the fact that one does not have superior feelings towards any group and all races deserve justice and equality. The parents could be provided with a training session program to equip them for questions at home. Also the churches and synagogues could provide normal situations where the children of both races could be together and take it for granted.

3. In discussing the problems of Negro registering, it was agreed that the procedures used by different registrars varied widely. The questionnaires are difficult to answer and the answers themselves were considered by the registrars and it was left to their consideration whether the applicant passed or not.

4. Some cities have Voting Clinics and coaching classes for the questionnaires. Negroes actually work in the polls in some locales.

5. White voters should not take the Negroes to regiater but encourage them as much as possible.

6. Groups such as the League of Women Voters, the PTA's and the United Church Women should bring out the facts about the discriminations in registering and let people know the changes to be made.

7. To help the school situation where governors and legislators are attempting to block the Supreme Court decision: personal letters should be written to the legislators urging them to accept the inevitable and keep our schools open; personal interviews with the governor and legislators by individuals and groups are suggested. They need to know just how their constituents stand.

8. Church groups could do much to provide pleasant experiences for the white and Negro youth to develop a friendly fellowship and understanding.

9. There is great need for aiding the foreign students in this country to feel accepted by entertaining them in our homes, and to prevent them from shunning the Negro for fear of losing their own status with the whites. The church could provide opportunities for the foreign student to enjoy social life together.

10. It was agreed that Housing was a major problem. Some suggested solutions are (a) it was agreed that the majority of the citizens of a town do not know what exists in the slum areas, (b) women should be encouraged to serve readily on survey or on investigating teams to see what substandard housing exists in their communities, (c) as church women we could take pictures (movies) or snapshots or slides of the slum conditions to be shown to church groups and civic groups, and (d) church groups and civic groups should seek the cooperation of their newspapers and radio-television stations in arousing public sentiment for community improvement.

11. One of the problems inherent in the solution of the housing problem is that good housing is dependent upon a living wage. Negro housing can improve only at the rate of work and pay of the Negro.

12. In general it was considered that better relations could be developed between the races by study or discussion groups to build friendships and to reach better understanding of the other's problems. We should let our ministers know that we will back them in preaching the whole gospel, for we regret that some ministers have been forced to resign because of their convictions and actions. We urge the Councils of United Church Women to sponsor integrated meetings not only for themselves, but for the public.

IV. "Law and Order"

A. Mrs. Thomas Green, Chairman
B. Mrs. Harry Strauss, Chairman

1. The Civil Rights Commission is a fact-finding body which recommends action to Congress. In order to present information to it, the persons affected file an affidavit. If sufficient affidavits are filed, the Commission will investigate the situation.

2. The Church because of the very nature of its being and its active participation in our times per se is strongly involved. We recognize the fact that training in Christian social ethics is needed. The Church could sponsor an exchange of choirs, pastors and literature. An interracial prayer group could be formed. Picnics and camp-outs could be done over race lines. Study series using "Christ, the Church and Race" and "In Every Place a Voice" could be planned.

As Abraham Lincoln said "To sin by silence when man should speak out, makes cowards of men."

PANEL "Citizens Free and Responsible" - Miss Eleanor French, Moderator

"How We Talk Together"
Mrs. J. B. Pendergrast

Our problem here in Georgia of the closing of the public schools had to be dealt with. We knew they must be preserved. HOPE or Help Our Public

Education was started with seventeen people in someone's living room. A course of action had to be decided upon. It was felt that the group should remain lily-white in order to have more influence with our legislators. This was not a matter of principle but of expediency. It is now thirty thousand strong and statewide in scope. It is composed of all degrees of feeling concerning integration and segregation among the members. BUT we have worked together and talked together.

The schools are still open although not integrated yet. We have been aided greatly by Ralph McGill and by the educators. We have longed to speak when we have had to be silent. We have had to overcome fear of all kind. I am not sure at this time how effective we have been. Only the future can tell that. But people of like-minded purpose, no matter how varied their personal feelings may be, have banded together and talked and worked and shall continue to do so.

"We Talked Together"
Mrs. John Patton

United Church Women took a long stride in the field of Leadership Education by working with the League of Women Voters, Active Voters, and HOPE, Inc. on Georgia's imperative problem - Open Schools. It was our privilege to have Mr. Jim Peters, State Board of Education President, to be with us in two Workshops. This would have been impossible several years ago but Mr. Peters now has taken a stand for open schools.

Four Workshop on Open Schools were held in strategic spots in Georgia. It is as Church women stand for the imperative of Christian freedom that they will grow in stature and savor with God and man.

"On The Southern Regional Council"
Mr. Leslie Dunbar

All of us at the Southern Regional Council are glad to help Mrs. Tilly with this fine meeting. All of you are taking a role and a part in these changing times in the South.

The Southern Regional Council was established in 1944. It grew out of the old Commission on Racial Cooperation which was started in 1919. Much of the strength of the present Council is due to the fact that it inherited so much goodwill and so many fine members from the old Commission. A group of Negroes during the second World War met in Durham, N. C., and expressed a desire for improvement in the treatment of Negroes in the South. A group of whites met in Atlanta reciprocally and then the two groups fused.

The Council has been very fortunate in its leadership. Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina was the first president. Mr. Paul Williams, a businessman and Catholic layman from Richmond was the second president. The third president was Mr. Marion Wright, a lawyer from North Carolina Mr. James McBride Dabbs, a farmer and writer from South Carolina is the fourth and present president.

The Council with the aid of a sizeable grant in 1954, established Councils on Human Relations in all southern states; they continue everywhere except in Texas, Mississippi and Louisiana. The Southern Regional Council works very closely with them but they have their own independent Boards and are autonomous organizations.

The Southern Regional Council publishes special reports, pamphlets and a monthly magazine, NEW SOUTH.

We have a field consultant service which works with school boards and municipalities, quietly, without publicity. We feel it a great honor when a town asks us for help even though integration there is a long way off. We provide help for radio and TV. The Council is trusted by the press for reliable information.

High school students as well as authors use our information. We supply in a considerable amount the same for governmental agencies.

We seem to be port of call for foreign visitors to Atlanta and it is a great plaasure to look after them.

In the South there have been new developments in the last few months. Thirty cities have set up bi-racial councils. In Florida, the governor has established such a council, state-wide. This has happened in Oklahoma also. The Kentucky legislature has created a bi-racial Commission. This all represents what we stand for.

We are looking forward to the changing South and to taking part in it. It is a mind-changing time. The power structure is more able now to talk with objectivity and honesty. Our policy has always been a simple one: let's reason, think, speak openly about the problems in a shared belief in the individuality of every person in the sight of the law and God.

"B'nai B'rith"
Mrs. Seymour Haber

B'nai B'rith was begun about 118 years ago by a small group of men on New York's Lower East Side to help the poor, the orphaned and the widowed. From this has developed a world wide organization of both men and women. The name means "Sons of the Covenant."

The women decided after working many years with the men that they wanted to form their own chapters. Atlanta has four such chapters.

The program is on a national scale and is varied. It is fundamentally a service organization. It helps support the Jewish National Hospital in Denver, Colorado, which also does research in tuberculosis and heart disease. The hospital is non-sectarian. It also supports the Leo N. Levi Hospital in Hot Springs, Arkansas, which treats arthritis. Belfair, a home for retarded children in Cleveland, Ohio, is also supported. The Hillel houses on college campuses are maintained by B'nai B'rith. We have local youth organizations for both boys and girls. Perhaps the work that you are most familiar with is that of the Anti-Defamation League.

Locally we are involved with the Cerebral Palsy Center and Battle Hill Haven among others. We stand ready to support and to serve.

"United Church Women"
Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod

The United Church Women Councils were first formed on a local level across denominational lines towork on mutual problems and after them came the state councils and then the national one. We now have 2200 councils in 50 states.

We have an official United Nations Observer who interprets the United Nations to others. Our Christian World Missions is a very active department. The work there is changing of course with the rise of new countries and new governments. We have a very active Public Relations Department. We publish a monthly magazine, "The Church Woman" and numerous publications.

We, too, stand to serve, to understand to ameliorate the many problems of our changing world.

"Council of Catholic Women"
Mrs. George W. Bain

Pope Benedict the 15th felt it was necessary to call Catholic men and women to action for the church and so the first National Catholic Welfare Conference was held out of which was formed the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women.

The emphasis is on spiritual development, the home and the community, as far as the program is concerned. The directives come from the bishops. As the other groups are, the Council of Catholic Women is a service group also.

W O R S H I P

Tuesday morning - Period of Meditation - Mrs. Mable Morley

Prayer Hymn: "Father Eternal, Ruler of Creation"

Father eternal, Ruler of creation, Spirit of life, which moved ere form was made; Through the thick darkness covering every nation, Light to man's blindness, O be Thou our aid: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

Races and peoples, lo! we stand divided, And sharing not our griefs, no joy can share; By wars and tumults Love is mocked, derided, His conquering cross no kingdom wills to bear: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

Envious of heart, blind-eyed, with tongues confounded, Nation by nation still goes unforgiven; In wrath and fear, by jealousies surrounded, Building proud towers which shall not reach to heaven: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

How shall we love Thee, holy, hidden Being, If we love not the world which Thou hast made? O give us brother love for better seeing Thy Word made flesh, and in a manger laid: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

The words of this hymn were written in 1919 by Laurence Housman, a famous English author and artist at the request of his friend, the Rector of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Music to the words was composed in 1921 by Geoffry Shaw another Englishman, and the hymn was first sung at a meeting in Queen's Hall, London.

Will you read these stanzas in unison, one at a time, pausing after each one for Scripture and a brief meditation. After we have completed the last stanza with Scripture and meditation, Mrs. Rosa Page Welch will close this worship period praying the Lord's Prayer in song.

Will all of you now read with me stanza one of the Prayer Hymn pausing after the reading for Scripture and meditation. Let us read.

Read stanza one (aloud in unison)

"In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters.
"And God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light. And God saw that the light was good; and God separated the light from the darkness."
Genesis 1:1-4

Let us keep silent now for a few moments and meditate on God our Father eternal whose Spirit was moving over the waters in the beginning, who created the heavens and the earth from that which was without form, void and in deep darkness. As in the beginning when God said "Let there be light" and there was light, let us pray individually and silently that the light of God's revelation will take the blindness from our eyes that we may see Him the only true God and His Will for our world.

Read stanza two (unison)

"I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." (Exodus 20:2)

"And now, Israel, what does the Lord your God require of you, but to fear the Lord your God, to walk in all his w ays, to love him, to serve the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul, and to keep the commandments and statutes of the Lord, which I command you this day for your good? Behold, to the Lord your God belong heaven and the heaven of heavens, the earth with all that is in it; yet the Lord set his heart in love upon your fathers and chose their descendants after them, you above all peoples, as at this day. Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no longer stubborn. For the Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God, who is not partial and takes no bribe. He executes justice for the fatherless and the widow, and loves the sojourner, giving him food and clothing. Love the sojourner therefore; for you were sojourners in the land of Egypt. You shall fear the Lord your God; you shall serve him and cleave to him, and by his name you shall swear. He is your praise; he is your God, who has done for you these great and terrible things which your eyes have seen. Your father went down to Egypt seventy persons; and now the Lord your God has made you as the stars of heaven for multitude.

"You shall therefore love the Lord your God, and keep his charge, his statues, his ordinances, and his commandments always." (Deuteronomy 10:12 - 11:1)

Let us meditate upon our common heritage. There is only one God and he is Lord of us all. (Meditation)

Let us thank him for deliverance from bondage and pray that we may be channels for his Grace to reach out to all those whom our lives touch. (Silent prayer)

Read stanza three (unison)

"Now the whole earth had one language and few words. And as men migrated in the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar and settled there. And they said to one another, 'Come, let us make bricks, and burn them thoroughly.' And they had brick for stone, and a bitumen for mortar. They said, 'Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.' And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men had built. And the Lord said, 'Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is only the beginning of what they will do; and nothing that they propose to do will now be impossible for them. Come, let us go down, and there confuse their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from there over the face of all the earth, and they left off building the city. Therefore its name was called Babel, because there the Lord confused the language of all the earth; and from there the Lord scattered them abroad over the face of all the earth."

(Genesis 11:1-9)

Will you meditate on the lack of communication between God's people today and pray for His Mind and His Spirit that we may have understanding and love for each other. (Meditation and prayer)

Read stanza four (unison)

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father. . . And from his fulness have we all received, grace upon grace. For the law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. No one has even seen God; the only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known." (John 1:1,14,16-18)

Let us thank God for himself, for his revelation, and pray that we today may not miss the fulness of His Glory, but that our hearts, minds and wills may be open to Him as each of us is able to comprehend, so that we may be trusted with Him and all that he would reveal to us.

Mrs. Welch will close our worship with "The Lord's Prayer."

W O R S H I P

Tuesday evening - Period of Meditation - Mrs. William Sale Terrell

Hymn - Praise to the Lord! the Almighty, the King of creation!
O my soul, praise Him for He is thy health and salvation!
All ye who hear, now to his temple draw near,
Serve Him in glad adoration!

Praise to the Lord! Who doth prosper thy work and defend thee;
Surely His goodness and mercy here daily attend thee;
Ponder anew - What the Almighty can do,
If with His love He befriend thee!

Praise to the Lord! Oh let all that is in me adore Him!
All that hath life and breath come now with praises before Him!
Let the Amen - Sound from His people again,
Gladly for aye we adore Him.

Scripture - "Seek the Lord while he may be found. Call upon him while he is near. Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts. Let him return to the Lord that he may have mercy on him, and to our God for he will abundantly pardon. For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways says the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways and my thoughts than your thoughts.

For as the rain and the snow come down from heaven and return not thither but water the earth, making it bring forth and sprout- giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater - so shall my word be that goes forth from my mouth. It shall not return to me empty but it shall accomplish that which I purpose, and prosper in the thing for which I sent it.

For you shall go out in joy and be led forth in peace; the mountains and the hills before you shall break forth into singing and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the cypress; instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle, and it shall be to the Lord for a memorial, for an everlasting sign which shall not be cut off." Isaiah 55, 6-13.

A voice crys "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord. Make straight in the dessert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be lifted up and every mountain and hill made low; the uneven ground shall become level and the rough places a plain - and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together for the mouth of the Lord has spoken." Isaiah 40, 1-5

"With what shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before God on high? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, with tens of thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?

He has shown you O man what is good, and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness and to walk humbly with your God." Micah 6, 6-8.

Prayer - "O God and Father of us all, breathe upon us now thy holy calm. Forgive the disorder, the fever, the vain purpose of our lives. We have made haste as those who believe not. We have spent our days contrary to the plainest laws. Our eyes have been fixed to the earth, and rarely lifted to the skies. We have not silenced ourselves to hear, not been patient to understand.

Help us now to stand a while in the shelter of thy shadowing wings, and to be still; to look out again upon life with new vision, that we may understand; to wait for the revelation of thy will that shall make us calm and strong." Amen. Muriel Lester, (WDP, 1940)

Meditation - We have spent the day together in worship, fellowship and discussion, considering our task in the light of our faith, pinpointing the issues and considering the most effective ways of meeting them. Has justice been weighed in the balance and found wanting, or have we found new hope and new courage to tackle our common problems? Do you remember those lines from "There is a Balm in Gilead"? "Sometimes I get discouraged and feel my work's in vain, and then the Holy Spirit revives my soul again." Take confort from the knowledge that "Though the wrong seems oft so strong" it is still God's world, and "He is the ruler yet." I like Moffat's translation of the second and third verses of the 75th Psalm, "God says 'Through all the long delay I am still ruling in my justice; when men in any panic melt away I still uphold the order of the world.'" (RSV. "When the earth totters and all it's inhabitants, it is I who keep steady it's pillars.")

Again and again since last spring when I reread the epistles of Peter I have remembered his injunction "Steady then, keep cool and pray." (Ist Peter 4:7 Moffat) Both nationally and internationally these have been difficult days requiring great patience, wisdom and faith. So it was when First Peter was written. Trustworthy tradition has it that both St. Peter and St. Paul were slain in the persecution of the early Christians that followed the burning of Rome. This letter was presumably written in Rome shortly after the martydom of Paul which gives added significance to Peter's admonition. It is good for us to remember it today with the rising tide of revolution, nationalism and east-west tensions. The demand for human rights, dignity and status, for economic and social justice, is evident all over the world, but justice can be a rather cold and legalistic word unless it is enriched and mellowed by a certain quality of empathy, which the Oxford dictionary defines as "the power of projecting one's personality into, and so fully understanding, the object of contemplation." It was Harry Golden, in his introduction to William Peter's "Southern Temper" who observed that "justice is impossible until the man who has not been injured by injustice is as indignant as the man who has." How much we need the capacity to put ourselves in the other person's shoes! Like Ezekial among the exiles at Telebib who "sat where they sat."

The Man of Galilee made no reference to justice in the sermon on the mount. In fact the only time we find in the concordance that Jesus used the word was in his denunciation of those "who tithe mint and dill and cummin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law-justice, mercy and faith." (Matthew 23, 23.) But he did talk a lot about love and forgiveness and mercy and compassion and about putting first things first. If we really cared about people as persons, and identified ourselves with them our sympathy would become empathy. It is said that Karl Marx had pity for the masses but no compassion for people.

Only when we personalize the needs and suffering of those to whom justice has been denied can we fully comprehend what Harry Golden means when he talks about the "fettering of the human spirit" in his "Only in America." Everyone, from the Fund for the Republic to the Christophers, including educators, politicians and theologians, has been discussing freedom. United Church Women's triennial theme, the meaning, dimensions, and imperatives of freedom, was certainly well chosen. Currently the communicons of the National Council of Churches are in the midst of a year of coordinated emphasis on "Christian Responsibility for Freedom." It is said that if a hungry man in Asia were offered four sandwiches or Roosevelt's "four freedoms" he would choose the four sandwiches. Half of the people in the world go to bed hungry every night, but stronger even than the need for freedom from hunger and want and ill health is the passionate desire for the unfettering of the human spirit.

The cover of our Workbook carries the familiar quotation from the prophet Amos: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an everflowing stream." Amos was a shepherd and water was a necessity, an essential for both shepherd and flock. Could it ever be that justice and righteousness could become such an overwhelming flood that the age old stereotypes and the status quo would be completely washed away, and out of the redevelopment process and the cleaning up of the wreckage and driftwood left by the storm, a free new community with no restricted areas for body or spirit could emerge?

William George Jordon in a provocative chapter on "The Way of the Reformer" in his book "The Power of Truth" says "The reformer in morals, in education, in sociology. . .in any line of aspiration, is ever a pioneer. His privilege is to blaze the path for others, to mark at his peril a road that others may follow in safety. He must not expect that the way will be graded and asphalted for him. He must realize that he must face injustice, ingratitude, opposition, misunderstanding, the cruel criticism of contemporaries, and often, hardest of all the wondering reproach of those who love him best.". . ."When nature decides on any man as a reformer she whispers to him his great message, she places in his hand the staff of courage, she wraps around him the robes of patience and self reliance and starts him on his way. Then in order that he may have strength to live through it all, she mercifully calls him back for a moment and makes him - an optimist."

So, as we treasure every upward step, we would see even in life's darkest moments the faint evidences of the dawn, and press on toward the goal of brotherhood for all mankind. "For behold the day comes. . . when all the arrogant and all evil doers will be stubble. . . says the

Lord of Hosts. . . .But for you who fear my name the sun of right-wousness shall rise with healing in it's wings."

Prayer - "O Thou who art the light of the minds that know Thee, the life of the souls that love Thee, and the strength of the thoughts that seek Thee, help us so to know Thee that we may truly love Thee, so to love Thee that we may fully serve Thee, whose service is perfect freedom. Amen."

Gelasian Sacramentary

CLOSING MEDITATION - Mrs. William Sale Terrell (Wednesday morning)

I have recently read several of a series of articles in LIFE magazine. One was entitled "Earth" and the other, "Oceans." Several others are to follow one on "Anartica" and one on "Near Regions of Space."

Life in writing these articles and speaking of the geophysical year whimsically calls it the geo-whizical year because such amazing strides are being made these days in the study of the components around, above and below us.

The first article on "Earth" spoke of "love waves" which are earth tremors and also of the "dawn chorus" which is a kind of radio static in the atmosphere but for us these words would have a different connotation.

There are millions of earth quakes and tremors a year beneath the surface of the earth. A single major quake there can equal one hundred thousand atomic bombs. Illustrative of the deep quakes over our world today are New Orleans, Little Rock, Montgomery and the Congo.

A number of years ago the scientists thought this was a contracting earth and we do have a contracting earth. I heard recently of a marvelous invention which is common property, belonging to us all. A letter can now be transcribed on air mail stationery and sent from New York to Los Angeles in seven minutes. Surely, we do live in a contracting earth. G. K. Chesterson said "It's ironical we have learned to talk around the world when we have nothing to say." But I feel we do have something to say.

Now the theory is that the earth is expanding. Knowledge is being enlarged every day and "outer space" is becoming common in our vocabulary and in our thoughts. We have an expanding family in the United Nations. The ecumenical movement is growing.

The LIFE magazine article on "Oceans" had some fascinating pictures. Often times there may be strong currents on the surface but underneath is a deep flowing stream which can represent to us the mighty stream of prophetic hope and action which is counter to surface discouragements. The South, the United States, the world, all hope the aspirations of right will be realized and what we are seeking will come to pass.

I am reminded of a passage from Scripture, I Corinthians, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, I am become as

sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing." This thought we must keep forever before us.

A few years ago I was a Lake Winnepausaukee in New Hampshire for a meeting. Each morning early the clouds were covering the mountains surrounding the lake but as day quickened they began to roll away. The 90th Psalm came to mind; "Lord, thou hast been our refuge, from one generation to another. Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever the world was made, thou art God from everlasting, and world without end. Thou turnest man to destruction; again thou sayest, Come again, ye children of men." What a patient God we have, such astonishing patience. He sows generation after generation of men in the hopes that one day His kingdom will be brought to earth.

Some years ago, my husband, on a bitter, winter night, after working late at the office hurried to his car to come home. He found the lock had been tampered with and he was unable to unlock the car. He went to a nearby shop for help. The lady there had no one to send. He asked her as one does in these situations if she had any suggestions of what to do. She said that he could try breathing on the lock. He went back out into the cold night and with the breath of his body breathed into the key hole. Then he tried the key and the car came unlocked. All the way home he thought of the hymn, "Breathe on me Breath of God, fill me with life anew, then I will love what thou dost love and do what thou wouldst do." The Breath of God breathes on us all, filling us with strength anew so we need not fear the quakes, tremors or strong currents abroad today. His kingdom will come.

W O R S H I P

Mrs. Seymour Haber

That We Be Ever Grateful for God's Goodness

READER - We give thanks unto Thee, who art the Lord our God and God of our fathers, for the privilege of life which is ours, for the wonders of earth and sea and sky about us, for all that is good and true in us and in our society, and for that promise of a greater goodness and clearer truth which, because of our faith in Thee, we know shall yet be fulfilled.

Do Thou open our eyes and illumine our souls, so that, despite frustration and pain, despite confusion and anguish, we may stedily discern the signs of Thy beneficent Presence; and, discerning them, may we face the present with confidence, and the future with hope.

God's Goodness - The Testament of Nature

READER - Thy goodness, O Lord, is written large and bold in the Testament of Nature, in the orderliness, the majesty and the beauty of the physical world. Wherefore, with the psalmist of old, we on this Day speak Thy praise.

Bless the Lord, O my soul.
O lord my God, Thou art very great;
Thou art clothed with glory and majesty.

CONG. - Thou coverest Thyself with light as with a garment,
And stretchest out the heavens like a curtain.

READER - Thou makest the clouds Thy chariot;
Thou ridest on the wings of the wind.
Thou makest winds Thy messengers,
The flaming fire Thy ministers.

CONG. - Thou didst establish the earth upon its foundations,
That it should not ever be moved.
Thou makest springs flow in the valleys;
They find their way among the hills.

READER - They give drink to every beast of the field;
The wild asses quench their thirst.

CONG. - Beside them dwell the birds of the air;
From among the branches they sing.

READER - Thou waterest the mountains from Thine upper chambers,
That the earth may be satisfied by the fruit of Thy handiwork.

CONG. - Thou makest grass grow for the cattle,
And herbage for the service of man,
To bring forth bread out of the earth

READER - And wine that cheers the heart of man,
And bread that sustains man's strength.

CONG. - The trees of the Lord drink their fill,
The cedars of Lebanon, which He has planted.

READER - Thou has appointed the moon for festival seasons,
The sun which knows its time for setting.

CONG. - How manifold are Thy works, O Lord!
In Wisdom hast Thou made them all.

READER - Praise ye the Lord from the heavens!
Praise Him in the heights!

CONG. - Let all praise the name of the Lord,
For His name alone is exalted;
His majesty is over earth and heaven.

READER - May the glory of the Lord endure forever;
Let the Lord rejoice in His works.

God's Goodness - The Testament of Man

READER - Thy goodness is inscribed in the Testament of Man, in the powers of his body, the skill of his hand, in his capacity to think, to feel, to aspire, in his ability to communicate with his fellows, in his will to labor cooperatively at their side. Aye it is written large and bold in the nobility of man's spirit.

This is a sign of the goodness of God, that there are men ready to surrender their comfort and their happiness out of love for their fellows, pity for the suffering and devotion to high ideals.

This is a sign of the goodness of God, that, hungering insatiably after the truth, they will sacrifice themselves to attain it, and possessing it, defend it with their lives.

This is a sign of the goodness of God, that they will be free, and, being free, will not rest until freedom be the lot of all men.

This is a sign of the goodness of God, that, though they might be at ease in the world as it is, they labor steadfastly to convert it into what it ought be.

Wherefore with the psalmist we speak our grateful praise to Thee.

CONG. - O Lord, our Lord,
How glorious is Thy name in all the earth,
Whose majesty is sung above the heavens!
When I behold Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers,
The moon and the stars, which Thou hast established;

READER - What is man, that Thou shouldst be mindful of him
Mortal man, that Thou shouldst think of him?

CONG. - Yet Thou hast made him but little less than divine,
And hast crowned him with glory and honor.

READER - Thou hast given him dominion over the works of Thy hands;
Thou hast put all things under his feet;

CONG. - Sheep and oxen, all of them,
Yea, and the beasts of the field,

READER - Birds of the air, and the fish of the sea,
Whatsoever passes through the paths of the seas.

CONG. - O Lord, our Lord,
How glorious is Thy name in all the earth!

God's Goodness - The Testament of Israel

READER - O God, Thy goodness is manifest in the Testament of Israel. From Egypt didst Thou redeem us, O Lord our God, and from the house of bondage didst Thou deliver us. In famine hast Thou fed us, and in plenty sustained us. From the sword hast Thou rescued us, from pestilence hast Thou saved us, and from sore and grievous ills hast Thou delivered us.

With everlasting love Thou hast loved the House of Israel, Thy people; Torah and commandments, laws and judgments hast Thou taught us. Eternal life didst Thou implant in our midst. By Thy Torah we lived, by Thy Torah we live now, and by Thy Torah we shall continue to live and labor for the coming of Thy Kingdom.

Shall we not think Thee, O God, on this Day, for having kept Israel alive, for having bestowed on us the gracious gift of Thy Torah, and for having brought us near to Thy service? Even as it is written by the prophet:

But you, Israel My servant,
Jacob whom I have chosen
The seed of Abraham My Friend,

CONG. - You whom I have taken hold of from the ends of the earth,
And called from its uttermost parts,
Saying: You are My servant,
I have chosen you, not rejected you;

READER - Fear not, for I am with you,
Be not dismayed, for I am your God;
I will strengthen you, yea, I will help you;
Yea, I will uphold you with My victorious right hand.

CONG. - I, the Lord, have called you in righteousness,
I have taken you by the hand;
I have kept you and made you a covenanted people,
A light to the nations;
To open eyes that are blind,
To bring captives out of the dungeon,
Those who sit in darkness out of prison.

God's Goodness - The Testament of America

READER - Thy goodness is revealed in the Testament of America. Into this land there have assembled the outcast and the weary of the older nations of the world. Here they dreamed a new dream of a nation founded on the truth, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

And because Thou hast been with us and Thy goodness has kept us strong, the freedom which they won is still ours. May we ever be worthy of our American heritage; may we ever treasure our liberties, not for ourselves alone but for all our fellowmen; and may our country become a guiding light to all mankind. In the words of Abraham Lincoln:

CONG. - With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in.

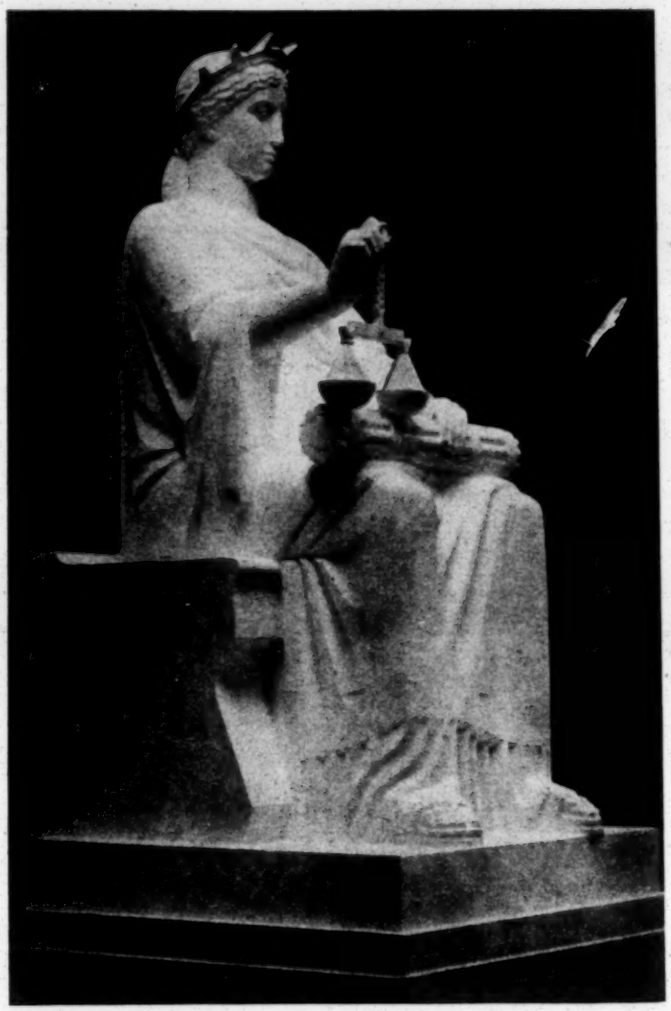
READER - To do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

CONG. - Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world.

READER - In founding the United States, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

CONG. - It is for us to be here dedicated to the great task remainign before us. We here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that this government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

READER & CONG. - For all these, O Lord our God, we thank Thee: for Thy goodness as maintained in Nature, in the human spirit, in Israel's Torah, and in America's promise. Embolden our hearts so that, surmounting discouragement and despair, we may learn to see clearly Thy bounties, and seeing them, make them manifest to all the world. Amen.



WORK BOOK

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

NOVEMBER 15 - 16, 1960

JUSTICE WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE

Justice is turned back
and righteousness stands afar off
for truth has fallen in the public squares
and righteousness cannot enter.
Isaiah 59:14 R. S. V.

Let justice roll down like waters
and righteousness like an everflowing stream
Amos 5:24 R. S. V.

Love thy neighbor as thyself.
Mark 13:31

Providing for honest things not only in the sight of the Lord but also in the sight of men.
II Cor. 8:21

WE SEEK:

A conviction that will not
let us rest,
A faith that will not
shrink,
A courage that will not
waver.

WE WOULD BE:

Firm in conviction, never
afraid to speak the
truth.
Persuasive in conversation,
Patient and understanding
with those who do not
agree--
"Fervent in spirit,
serving the Lord."

* * * * *

"An inscription to be read by all who visit the chapel at Stanton - Harold, a small village near the center of England. It reads

'In the year 1653
When all things sacred were
throughout the nation
Either demolished or profaned
Sir Robert Shirley, Baronet
founded this church
Whose singular praise it is
To have done the best things
In the worst times, and
Hoped them in the most calamitous.'

It is a song for us to march to, When the 'days are evil.' We know and are persuaded, God has His 'time' too, and in them even the evil is made to serve the good.

Unknown and unheralded, as the world holds, Sir Robert stands out in the minds of those who read and praise as a man of self-discipline and devotion in the midst of social unrest in the Cromwellian." -- Sidney Lovett

From pages 821-822, Vol 6,
Interpreters Bible. Used by
permission of Abingdon Press.

"Give us the Courage of the Soul's High Vision
Through Its Fulfillment We Never See"

SCHEDULE OF WORKSHOP

NOVEMBER 15

9:00 A.M. - Registration

10:00 A.M. - Prayer - Rev. J. J. Sneed, D. D.
Greetings - Mr. Harold Fleming
Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Introductions

Worship - Mrs. Mable Morley

Prayer -

"Father eternal, Ruler of creation, Spirit of life, which moved ere form was made; Through the thick darkness covering every nation, Light to man's blindness, O be Thou our aid: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

Races and peoples, lo! we stand divided, And sharing not our griefs, no joy can share; By wars and tumults Love is mocked, derided, His conquering cross no kingdom wills to bear: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

Envious of heart, blind-eyed, with tongues confounded, Nation by nation still goes unforgiven; In wrath and fear, by jealousies surrounded, Building proud towers which shall not reach to heaven: Thy kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

How shall we love Thee, holy, hidden Being, If we love not the world which Thou has made? O give us brother love for better seeing Thy Word made flesh, and in a manger laid: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done."

"Basic Beliefs and Social Responsibility"
-- Miss Thelma Stevens

PANEL - The Unfinished Revolution - Miss Eleanor French, Moderator

"Legal Aspects of School Desegregation"
"Civil Disobedience" - Mr. Marion Wright

"The March on the Capitol"
Montgomery - Mr. Bernard Lee
Atlanta - Mr. Lonnie King

"The Kneel-Ins" - Mr. Lawrence Martin
Mr. Lonnie King

"The Sit-Ins" - Miss Mary Ellen Bender
Miss Lana Taylor

12:30 P.M. - Lunch

2:00 P.M. - Prayer - Mrs. John S. Correll

PANEL - Citizens Free and Responsible
"How We Talk Together" - Mrs. J. B. Pendergrast
Mrs. John Patton
"A Southern Point of View" - Mrs. Eliza Paschall

WORKSHOP GROUPS - Miss Eleanor French, Leader

I. The Church and Human Relations
A. Mrs. I. Wilen, Chairman
B. Mrs. Alfred Lexow, Chairman

II. The Unfinished Revolution
A. Mrs. David Cathcart, Chairman
B. Mrs. Earl Andrews, Chairman

III. Basic Human Rights
A. Mrs. Philip G. Hammer, Chairman
B. Miss Florence Harris, Chairman

IV. Law and Order
A. Mrs. Thomas Green, Chairman
B. Mrs. Harry Strauss, Chairman

6:00 P.M. - Dinner

7:00 P.M. - Meditation - Mrs. William Sale Terrell

Continuation of Workshop groups

NOVEMBER 16

9:30 A.M. - Worship - Mrs. Seymour Haber

Report of Workshop Groups

Discussion

Summary - Miss Thelma Stevens
Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Meditation - Mrs. William Sale Terrell

Song Leader - Miss Rosa Page Welch

WORKSHOP GROUPS

I. THE CHURCH AND HUMAN RELATIONS

A. Chairman
Mrs. I. Wilen

Consultants
Mrs. George Bain
Mrs. Moreland Smith
Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod
Mrs. E. Clayton Calhoun

Reporter
Mrs. Stanley Rawn

B. Chairman
Mrs. Alfred Lexow

Consultants
Mr. Arthur Levin
Mrs. John S. Correll
Mrs. John Stroud
Mrs. Paul Arrington

Reporter
Mrs. Warren Besselieu

II. THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

A. Chairman
Mrs. David Cathcart

Consultants
Miss Carol Lukei
Mrs. Clifford Durr

Reporter
Mrs. John Patton

B. Chairman
Mrs. Earl Andrews

Consultants
Mrs. Mable Morley
Mr. John Constable

Reporter
Mrs. Jennie Ruth Crump

III. BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Chairman
Mrs. Philip G. Hammer

Consultants
Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Mrs. A. W. West
Mrs. George McCaskey

Reporter
Mrs. G. H. Martin

B. Chairman
Miss Florence Harris

Consultants
Mrs. T. M. Breeden
Mrs. R. T. Hollis
Mrs. Howard Aronin

Reporter
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox

IV. LAW AND ORDER

A. Chairman
Mrs. Thomas Green

Consultant
Mr. Leslie Dunbar

Reporter
Miss Mary Lena Wisehart

B. Chairman
Mrs. Harry Strauss

Consultant
Mr. Marion Wright

Reporter
Mrs. H. W. Williams

From The World Outlook, October 1960

The Catholic Church and Lausanne

At this summer's meeting of the European Ecumenical Youth Assembly in Lausanne, Switzerland, a number of Roman Catholic youth were present as observers. The Catholic Action group asked its members to pray for the Assembly.

Bishop Francois Charriere of Geneva issued a statement in which he said that the Roman Catholic Church does not belong to the World Council of Churches, yet it "nevertheless teaches that all humble and sincere efforts aiming at reconciliation of all Christians are the work of the Holy Spirit."

The Catholic population of Lausanne was asked by the Roman Catholic prelate to attend a special mass " to invoke God's blessing on the work of the Assembly."

The bishop's message said that the Lausanne Assembly "gives us encouragement for two reasons."

One reason is that "these are young people who come together to contribute to Christian unity" and when youth are enthusiastic about a great cause "we should all be wrong to despair about the future."

The other reason is that the Assembly theme is centered not on a secondary question "but on the central mystery of Christianity."

It is interesting to notice that, whereas Catholic and Protestant groups have come together rather successfully on secondary issues, it is the primary interest of the "central mystery" that the bishop of Lausanne raised up for praise.

We are not in doubt that it will be many years before the great divisions of the church can be healed. But it is good that some of the talk leading to friction is becoming a thing of the past.

* * * * * * * * * *

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

(Passed by White House Conference on Youth)

480. That all signs, stereotypes, symbols, and practices tending in any way to lessen the dignity of minority segments of our population be eliminated; and that any legislation requiring such practices be repealed.

481. That all discriminatory practices be abolished which deny equal opportunity in--

education
housing
employment
places of public accommodation, publicly or privately owned

482. That the Conference--
endorse and support the nonviolent sit-in demonstrations of Southern students in protest against segregated facilities--welcome the widespread support of students of other colleges throughout the nation

decry the use of force or of political or legal contrivances to prohibit or intimidate the demonstrators

deplore their suspension by some colleges and urge their reinstatement

urge the release of special Federal funds to enable those not reinstated to complete their education.

From VENTURE, September, 1960
Vol. 2, No. 1

RECOMMENDATIONS

THE TEMPORARY STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee recommends that:

A. The General Conference accept the following as the statement of purpose for the student movement.

"We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action. Nonviolence as it grows from Judaic-Christian traditions seeks a social order of justice premeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.

"Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear; love transforms hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hope ends despair. Peace dominates war; faith reconciles doubt. Mutual regard cancels enmity. Justice for all overthrows injustice. The redemptive community supercedes systems of gross social immorality.

"Love is the central motif of nonviolence. Love is the force by which God binds man to Himself and man to man. Such love goes to the extreme; it remains loving and forgiving even in the midst of hostility. It matches the capacity of evil to inflict suffering with an even more enduring capacity to absorb evil, all the while persisting in love.

"By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, nonviolence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities."

(This Statement of Purpose was adopted in Raleigh, North Carolina on April 17, 1960, at the first general conference of student movement participants.)

The Christian Century

Editorials

AUGUST 24, 1960

Let Us Kneel-in Together!

✦ KNEEL-INS are new in name only. When small groups of Negro college students accompanied by white friends appeared at white churches in Atlanta on recent Sundays, they were doing what had been done many times before in southern and border states. Sporadically through the years Negroes have gone uninvited to white churches and have been received with varying degrees of hospitality or rejection. The motives of Negroes in going to white churches and the motives of whites in receiving or rejecting them have usually been vague and have often been mixed. At times they have been, on both sides, unworthy. It is not impossible and it is not improper to analyze those motives.

The stigma of racial segregation will not be removed until it disappears from white Christian churches, where it began. It will not be removed merely by juxtaposing whites and Negroes in the same church building. Such a relationship may be enough to satisfy the elemental demands of justice at lunch counters and public beaches and in buses and libraries; it is not enough to meet Christ's claim that his disciples are one. To speak of that claim is to speak of a relationship in which affinity is far more important than proximity. Bread served at a lunch counter is one thing; bread shared in church is another.

To say of Negroes that the motives which prompt them to attend white churches are often confused and sometimes ambivalent is not to question their right to attend and hold membership in any Christian church and to participate in the life of that church. It is rather to say that they do have this right, that they should not be excluded on the basis of race and that the fact of race should not make them suspect when they seek communion with white Christians. If white Christians are suspicious, resentful and defiant when Negroes appear at their churches, if even in the house of God they fail to "practice hospitality," the guilt is theirs. But Negro Christians have, nevertheless, a Christian duty; and that duty requires that to the best of their ability they give their white brothers no occasion for offense.

Negroes cannot perform this Christian duty, however, by staying away from white churches. Indeed, by staying away they confirm the clichés upon which exclusivist Christians rely; they deprive such Christians of the opportunity to measure their own faith and the proud protestations of their church against the demands of their Christ. A constant rather than sporadic attendance of Negroes at white churches would do more to compel all Christians of our land to re-examine the ground and purpose of their faith and to revive their calcified churches than any other single social factor.

It is not the *presence* of Negroes that causes white Christians to sin against their brothers. The evil is deeply buried; the appearance of the Negro at the church door merely hoists the signal which calls forth that evil. It is an evil which must be exposed, but it cannot be exposed by consideration of the hypothetical question, "What would we do if a Negro applied for membership?" It is when this actually occurs, when the Negro knocks on the door of the white church, that spirits stir within. Some of these spirits wear the mask of custom, but beneath the mask lurk the features of an ancient hatred. And others of these aroused spirits, struggling to be born, partake of the spirit of Christ. The white Christian church will never be what it ought to be until it is put to this trial, a trial in which Christ and racial custom engage in mortal struggle for the souls of men.

The Negro Christian, then, must approach the white church not for his own sake but as an instrument in the hand of God. He cannot serve as such an instrument if he attends a white church out of mere curiosity or to test for himself whether these Christians mean what they preach and sing. The church is sullied if it is used by men to expose and humiliate other men. The Negro Christian should not go in vanity to prove that he is just as good as other folk and perhaps better. Such profanation of the church has enough devotees among whites. He should not go for the purpose of harassing and disturbing the worship of other men. This is a misdemeanor which the law of the land properly does not tolerate. He should not go defiantly determined to invade and overthrow the last preserve of white supremacy. It must be overthrown, but not by establishment of some other kingdom of pride.

The Negro should go to the white church because he has heard the summoning of God and goes to hear what God will say to *him*. He should go because as a part of Christ's body he cannot endure separation from any part of that body. He should go because he wills under God's leading to be reconciled to his brother and knows no better place to begin than in the church. He should go because he knows that far beyond sit-

ting at lunch counters together, men must break bread together. He should go not once but regularly, for inconstancy will be clear proof that his going is not sincere. He should go willing to sacrifice at the earliest possible date the unique role which his own separated church has played in his life in exchange for a church in which the body of Christ is not divided on racial lines. He should go in such a spirit, and in such a spirit keep on going despite rebuffs and humiliations. Once more the offended must suffer for the redemption of the offender.

But what about the motives of the white man? In four Atlanta churches on August 9 Negro visitors were accepted and were seated indiscriminately. Would the white Christians do it again and again? And with equal grace if the episode lengthens to an epoch in their church life and a few Negro visitors become many? At two of the churches Negro students were offered but declined to accept seats in the balcony and in the basement. Reports do not make clear whether in the two churches there were unoccupied seats among the white communicants. In any event it is unlikely that the Negro students, making their first bid for acceptance in white churches, would settle for the only seating arrangement under which their enslaved grandparents were permitted to worship with white people.

The chairman of ushers in one of the two churches is reported to have said, "They were just a bunch of agitators." (Christians have, of course, been called that from the earliest days of the church.) So long as visitors to a Christian church conduct themselves with quietness and dignity it is not the privilege of any representative of the church to analyze the motives of communicants or to refuse them admission. The church belongs to Christ, not to the ushers, deacons or trustees. Christ knows the hearts of men who come to his church; he will judge and will recompense them according to that judgment. Whatever the motives of the Negro visitors who come to white churches, the usher has only one duty and one proper course of action: to welcome the visitors and to see that they are comfortably seated. If the Negro is engaged in unchristian agitation, cordial white Christians may be the instrument through which God's grace may work a converting power upon his life. If his enterprise is Christian, the absence of slight or rebuff will be pleasing to God whose child has been accepted.

Moreover, it is not enough for white Christians to give a cordial welcome to Negroes in the hope that such a display will disarm the inquisitive or defiant or sincere Negro and thus relieve them of the need to face issues raised by the possibility of his returning again and again. The welcome must be genuine; it must be the greeting of Christian for Christian, of member for potential member. A hypocritical, calculating cordiality can desecrate God's temple just as much as a deliberate rebuff. In a word, the same motives should move both the Negro visitor and the white host: a confession of sin, a need for forgiveness, a commitment of the whole life to God's full will. The sit-ins and the wade-ins succeed, but the will of Christ for the races will not be accomplished until Negro Christians and white Christians break bread together on their knees. For a long time to come the presence of Negroes and whites in the same church will not be normal, but the abnormality can be turned to the glory of God and to the good of all his children.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 6, 1960.

EPISCOPAL GROUP BACKS SITDOWNS

Hails Negro Store Protests and Urges Similar Fight on Church Racial Bans

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, March 5—A national Protestant Episcopal organization has endorsed demonstrations against segregated public facilities and has suggested that similar protests be aimed at the church.

The action was taken by the board of directors of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. A statement from the board was released today by the society's headquarters.

The organization was formed two months ago in Raleigh, N. C., at a convention of lay and clergy delegates from the across the nation.

The statement grew out of a series of demonstrations by Negro students against segregated lunch counters in seven Southern states. The Rev. Mr. John B. Morris, executive director of the society, said that the statement was directed to the entire nation.

The board urged churchmen to "question if they can appropriately participate in a church activity which refuses to serve all regardless of race." Then it said:

"We commend those citizens who express love in suffering by passive disobedience to laws or mores that separate on account of race or religion in state or commercial enterprises.

"We suggest that all members of this society consider the participation in like visible objections to practices of the church in separating on account of race in any activity or institution supported, sponsored, controlled or operated by the church."

Mr. Morris said the statement had been drafted last week at the first session of the group's governing board at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York.

The executive secretary remarked in an accompanying statement that it was inevitable that the protests would spread. He said that they would eventually include "both white and Negro students in a Southwide movement to affirm the equal status of all citizens in public accommodations." He continued:

"The churches, where segregation is even more tragic, will not escape involvement. If negotiation and appeal fail, it is very likely that churchmen will find themselves picketing their own institutions and sitting down n restricted pews.

"Such demonstrative witness, motivated by love and expressed in nonviolent, passive resistance to evil, is thoroughly grounded in Christian teaching. Students at lunch counters and churchmen trying to set their house in order need only to look to Jesus for both an example of direct assault on sin as well as for the strength to persevere."

(Single copies of this reprint may be had without charge. It may be ordered for 3¢ each in quantities under 100 and for 2¢ each in any quantity over 100.)

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY. 50 Whitehall St., S. W. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Reprinted from *The Atlantic Monthly,* May, 1960

A Southern Point of View

BY

ELIZA PASCHALL

A Southerner who was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and who received her A.B. from Agnes Scott College, ELIZA PASCHALL *has lived in Atlanta, Georgia, for the past twenty-four years. She is the mother of three children who attend public school in Atlanta and has been active in many local community organizations.*

IT IS common practice among Southern spokesmen to refer to the "Southern point of view." Our capitol in Atlanta resounds with speeches which say that all Georgians agree. And it is always stated or implied that what they all agree on is that our present system of a legally racially segregated society is best.

With the threat of closed public schools, it has now become "realistic" to admit that, though there may still be doubt as to the jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court over the state of Georgia, we should act as though the jurisdiction were legal rather than shut down all our schools. It has become "courageous" to accept token integration rather than have our children denied schools. All this realism and this courage, it is made quite clear, go against the Southern point of view.

I am a Southerner. From *my* point of view, not only does the U.S. Supreme Court have jurisdiction over Georgia, but the school decision was a correct one. Our schools are separate but not equal, and even if they were, legal racial segregation has no place in a democracy. It is a hangover from slavery. Historically it can be explained in the South, but it cannot be justified from my Southern point of view.

I am tired of justification by comparison. "But it is really so much worse in the North. Look at Chicago. And what about South Africa?" I do not set my standards of morality by what others do, in the North or in Chicago or in South Africa. I set them by what I believe in my heart, and I do believe in my heart that segregation is a disease that infects all parts of a being, human or political. It is a germ from which I should like to protect my children as much as possible, regardless of its virulence in other places.

My Southern point of view cannot accept the argument that a school board increases its effectiveness in administering a law by ignoring it until forced to obey by a court order. "They had to wait until court action, and they had to contest the suit," I am told. Why? I do not see that reluctance to enforce the law necessarily increases public support for those who are finally forced to abide by the law, or that it increases respect for other laws among adults or among youths.

I have heard these officials defended by those who "do not believe in segregation either" on the grounds that ignoring the law is a necessary political move, presumably to gain support of those citizens who prefer that the law be disobeyed. The implication is that the majority of citizens fall into this category. But I believe that there are many Southerners who expect their public officials to honor their oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

I do not agree with the "realistic liberals," who daily play the game which has as its primary rule: To be influential you must stay in the group. What influence do we have if we constantly yield to the pressure of "This is not the time. It would cause trouble"? Above all else, the group says, one must not cause trouble. The chorus goes like this: "We would have no objections, but others might. We might lose members. We might lose business. We might lose an organization." They never seem to consider that by positive action we might gain a soul, and there are many lost souls in the South today.

I resent the time and effort this problem which we create for ourselves takes from constructive efforts to solve more demanding problems that are not of our own making. At every point in the life of the community, these questions rise to plague us. Shall we admit Negroes? Where could we meet? Whom would we offend? The easy way out is to say that the Negroes prefer it this way and that they do not want to come to our

affairs. I do not presume to know the minds of any group of citizens. No doubt many Negroes would not be interested. But I would let any citizen choose to participate or not according to his interests, not according to law or class.

Let me list from my personal experience a few examples of the dilemma facing liberals.

We have elected a Negro to the board of education, but it is difficult for civic groups to arrange meetings at places to which all members of the board may be admitted. The resources of a state educational institution are at the disposal of citizens in planning community projects if only the white population of the community participates. A United Fund agency has a fine International Club, where foreign students are invited to come and meet American students. Negro students are invited if they are from foreign countries, but not if they are Americans. In this instance, American birth seems to be a liability.

A local civic group interested in international affairs votes to affiliate with a national organization, a member of the national board of which is a local resident. He is also a college president and a Negro. He is expected not to attend local meetings. (He hardly would have time anyway, inasmuch as he travels a great deal representing our country on foreign missions.)

And what about private lives? There is no law that I know of regulating whom I may have in my home, but here in the South one always wonders about what the neighbors will think. "Will they understand?" Understand what? That I like some people and not others, but not on the basis of the color of their hair, or their eyes, or their skin? That I want my children to have an opportunity to know other Americans, as well as visitors from India, Pakistan, Germany, and Australia? At our local, integrated Unitarian-Universalist Church, my child has a Negro classmate with whom she has developed a strong friendship. The friend's father is a university professor, honored in his profession, chosen to assist in the planning of the 1960 White House Conference on Youth. But when his daughter comes to see my daughter, they do not go to the corner drugstore. I am not sure what would happen, and so I keep making excuses when asked point-blank, "May we go?"

"You are too sudden," I am told. "Don't try to change things overnight." Eighteen sixty to nineteen sixty: "sudden"? Nineteen fifty-four to nineteen sixty: "deliberate speed"? Our spokesmen say that others do not understand our problems. What is there to understand in a plan to give up all schools rather than admit one Negro child to one "white" school? Substitute "Hungarian and Russian" for "Negro and white," and would we call it democracy? Substitute "Jew and German" for "Negro and white"; would we call it democracy?

No matter how big our other problems are, we evidently feel that none is as great as accepting the fact of certain children's sitting down together to learn.

In a federal court I listened to the judge announce that, by his order, henceforth there were to be no more white and Negro schools in Atlanta. But the fact remains that all the Negroes are assigned to certain schools and all whites to other schools, and all the teachers end up in the same fashion. Even as we talk of possible desegregation, we speak in terms of a Negro child's asking for a transfer to a "white" school, though the judge has said there are no specifically white schools any more.

Week in and week out, at luncheon meetings, we salute the flag and pledge "liberty and justice for all." We do not have to meet the eyes of the Negro waiters, who are standing in the back, for our eyes are looking forward at the flag.

While we meet and eat, we are likely to endorse crash programs to improve the facilities and the treatment of our mentally ill, who are increasing in numbers each year. Yet how can we avoid split personalities, delusions of grandeur, flights from reality as individuals when we indulge in them as a society?

I have sat in the gallery of the state capitol and listened to the governor (several governors, in fact) and the legislators repeat, like a broken record, "We will never — never — never —" And I have wondered, What are they afraid of? Is it just habit? Do they think this is what is expected of them by the people? And do the people, hearing their officials, think the safe thing to do is to repeat after them, each following the other, round and round like a dog chasing his tail?

I am weary of the chase. I can no longer live with my own silence. I am tired of wondering what the neighbors will think. I would declare to the whole world, including my neighbors, that from my point of view democracy is a serious and wonderful thing, that it must be lived as well as believed in, that the game of "I don't mind, but I thought you did" is a vicious circle that binds and restricts and stunts minds and hearts, that if to thine own self thou art not true, thou canst not then be true to any man.

There is another Southerner whose view I would accept as my own. That Southerner is George Washington. The words are "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair." The standard is the Constitution of the United States.

THE CHURCHES SPEAK

Resolution on the Student Sit-In Movement by the Board of Managers of United Church Women, meeting in Minneapolis, Minnesota April 26-28, 1960.

Believing as Christians that all persons regardless of race should have equal opportunity to live in dignity as children of God; and

Believing in obedience to the civil authority, regularly and legitimately constituted, but believing also that as Christians we must obey God rather than man;

United Church Women support the principle of service without discrimination at lunch counters and the principle of non-violent protest as a means of securing social justice.

We express appreciation to all students, who, using the method of non-violent protest, often at great personal risk and cost, have called national attention to one form of discrimination and symbolically to all discriminations wherever it exists in the United States.

We URGE church women individually and through local and state councils of United Church Women, in whatever ways are possible and effective locally, to support the protest movement not only in principle but concretely through such means as the following:

Continuous interpretation of the meaning of the protest movement and the facts of the local situation in conversation, in the local church, and in the community;

Efforts to strengthen, support or initiate by-racial committees of citizens to consider just solutions to the problems;

Support of merchants who show willingness to establish services without discrimination;

Statements to the local and national managers of stores and to the press regarding the position of United Church Women;

Contributions through established channels, such as the National Student Christian Federation, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York, to meet urgent needs including legal and scholarship aid.

Finally, we call members of United Church Women to give thoughtful study to the increasing body of material available, and to pray that we may equip ourselves adequately for our share in the task and that the work that we do may be illuminated and empowered by our common Christian faith.

Church Groups Speaking On This Subject Are Saying. . .

In Raleigh, North Carolina, 46 white ministers and 13 Negro ministers of the city have said:

"That we commend students and all other persons who use orderly and non-violent means in a forgiving spirit to express their views on the practice of discrimination."

Chapel Hill Ministers--Catholic, Protestant and Jewish said in a joint statement:

"We commend the leaders of these current protests for their dedication to the principles of Non-Violence. We believe that the right to protest in this fashion is a right generally recognized in our society--both by our laws and our 'sense of fair play.' Those who exercise this right peaceably deserve the full protection of our law enforcement agencies."

The Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church has said:

"We commend participating students for the dignified non-violent manner in which they have conducted themselves. . . .Students should be free to exercise in their personal Christian responsibilities. Methodist institutions should not penalize students who do so."

The Presbyterian Outlook, Published in Richmond,Virginia, has come out wholeheartedly in favor of the "sit-ins."

The Division of Racial Minorities and the Division of Christian Citizenship of the Protestant Episcopal Church observed:

"Certain laws so degrade the individual that they threaten the dignity of law itself. The remarkable characteristic of most of the 'sit-in' protests has been the orderly way in which they have been conducted."

In San Antonio, Texas, a Disciples minister, C. Don Baugh, Executive Director of the San Antonio Council of Churches, took the lead in calling together civic leaders and businessmen to eliminate segregated eating facilities when the city was faced with the threat of "Sit-ins."

Religious News Service reported that at Nashville, Tennessee:

"Faculty members of Vanderbilt University's College of Art and Sciences and its Divinity School swiftly declared their opposition to dismissal of a Negro Methodist theological student for leading anti-segregation 'sit-in' demonstrations in Nashville stores.

"In two separate statements--signed by 127 out of 180 Arts and Science faculty members and 14 of 16 Divinity school professors--the educators deplored the expulsion of James Lawson, 32, a senior in the inter-denominational seminary."

The National Student Christian Federation in writing to its members says:

"One reason for drawing this to your attention is: (1) to remind you that as Christian students we are inevitably involved, and (2) that many of the students involved in the demonstrations while professing to

be Christians consider themselves to be outside the camp of either church or society. With reference to the church we again and again receive evidence that there is a growing impatience about the continued segregation of the churches, and a growing feeling that the churches are not taking seriously the demand for racial justice and racial equality."

Though it seems probable that during the summer there will be some slackening of the growth of the "sit-in" movement, all that one can learn of it points toward renewed and greatly increased activity in the fall. Meanwhile, cases of individual "sit-in" protesters are being taken to court in dozens of cities.

The United Presbyterian Church (Student Demonstrations):

Since February of this year, college (and in some instances, high school) students in over seventy Southern communities have staged orderly, peaceful, and dignified efforts to obtain nonsegregated service at lunch counters, public libraries, and other places of public accommodation. Some have been beaten, cursed, spat upon, soaked with fire hoses in freezing weather. At least a thousand students have been arrested on charges varying from "disturbing the peace" to "conspiracy to obstruct commerce" to "trespassing." Not a few of those arrested have elected to serve jail sentences rather than pay fines or bail.

These spontaneous student demonstrations have been hailed as the most significant development in the movement toward desegregation since the famous Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. They have sparked sympathy demonstrations on over a hundred Northern college and university campuses and financial and moral support from dozens of organizations (in March, for example, from the members of the staff of the United Presbyterian Board of Christian Education and in April from members of the Board itself).

Statement of the Executive Committee of the Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches, April 28, 1960:

The Board of Home Missions, through its Executive Committee meeting on April 28, 1960 expresses its support of the students of its own affiliated colleges and of other educational institutions in their demonstrations against racial discrimination in stores, eating establishments, libraries and other places purporting to serve the general public.

We note with appreciation the excellent self-discipline of these demonstrators even in the face of physical attacks and verbal denunciations by ruffians. We commend the colleges that have not expelled or otherwise penalized their students for participation in these demonstrations and also those civil authorities who have attempted to protect peaceful demonstrators.

Civil Rights Suits Brought by Department of Justice under the Acts of 1957 and 1960

Terrell County, GEORGIA, carried to Supreme Court, back to District Court, settled in September.

Macon County, ALABAMA, carried to Supreme Court

Fayette County, TENNESSEE, settled out of Court

Haywood County, TENNESSEE, settled

Bienville Parish, LOUISIANA

Washington Parish, LOUISIANA

(for particulars on all of these, see sheets attached)

The Department of Justice has required the production of voting records under Acts of 1960 in the following counties:

Alabama - WILCOX COUNTY - 8,218 Negroes of voting age; 3,056 whites
Negro voters, none - whites 3,040 (New York Times 5-10-60)

SUMTER COUNTY - 8,700 Negroes, 3,600 whites of voting age.
Negro voters 175; whites 2,858 (New York Times 6-7-60)

MONTGOMERY COUNTY - 34,079 Negroes of voting age, 51,869 Whites
Negro voters 3,480; whites 25,520
(New Orleans Times-Picayune)

Florida - UNION COUNTY - Democrats, white 1,752; Negro 2
Republicans, white 3; Negro 1

Georgia - WEBSTER COUNTY - 1,296 Negroes of voting age; 949 whites
Negro voters, none - whites 934 (New York Times 5-10-60)

FAYETTE COUNTY - 1,255 Negroes, 3,387 Whites of voting age
Negro voters 25, whites 3,402 (New York Times 6-7-60)

EARLY COUNTY - 4,774 Negroes, 5,045 whites of voting age
Negro voters 226, whites 3,402 (New York Times, 6-7-60)

Louisiana - EAST CARROLL PARISH - 5,330 Negroes and 3,223 whites of voting age
Negro voters none, whites 2,212

EAST FELICIANA PARISH - 6,235 Negroes, 6,214 whites of voting age
Negro voters 76, whites 2,414

OUACHITA PARISH - 14,532 Negroes, 31,331 whites of voting age
Negro voters 727, whites 24,257
(Times Picayune, 5-24-60

Mississippi - BOLIVAR COUNTY, La Flore

FOREST COUNTY - 12,958 Negroes in county, less than 25 have been permitted to register. Included in the remaining 12,933 Negroes are doctors, teachers, preachers, laymen disfranchised simply because they are Negroes.

South Carolina - MCCORMICK COUNTY - 2,625 Negroes, 2,077 whites of voting age
Negro voters 0, whites 1,399. (New York Times reports now 49 Negro voters)

HAMPTON COUNTY - 4,607 Negroes, 4,617 whites of voting age
Negro voters 250, whites 3,210

CLARENDON COUNTY - 9,279 Negroes and ? whites of voting age
Negro voters 250, whites 3,210

END VOTE BIAS, TERRELL TOLD

From Atlanta Constitution, September 14

MACON--U.S. District Judge William A. Bootle ordered the Terrell registrars to comply with his order within 10 days.

In a 27-page ruling, the federal district judge permanently enjoined the Terrell registrars from engaging in any practices which involve distinction on the base of race or color between Negroes and other citizens in voting and in registration for voting in Terrell County.

Specifically, the judge enjoined the registrars from:

1. Using different colored application forms for white and Negro voters.

2. Keeping separate registration and voting records for whites and Negroes according to race.

3. Delaying action on application for registration by Negroes while not delaying action on applications of whites.

4. Administering literacy tests requiring Negroes to read and write a more lengthly and difficult paragraph of the constitution of Georgia or of the United States than whites are required to read and write.

5. Administering literacy tests requiring Negroes to read aloud and to write from dictation while not requiring white applicants to do likewise.

6. Administering tests to Negroes singularly and apart from white applicants while administering such tests to white applicants in groups.

7. Requiring a higher standard of literacy of Negroes than of white applicants in passing upon the results of the literacy tests.

The four Negro complainants ordered enrolled on Terrell voter lists are Marjrie Moore Tune, Grace Boyd Gibson, Dave Gibson and Genevieve M. Shedrick

"It is the intent and purpose of this court," Judge Bootle's ruling said, that the persons enjoined shall do whatever is necessary to be done to enroll within 10 days of this decree upon the list of qualified voters of Terrell County, Ga., the names of all of the above four persons."

The lengthy court order also forbids the Terrell registrars from denying registration to any Negro applicant otherwise qualified whose performance in literacy tests is at least equal to that of other applicants who have passed such tests.

The registrars were enjoined "from failing to accord to any Negro citizen of Terrell County in a fair and impartial and non-discriminatory manner each and every right such citizen has or may have under the election laws, customs, usages and regulations of the state of Georgia and under the Constitution and laws of the United States pertaining to suffrage."

TERRELL PROMISES TO GIVE NEGROES EQUAL RIGHT TO VOTE

From Atlanta Journal, September 23

MACON, Ga., Sept. 23--The Terrell County Board of Registrars, loser in the Justice Department's first suit under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, has promised full compliance with a federal court order, to stop discriminating against Negroes.

The Judge has not acted on a Justice Department request for appointment of a federal referee to supervise Negro voter registration in Terrell. Under the injunction, however, any Negro who considered himself discriminated against could ask the court's help.

The report, signed by chief registrar James G. Raines and attorney Charles J. Bloch who represented the registrars announced that the names of four Negroes, Mrs. Marjorie Moore Turner, Mrs. Grace Boyd Gibson, Davey L. Gibson and Mrs. Genevieve M. Shedrick, were added to voting rolls according to directions of Judge Bootle.

The Terrell report said that a plan, drawn up by Raines with the approval of Bloch, was made outlining procedure to be used to comply with the court decree. "Said plan was designed by Mr. Raines for the purpose of being able to show to the court at any time," the report said, "that a conscientious compliance with the court's decrees is being effectuated."

The report said the names of the four persons ordered registered were included "as nearly as possible in alphabetical order" on the copies of the rolls in the possession of the registrars, and that a request had been forwarded to Secretary of State Ben Fortson in Atlanta to correct his list to include the names.

A new list was then drawn placing all voters in alphabetical order "without reference to the race of the voters." Raines said he had destroyed all the green cards previously used for registering Negro voters, while whites used white cards, and that all the information from the tinted cards had been transferred to white cards.

Official Restriction of the Opportunity

of Negroes to Register and Vote

in Macon County, Alabama

1951 - 1960

For more than twenty years, Negro citizens in Macon County, Alabama, in their efforts to register and vote, have almost continuously met strong official resistance. Various techniques have been employed to limit or prevent the participation of Negroes in politics. Although Negroes have constituted more than four-fifths of the total population, they have only just recently constituted one-fourth of the total voters in the County.

Between January 1, 1951 and December 31, 1959 (nine years), certificates of registration were issued to only 510 (32%) of the 1,585 Negroes from whom applications were accepted. This was an average of 56.7 per year.

Following is a list of techniques which have been employed by the white officials to limit or prevent Negroes from political participation:

1. Requiring Negroes and Whites to register in separate rooms and in separate parts of the Macon County Courthouse.

2. Registrars frequently reporting for work late and leaving work early, thus reducing the number of hours available to Negro applicants.

3. Permitting only two Negro applicatns in the registration room at the same time.

4. Requiring Negro applicants to read and transcribe articles from the Constitution of the United States, in addition to filling out the voter registration questionnaire.

5. Conversing with applicants as they write, which practice disturbs them, and stimulates making errors.

6. Permitting a Negro voter to vouch for <u>only two</u> applicants per year.

(See reverse side)

7. Preventing some Negro voters from vouching for any applicant.

8. Failing to issue certificates of registration to Negroes immediately upon the successful completion of the requirements for registration.

9. Failing to inform unsuccessful applicants of their failure to fulfill the requirements for registration.

10. Failing to work on many registration days.

11. Resigning from the board in order not to register Negroes.

To the foregoing restrictions, other Couhty officials have

1. Refused to appoint any Negro voter to serve in any capacity as one of the 108 workers at the polls on election days.

2. Refused to appoint any Negro to serve on the seven-member County Board of Public Welfare.

The State Legislature has also contributed to the restrictive measures by enacting legislation which

1. Permits Boards of Registrars to use twelve of their working days for clerical work only, and in even years to use up to twenty additional days in the precincts away from the courthouse. (There is no requirement that the Board announce in advance which days will be so used.)

2. Gerrymandered the city of Tuskegee in such a manner as to eliminate from residence in the city 400 of its 410 Negro voters. (Not a single white voter was removed from the city).

Supplementing the foregoing, many local white citizens refuse to accept appointment to serve on the Board of Registrars, and the Governor and his two associates (the State Appointing Board) refuse the appoint qualified Negro voters to serve.

From The Christian Century, September 28, 1960

ECONOMIC BOYCOTT

Undercutting the White Citizens' Councils (Fayette County, Tenn.)

Belatedly the Justice Department has acted to stop economic discrimination against Negroes who seek to assert their civil rights by registering to vote. In Tennessee the department has brought injunction suits against banks and individuals in an effort to stop economic coercion impairing citizens' rights. The coercion has been manifested in various ways. A number of Negro teachers have lost their positions; others have been warned that they will be fired if they attempt to register. A Negro minister who had urged his people to register was denied a small loan at a bank even though his cosigner was conspicuously solvent. Negroes have been compelled to move from their homes, to pay loans prematurely, to go far afield to sell their products. Some have been unable to rent land, buy necessities, or obtain services, simply because they tried to behave as good citizens should. Now the justice department has moved to halt the application of economic sanctions against Negroes. In so doing it has struck a solid blow at the so-called White Citizens' Councils, which often apply economic sanctions against Negroes or against whites who seek to help Negroes vote. In fact, economic coercion has been the councils' chief form of attack on Negro rights. It is to be hoped that the Justice Department will file and press suits not only in Tennessee but in other states where the councils practice their cruelties.

Consent judgement was made at Memphis, April 24. The first voting rights case under 1957 Civil Rights Act to be settled by Negotiation.

* * * * *

HAYWOOD COUNTY

Negroes registered to vote in Haywood County today for the first time since the Reconstruction following the Civil War.--New York Times, May 18, 1960.

Important history in Tennessee voting, and important insurance against any Tennessee responsibility for harsh civil rights legislation in the future, have been made and written in the past few weeks.--Chattanooga Times, May 22, 1960.

LOUISIANA

Bienville Parish

Population - Negro, 10,796 -- White 10,107

Registered - Negro 28 -- White 4,759

5,143 of approximately whites of voting age registered; 26 of 4,475 Negroes.
New York Times, June 8, 1960

Washington Parish, June 29, 1959

Justice Department filed suit against the registrar of the Parish and the White Citizens Council. One thousand two hundred eighty-one qualified Negroes had been removed from the voters list through challenges of the White Citizens Council.

On January 12, 1960, the Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered the names of these 1,281 Negroes to be placed again on the voters list. This decision was upheld by the Supreme Court on February 29, on the grounds the Negroes were asked questions not asked to white people.

Hearings by U. S. Civil Rights Commission in New Orleans, September 27-28, 1960

Berl Bernhard, Commission Deputy staff director reported, the Commission had received complaints of discrimination against Negro registration and voting from 17 Parishes -- Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, Clairborne, De Soto, East Carroll, Jackson, Madison, Ouachita, Red River, Tensas, and Webster from North Louisiana; and from South Louisiana, East Feliciana, West Feliciana, St. Helena, Washington and Plaquemines; 35 witnesses coming from Ouachita, East Carroll, Madison, Caddo, Clairborne, St. Helena, Jackson, Plaquemines, Webster, Red River, Bossier Parishes testified.

Complaints

Listed by Clarence A. Laws, field secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.:

1. Outright refusal to register Negroes.
2. Telling Negroes that the registration office is closed.
3. Telling Negroes that they must come at another time even though whites are being registered.
4. Stating that Negroes have failed to properly identify themselves or to establish citizenship.
5. Alleging that application form for registration was not properly accomplished.
6. Concluding questions asked about the federal or state constitutions or some other subject were not properly answered.

State Attorney Gremillion is contemplating invoking the new law passed by the legislature in 1960, which provides imprisonment of one to five years, a $1,000 fine if a person is convicted of making a false, ficticious, or fraudulent statement to any federal agency, asserting that a state or parish official has denied any right guaranteed by the United States or State Constitution.

From The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, May 8, 1960

Some Officials Hurting State, Mitchell Holds

ROME, Ga., May 7--Without calling any names, Rep. Erwin Mitchell Saturday laid out other Georgians serving in Congress and in state offices as a group "doing more harm to our region than any group of Northern Democrats and Republicans could ever do."

"This small group of men and women, and thankfully it is small and will continue to grow smaller, is one of the major obstacles in the path toward unprecedented economic growth, development, and prosperity in our region," Mr. Mitchell said in a speech here.

The 35-year-old Georgia solon, retiring from Congress because of bad health, made his talk to a meeting of the Seventh District Democratic executive committee. The committee met in the city auditorium Saturday to set the rules under which Mr. Mitchell's successor will be chosen.

About 200 persons were in the audience which heard Congressman Mitchell speak and they interrupted him several times with applause. There was a strong ovation at the end.

The solon said that afterwards, a number of individuals came up to him and extended congratulations on what he had said. A number termed the speech "courageous." Mr. Mitchell said he got no adverse reaction although there may have been some.

The Congressman, whose home is at Dalton in Whitfield County, took the occasion to tell the assembled Democrats that he thinks people who are elected to office on the Democratic ticket should act like Democrats.

"When any candidate seeks to run as a nominee of his party, he thereby signifies that that particular party's ideas and goals most closely approximate his own," Mr. Mitchell said.

"This being so, it is a source of amazement that we constantly return to office, as Democrats, elected officials who have established the practice of berating our party, its leadership and its principles.

"It is absolutely astounding that we permit these men and women to bear the Democratic badge when they at every opportunity, through voice and vote, join with the opposition party. I can say this because I believe in the Democratic Party.

"I can say this because I have not and never will be part of the sham and hyposrisy that permeates the rank of the Democratic Party in the South.

"And when I say this, I am talking about political leadership both state and national throughout the South.

"May the day be forthcoming, and I say to you with the strongest conviction of which I am capable that this day will be forthcoming, when we Democrats will

nominate and elect Democrats and will send scrambling those who use our party only as an expedient avenue to public office."

As one example of the manner in which he believes these "self-styled Democrats" have damaged the South, Mr. Mitchell said they "through their hue and cry have with a great deal of success instilled in the minds of Georgians and other Southerners the false belief that the remainder of the nation literally hates us.

"These are the ones who constantly cry out that Northerners seek to crucify us, to insult us, to make whipping boys of us.

"I have travelled throughout our great nation and I have never found this to be so. I have many friends in the Congress from all over the United States and I know that is not their sentiment. On the contrary, the prevailing sentiment is that the South is a part of the United States, just as is the West, North, and East. . . .

"These political leaders who deem themselves the preservers of our way of life might well be called the destroyers of our future.

"These people through their negative approach and with the help of a substantial portion of the Southern press have sought to convey the impression that we in the South are the last bastion of freedom in our great republic. This we know to be untrue.

"These same thought-molders have developed the negative and defeatist attitude that the remainder of the nation stands aligned against the future growth and progress of the South. This we know to be untrue.

"Our fellow Americans, regardless of where they come from, stand ready to join with us for our mutual benefit if we would only let them. But the attitude of our political leaders closes the door to this prospect.

"They say we are suspicious of you, we don't trust you, and we will not cooperate with you."

As a result, Mr. Mitchell declared, the influence of the South is lessened each year in Washington.

The Southern solons refuse to go along with the "genuine needs" of the nation's metropolitan areas. And as a consequence, the representatives of the metropolitan areas are withdrawing their support from the farm program which is vital to the South, he declared.

"This same untenable attitude has led all public education in our state to the very brink of destruction, Mr. Mitchell stated.

"It warns of federal domination, it shouts federal encroachment and control, it says on the one hand 'stay away federal government and let us operate our schools as we see fit,' and on the other hand it says to you and to me in the local school district that you cannot have the freedom of choice to determine locally what you desire. . . .

"This same leadership screams 'states rights' when the Congress enacts

legislation to insure the right of vote to every qualified American regardless of where he may live. And at the same time it is responsible for legislation that takes away from you the right to vote for the Democratic nominee for president."

Mr. Mitchell was referring to Georgia's presidential electors law, first sponsored by then Gov. Herman Talmadge in 1952, and subsequently extended to apply to later presidential elections.

"How many of you recognize the fact that when we go to the polls in November of this year to elect the President of the United States that here in the state of Georgia, if you desire to vote for the Democratic nominee, you will have no opportunity to do so?

"Our only opportunity will be to vote for a slate of unpledged electors. They will cast the electoral vote of our state for whomever they may choose and without your or my concurrence, advice, or instruction.

"The same leadership that says there is no need for more legislation to insure the privilege of voting in Georgia is the very same leadership that is responsible for taking away from us the cherished right to cast our ballot for the specific Democrat we would like elevated to the presidency."

Congressman Mitchell, formerly a solicitor general and a superior court judge, said that no one is prouder of his heritage than he is.

"No one loves Georgia and the Southland any more than I, but I am afraid that by and large our leadership has been guilty of too much tradition and not enough vision," he declared.

"This is the age of rockets and nuclear power. What is our past, we will continue to revere and will continue to be enriched by it. But we must come of age politically.

"We must elect men to office whohave a full consciousness of America's great reservoir of progress that is awaiting to be tapped. While we should continue to treasure the past and gain experience from it, we should no longer live in it.

"We must have leaders who are living in the present and are looking to the tomorrow."

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director J. M. Dabbs, President

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* cooperating but not financially assisted.

HOW SHALL WE FACE THE EVERYDAY TESTS

AHEAD?

With Faith--the inner spirit with which we win moral victories over chaos, unrest, and evil.

With Belief--a belief in God, his creation and the life everlasting.

With Prayer--as regularly as night follows day.

With Conscience--the counterpoise between right and wrong.

With Courage--the indomitable quality that keeps us going forward.

With Honesty--because it is an obligation within ourselves.

With Content of the simple things--so that we may defeat selfishness and personal concerns from undermining the high plan of His will.

With Love for one another--the new philosophy of life.

With Christian living--that which we can attain only through thinking and doing what is in accord with Christ's teachings.

With trust in this credo--for it is God's will.

--Will Downer, in Epworth Herald. Copyright Stone & Pierce.

FROM -- THE EPISCOPAL ADDRESS GENERAL CONFERENCE 1960
METHODIST CHURCH

The Unceasing Battle

Methodism, everlastingly, has fought against the traffic in beverage alcohol, regarding it as a beast tearing at the vitals of society. The struggle goes on, not as a matter of expediency but of national survival. The bare facts are appalling and must not be minimized: more than five million alcoholics now, with the number increasing sharply every year; forty thousand annual traffic fatalities of which at least one-third are caused by drinking drivers; an unholy alliance between liquor and all forms of vice and crime; countless broken homes and children abused by drinking parents; some eleven billion dollars diverted each year from the channels of legitimate trade; an expenditure of more than four hundred million dollars annually in alluring and deceptive advertising by hired specialists in the art of hidden persuasion; militant opposition by an ever-active legislative lobby against every effort to curtail or control this rampant wickedness.

The liquor industry seeks to operate under the protection of civil law on the specious grounds that it is a legitimate business and that its tax revenues are necessary to support the government. Actually, it is nothing but an economic and moral parasite, consuming manpower, dissipating enormous quantities of good grains in a hungry world, and dispensing poison to the bodies and souls of men. Its billions produce nothing of positive value, its tax revenue is only a sop in return for waste, and for every tax dollar from liquor five must be spent in the futile effort to salvage the wreckage it causes, in law enforcement which it undermines and in caring for its victims.

Even among Protestants, with our traditional emphasis upon sobriety, social drinking appears to be on an upward trend. This insidious endeavor to cover the vice of drinking with a cloak of respectability demands an honest search for scientific truth and for the mind of Christ on this relentless problem. Believing that these two sources agree in this matter, Methodists have taken their stand for total abstinence. Nor do we stand alone. Indeed, there are other bodies of Christians that surpass us in their zeal for sobriety. It is time we matched them.

We record our gratitude for the vigilance and unceasing activity of the Board of Temperance. Let nothing inhibit its unceasing battle against alcohol and its unfaltering efforts to reclaim and rehabilitate the alcoholics. With so effective an agency as Alcoholics Anonymous reaching only one out of thirty-five of these victims in America, it is easy to see that the Church's mission in this field must be greatly expanded. This must include competent education about alcohol, based upon continuing scientific research and social studies, begun in the home and continued throughout the curriculum of church and school. A capably written book, "A Study of Alcohol and Christian Responsibility," will be the church-wide Mission Study book for 1961 and has been approved as a leadership training text by the Board of Education. This study has our hearty endorsement. The circle of dedicated resistance of those pledged to total abstinence should be enlarged through the regular

observance of Commitment Day and reinforced by constant encouragement and study.

But our responsibility is not discharged by these efforts at salvaging and prevention. They are necessary but not enough. To achieve a more realistic break through in our labors in this field we must discover legal means through political action to establish more effective social controls of the liquor industry.

Liquor control measures have been characterized by inadequate legislation, and often poor and corrupt administration of existing law. We urge that study and consideration should be given to a review of the functions of state liquor control boards. Such boards should become agencies to promote not only efficient tax and licensing procedures but also socially constructive attitudes toward alcoholic beverages.

We must recognize that we confront an enemy that knows no pity, an entrenched evil that in its lust for profit has never yielded an inch except it has been driven back by an outraged and determined citizenship. It is folly to trust the blandishments of the liquor industry about moderation or self-control. The time has come when the clamor of the minority insisting upon their assumed right to buy and consume beverage alcohol when and where they please must be vigorously resisted by a majority who demand their right to a degree of safety on the highways, to freedom from the hidden tax burden caused by liquor, and to protection from liquor-induced crime. It is unworthy of us to believe that the liquor traffic is so powerful that its death-hold cannot be broken. A return to a crusading spirit in Methodist pulpits and among Methodist laymen could be a decisive factor in the effective restraint of this unmitigated evil.

On another front, evidence continues to mount, from prolonged and precise research, that there is a direct relation between the use of tobacco and the incidence of certain deadly diseases. We would be recreant to our trust if we did not reiterate, with increasing concern, the warnings against the use of tobacco given in the last Episcopal Address and in the resolutions adopted by the last General Conference. It seems to us clearly inconsistent with the fullest degree of Christian freedom for one who regards the human body as a temple of the Holy Spirit to be in bondage to any enslaving habit, any conspicuous waste or any form of self-indulgence. This in our view is the reason for the pledge to refrain from the use of tobacco which is required before a license to preach can be granted in the Methodist Church and must be renewed by each probationer in an Annual Conference.

We are deeply convinced that Methodism with its doctrinal emphasis upon a constant aspiration toward the perfect life and with its traditional ideal of disciplined and joyous living has a distinctive contribution to make to the thought and practice of contemporary Christianity. May God give us grace and courage to fulfill this mission!

OUR
FACADE OF BROTHERHOOD

ASSEMBLY ROOM
ATLANTA PUBLIC LIBRARY

February 21, 1961
10:30 - 12:30

Silent Prayer

Discussion - Brotherhood: Theory - Practice

Moderator - Mrs. Ruth Kent, Women's Director, WSB-TV

Interrogator - Mr. Pat Watters, City Editor . . .
The Atlanta Journal

Rev. John Mulroy - S.T.L. . . .
Director of Catholic Information Service

Dr. Leon Smith - Pastor, Park Street Methodist Church

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild - The Temple

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays - President, Morehouse College

Buzz Session - 10 minutes

Discussion of questions from Buzz groups

Summation - Mrs. Ruth Kent

In Unison - Prayer of St. Fracis Assisi

SUMMARY FROM THE 100 OR MORE SHEETS TURNED IN BY THOSE ATTENDING THE WORKSHOP OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED, NOVEMBER 6-7, 1961

****

"What I Will try to do when I go Home."

There are certain phrases that appear over and over again in the answers, such as, "I will try to take the inspiration and information to the group with which I am affiliated," "Communication between the races,"occuring so many times reveals an awareness that we do not know each other, and barriers exist that must be erased.

There are words also used often, i.e., "Contact" "Report" "Share" "Witness" and "Communication."

If all the promised contacts and reports are made to the many organizations, the 1961 Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be far-reaching.

Some Excerpts - each quote (in quotation marks) comes from a different sheet submitted.

THROUGH PERSONAL CONTACTS.

"I will take steps to break through the barriers by working harder than ever through my membership in organizations to find closer relationships between the races."

"I will try to stimulate white Methodist women to fellowship with sister churches in the Central Jurisdiction."

"I will work to break some barriers and intimidations that prevent action."

"I will write ten Negro and white church leaders to discuss Bishop Pike's 'Roots of Prejudice,' in hopes there will be enough interest to desire other discussion periods."

"Wherever possible I'll patronize only desegregated places - I hope to help my county United Church Women to desegregate - perhaps beginning with World Day of Prayer."

"Give my recent copies of New South to uncommitted persons, asking them to read carefully and prayerfully."

"I am going to see the Charter of Race Relations is adopted by my District Woman's Society."

"I will have an integrated group at my apartment to read and discuss religious plays."

"I will have an area meeting and at coffee hour, discuss "One-ness'"

"I will continue to develop personal friendships with Negroes, visiting in each others homes, for meals, etc.

"I will entertain a Negro student from Bethune-Cookman College along with other students from Methodist Student Center at University of Miami."

"Report the Atlanta Meeting at P.T.A. as I moderate a panel on "Time to Explore New Ideas."

"Barriers in my church are the hardest, I will try on this. This may be my first, though I fear the last opportunity."

"Talk constantly with my husband, report to my church circle, my class of couples, to the Y. W. C.A."

"I shall talk to my pastor on integration in the church."

"I shall make a real effort to fullier integrate our Y.W.C.A. program for the under classes."

"I shall talk to the editor of our paper about this meeting."

"My highest priority is the Woman's Auxiliary of our General Hospital, where half or more of patients are colored - only white women are in the Auxiliary."

"I will spot leadership potential among Negro women in the integrated group to which I belong and will work to get recognition of their talent by helping them to be elected or appointed to leadership places, beginning with the P. T. A. Council. We hope to include Negroes in the 'World Day of Prayer' Service - Leaders of both races will plan to execute a Bible School for the Negro children."

HOUSING.

"I am working on housing for Negro students in the University, setting an example for others by taking a Negro graduate student into my home."

"I will look into a new housing project being instituted through the Urban Renewal."

"Check with Urban Redevelopment Commission to see about housing for Negroes being moved out of area."

CITIZENSHIP AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

"Meet with Improvement Council to set up Registration schools in churches."

"Work in Registration Drive - Help prepare persons to pass the Alabama tests."

"Call a meeting - Christian Social Concern Commission in my church to plan observance of Human Rights Day."

"Try to do something to help and encourage High School students serving jail sentences in Pike County - Follow up my interest in justice in the courts in my state, at least by attending courts myself."

"I shall continue to press for law enforcement on our beach so that our Negro citizens and Negro college students shall not be molested or intimidated."

"I shall begin working for better training for policemen."

"I will give names of those in my state, who attended the Fellowship of the Concerned, to the Chairmen of Legislative Council of United Church Women, that she may contact them on issues in the legislature, January, 1962.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES.

"I will work to get a number of organizations to work together on a survey of job opportunities for Negroes and for qualified personnel available for jobs."

"Start investigating employment practices, seek to form a fact-finding committee."

"I shall alert our Public Affairs Committee to the need for gathering information about job openings giving equal opportunities for both races - need accurate information."

LETTER WRITING.--runs all the way from writing to Attorney General to articles to a Newsletter of organizations; to our Art Association protesting the fact that no Negroes have an opportunity to enter the classes; to letters of commendation to courageous editors, and sometimes letters to the public through the newspaper."

"I will try to write to my local papers questioning the lack of industry, which might be required by Federal law to maintain 'fair employment practices'" - It is fairly obvious that these industries are not being invited to my city by our Chamber of Commerce in order to maintain segregation of employment."

There are three promises of interviews with local editors.

PRAYER.

Many know the plans they have made are not easy undertakings - and know help must come from out and beyond them.

"At present time, I am living on a college campus - but it is the members of my own church in the State Capitol that needs help. Perhaps I can find a way - God being my help."

"I shall continue to pray for God's guidance in the whole matter."

"Pray, pray, pray, will try to form an inter-racial prayer group."

Five others have stated they will do their best to form inter-racial prayer groups.

"I will ask God to give me faith, strength and patience, keep me humble, and somehow grant me poise and wisdom and always love."

"The future, and its opportunities are unknown, all we can do is to stand by alert - concerned and willing to follow God's will.

STEWARDSHIP.

There is a sense of stewardship running through the lines - a feeling that they must "share" as evidenced by the number of promises to report to other groups. The word "witness" is used over and over . There is also a dedication to the job ahead. Two sheets by different women sum this up - - -

"To become deeply dedicated to ideas, principles, and practices of Christian living, to let our 'know' catch up with our 'doing.'"

"Recognizing the struggle for human dignity, I will take advantage of every opportunity to say something or do something to extend commitment to truth and worth of human beings and the realization of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man."

CONCULSION.

They listened to the messages of the speakers, they had their discussion groups - they really caught the spirit and purpose of the Workshop.....

We seek...

A Conviction that will not let us rest;

A Faith that will not shrink;

A Courage that will not faller.

REPORT OF THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

Q. What an we do as individuals to grow in depth and vision lest we grow weary in well-doing?

A. Reporter for Group I:

Take advantage of any opportunity. Meet with people of other races and nationality. Construct relationships on our part. We should use empathy.

Reporter for Group II

Individual action and commitment to good causes are necessary b before concrete results can be achieved.

Reporter for Group III.

Individual contact with individuals to establish true friendships and concern.

RECOMMENDATIONS: Subscribe to the Negro Magazines; read writers' work for greater dimension. Correspondence - lifting spirits through correspondence, knowing of what is happening in and around the world.

Q. How can we bring concerned individuals in Negro and white communities together in more significant communication?

A. Group I.

Help in daily vacation Bible School; Communication; have prayer groups meet regularly; Use youth Y-Teen groups; using all methods we possibly can, carry on meetings.

Group II.

The first step should be taken on both sides in order to bring concerned individuals in the Negro and white communities closer together. The "let George do it" attitude is out in achieving better human relations.

Jackson: Small towns and communities should be given a more tr true understanding of facts. Community relationships seemee better in larger towns and groups. Establish lines in communication.

Ashley: Depend on organized groups, for communication. Person to person communication.

Q. How can we bring to commitment those who are uncertain but troubled in conscience?

A. Group I.

Contact borderline persons, and through large groups, make known their need to know of complications of small groups, Study groups. Get definite feelings and positive attitudes.

Group IV.

In view of the fact that we represent such great faiths, we should depend on them, talk them up, live them up, and in this way possibly we can bring about a satisfaction to the troubled and uncertain conscience.

Group II.
For those who are uncommitted but concerned and are tottering on the brink of indecision, we should give all the love and understanding possible, and maintain a tolerant attitude while they are making up their minds.

Q. What can we do in our parishes and Synagogues to bring them to corporate witnesses?

A. Group V.
Set up leadership. Combine groups under one responsible leader. Issue a Manifesto, this could be done by the Ministers, College leaders, doctors, scientists.

Group VIII.
Start with the churches, extend invitations, exchange programs, etc. Workshops, personal connections, person-to-person contacts, challenge the face-to-face contacts.

Group II.
In our churches and synagogues, our corporate witness should begin with ourselves. Try inviting persons of another race into the fellowship of the congregation.

RECOMMENDATIONS: Begin within organized groups, and invite other races to jokn and attend our fellowship.

Q. What significant action can be taken as individuals to further employment on the basis of merit and the unrestricted opening of housing opportunities?

A. Group II.
Significant action should be taken by each of us as individuals if we would bring about a better world.

Group III.
Job opportunities based on technical training probably greater in small areas; pressure put on merchants and employers for the employment of youth, also certain citizens.

Housing: Urban renewal; subsidizing housing rule has been ignored; committee should be formed; people should live where they wish, not integration, but de-segregation.

Group VII. Urban Refugees - should be a concern for all; check with agencies and organizations, for housing and job opportunities.

It was reported that Louisville, Ky., had dropped its tag on racial property, equal opportunity in employment.

Mrs. Boozer: SRC has helped to conduct four employment surveys. Available information on these surveys available through the Southern Regional Council.

Q. What is our role in seeing that one Supreme Court decision on the desegregation of Public Schools is implemented in spirit and the truth in our own communities?

Group I. Check with such groups as OASIS, AND HOPE.

Group 5: (1) Quiet work is important; (2) Inter-group Conference a good way to improve the Supreme Court's decision. OASIS grew out of the schools, religious, youth and civic groups. Let us remember that "God is not in an earthquake, or fire, but in a small voice."

DURR-CAHN: Beyond personal, volunteer groups, government groups, bring to attention the possibility of looking on the government groups handling housing. Write letters, write Kennedy, too, for protection of freedom riders. Ask for protection from terror.

STEVENS: Meeting has been a symbol of what we want to do when we get back home.

1. Meeting was given by one woman with upper-room experiences.
2. Meeting was under the great umbrella of the so-called agency, Allies, special church relations, etc.
3. Represented here in this room are three great faiths, which was felt to be a wonderful way to start helping to bring about better race relations, not only on the local level but also on a national level.

Comments on Employment: As a channel through which to work, government contracts, Chamber of Commerce especially. However, we find that many organizations, etc., will accept no government contracts because of pressure that will be put on them.

COMMENTS ON RELATIONSHIPS: Get our children to be friendly. Get attitudes "set in" in early life, also, help the mothers in seeing the need for togetherness.

Reading File

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY
DR. DOW KIRKPATRICK
PASTOR, ST. MARK METHODIST CHURCH, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
TO THE
FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED WORKSHOP
NOVEMBER 6-7, 1961

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Its been a good morning, and now we come to a word of St. Paul in Romans the first chapter. You will need to refer to the Phillips translation to get it to read like this. "I feel myself under a sort of universal obligation, I owe something to all men." We were being shephered by that most remarkable Methodist Bishop, Newall Booth, through immigration formalities in the air port in Elizabethville, last May. At the table sat the Immigration Officer, behind him the ever present picture of President Tshombe . Tracy Jones, one of my traveling companions and one of the top level Missions executives of the Methodist Church, said to me, "You didn't miss that sermon illustration, did you?" I said, "What sermon illustration?" Admitting that I had missed it of course. "Why," he said, "look what's behind that Immigration Officer, just under Mr. Tshombe's picture." There was one of these porcelain tables that belong in the delivery room in the hospital, a table on which mothers give birth to babies. Tracy said, "Surely you can't miss that." A nation is being brought to birth here, and the whole world is suffering its birth pains.

Well, I hadn't been thinking much about sermon illustrations that Sunday afternoon in May. We had set out that afternoon from Salisbury, Rhodesia to come to Elizabethville. It had been a wild kind of ride, the flight was a scheduled flight but when we boarded the plane, we noticed that it had no markings whatsoever, it was an old DC-4, I thought they were out of existence. And they were. They are out in the Congo, being used. In the passenger compartment was a lot of interesting looking freight, some boxes marked, (this was in May), marked "Easter Eggs made in Czechoslovakia." The crew, the kind you know, the pilot a fellow who grows a beard, and wears an ascot kerchief, and carries a dog under his arm when he gets on and off the plane, so we were apprehensive and as we circled the Elizabethville airport we noticed a great mob of people straining at the fences and that didn't help any. But when we landed and saw what was really happening we let off with that nervous kind of laugh that always releases tensions for we discovered that the citizens of Elizabethville were out for a pleasant Sunday afternoon at the airport to watch the parade, and to hear the bagpipes, for the Irish soldiers of the UN, (these boys who have been in such bad trouble lately), were in their Kilts and with their bagpipes were out for the afternoon, and that was something for an African to behold.

This is a little sample of our world, for as strange as it all seems, it is just as surely our world, as this lounge of Clark College is our world. And when you stop to try to list what are the factors

that make one, it would be easy to make a long list, and yet perhaps it would be more helpful to make a very brief list, for the one thing that is sure about our world and the one thing that is universal about our world is that it is revolution. It's a revolutionary world. Now it ought not be necessary to prove that to a group like this. You know that just over four years ago, there were four independent nations in Africa, now there is something like twenty-eight. That within the last year approximately seventeen areas have become independent areas.

The Congo is central because in a sense it is a sign and symbol of what's wrong and sad about our revolution. It's so central to the continent of Africa, it touches almost all the other areas of Africa, and the world. Five years ago, just five years ago, the officials of the Union Minere in Elizabethville, that's the Belgian company, that operates the minds there, the copper mines, and the source of much of the trouble. One of the officials of that company told Bishop Raines, who is the president of our Methodist Board of Missions, just five years, "Of course, these people must have independence, and we mean for them to have it in about fifty years." Five years ago! Well, five years ago, we were talking like that in Georgia, you remember.

There is a revolution and it is not as easily recognized as it may seem. In Rodesia for example, the trouble there is over the acceptance or rejection of certain so-called liberal concessions made in the constitution and the composition of the assembly. The Africans are saying,"no, we don't want these concessions,"and the white man is saying, "why not?" "We are offering you fifteen seats in the assembly." But fifteen out of fifty-two, it is too late in the world for that kind of thing, the revolution is already past beyond that. Or in Johannesburg, I was riding with one of our Missionaries in the afternoon, out in a section of the city, I recognized that we were in his end of the city and I said, "If you'll just put me on a bus, you won't have to take me downtown, you can just go on home." And he did, but only after explaining to me that they don't have segregated seating in Johannesburg, they have segregated bus lines! They've got two, and at every bus stop, there are two bus stops. It's too late in the world for that kind of thing, I tell you, the revolution is gone past it. Or in Angola, where the worse fighting of all is taking place, where you've got millions of African people, but only 30,000 allowed to vote, and that only once in seven years in an election for the president, who has already been picked before the election. It's too late in the history of the world for that kind of thing, there's a revolution on, all over the world.

You remember in Carlisle writing, the history of the French revolution, there was the night when the Duke of Lioncourt broke into the Royal Apartment of Louis the 16th, and told him of the activities of the people of France in the streets of Paris, Louis, the poor simple soul, said, "Why man, that's a revolt," Lioncourt said, 'Sire, it is not a revolt, it is a revolution." Now there are one

or two things that disturb me, about the universal nature of this revolution, that apply to us now. Of course, what has been said about Africa, can be said about the rest of the world, I was there as a part of its consultation on Missionary policy of our Church, we call it a part of long-range planning, we just wonder if God and history will give us enough time to make long-range plans. We're going to Latin-America next, we hope we can get there before too many revolutions break out, and then there is all of Asia. It's the same story all over the world, but there are one or two factors that bear down on us this morning, one is that this one world that is forming, is not forming along the lines you and I had expected.

We had hoped and believed that the one world would come together as a Christian World. This is not happening. What is happening is that there is emerging one culture, all over the world, and that culture is scientific and materialistic, Africans or Latins, or Asians may want the same culture we have, but they don't necessarily want our Christian culture. They want our scientific culture. They want our educational opportunities; they want our materialist standard of living. So you and I have got to decide what this means to the Christian gospel all over the earth. How we deal with a revolution which is producing one world as we had hoped.

The one world that is based on other factors in our culture, and not necessarily on our religious factor, and I think this says something to all of us of whichever race for everyone of us here this morning, has been caught in some of the subtle temptations of the scientific materialistic revolution of our time, the white church of America presents to the world a facade of materialism. The Negro race of America can easily be suspected of wanting freedom not for freedom sake, and not for the sake of the freedom of others in the world, but for the sake of economic privileges, and the social privileges.

We have already confessed that neither one of us has any right to judge another. I simply say that we must face the fact that the world today is advancing in a direction we may not fully desire nor control. And it may be that we are caught in the same emerging materialism, we must be aware of it. The second place where this bears down on us is of course in our own church life as I have already indicated, and here of course I speak more perhaps to those of us who are members of white churches, but the thing that bothers me about my Methodist church is that I see it overseas as a part of and as the producer of this revolution. While in this country it is the conservative force pending to slow down or even work against revolution. Not always, but predominantly. For example, in Angola, we have had five missionaries arrested, one has been released the others have been taken to Lisbon, where they are awaiting trial. It's no wonder that American Methodist Missionaries have been arrested by the Portuguese Government, Angola. It came as something

of a shock to read or have read to me from Luanda paper, the Capital of Angola, stories and editorials, which said that the Angola rebels are being furnished their arms from the American Methodist Mission Station.

It is a shock to read that. It is not true, but I will confess to you to a little bit of pride, that our church in Angola and our missionaries have been so identified with the revolutionary desires of the African people that the government could suspect this kind of thing. You would never suspect it of the American Methodist Church here. There they are one thing, here we are another. Or again an illustration. We spend a week-end in Victoria Falls before going on into Johannesburg, and on Sunday,,I purchased a newspaper from Johannesburg, a Sunday paper, I was going to Johannesburg the next day, and read with great interest and pride headlines, which said "Prime Minister says No to Methodists." Now this was the headline of a story about a very dear friend, Dr. J. B. Webb. Joe Webb has stood tall in his pulpit for more than twenty years, in the center of Johannesburg. He is one of the few men like Allen Payton, so influential that the government dare not touch him while they are arresting others, they dare not arrest men like this yet. These were the days just before the republic was proclaimed and there were many voices in South Africa calling for nation-wide multi-racial conventions to deal with these problems.

Finally Joe Webb had said to the Prime Minister, "Let the Methodists initiate such a conference, let us invite them, we will invite them to meet in our church," and it was to that proposal to which the headlines reported, "Prime Minister Says No To Methodists." This is the kind of identification with the world-wide revolution, which our churches have overseas, but not in this country.

Now our problem here in a sense is the same though very different, from the problems of the church overseas. For example, we hear a lot about African tribalism. I was privileged to be in the Annual Conference in Rhodesia, as they were debating a very interesting question. In Old Umtali in Rhodesia in the city of Umtali, there is a church named St. Andrews, which has been a Methodist congregation connected with our American Methodist mission for many years. It was organized to serve the European that came out from England largely. That congregation has insisted on remaining all white, and it has been a source of great irritation.

These laymen are primarily of English background and they haven't been happy with the breezy manner of the young American Missionaries who have been assigned, I mean you don't offer yourself to be a missionary to Africa to go to be pastor of a white congregation in Umtali. So it's been a source of irritation, and this year the proposal has been made by the laymen of the church that they be allowed to transfer out of our American Methodist Mission into the Synod of British Methodism. I may hasten to say that this gives a picture of British Methodism, which is not quite fair, but these are the facts

locally. So the debate was taking place in the Annual Conference as to whether this congregation would be allowed to move from American Methodism to British Methodism. And there arose a brilliant young African Layman, a Head-master of our School system there, he is a man with a Master's degree from the University of London, he is coming next fall to Harvard to do PHD work; he is one of the Lay-delegates at Delhi at the world council of churches assembly this month. Matthew said, "We hear often about African tribalism, let me tell you this is British tribalism." Let me ask you today, when the door of a church in your state and town and mine is closed to worship to an African or the American Negro, is this the religion of the New Testament? Or is it Tribalism? Is it the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ? or is it religion based upon the family mores and customs of our social culture? Or let me ask you again, when a patient is brought by an ambulance to a hospital door, a hospital owned and operated by a Christian Church and they are sent away, is this the religion of the Good Samaritan? Or is it Tribalism?

What we are saying today is that our world, though it can be characterized universally by many factors, is characterized by the revolution which unless we can somehow re-direct it, will not be Christian but will be scientific, technological, and materialist. And in the second place it bears down upon us in our own church life. Let me remind you that we have a unique reason for bringing the whole world together, Paul said, "I feel myself under a sort of universal obligation, I owe something to all men." Now Paul did not mean that he felt that he owed every man something because of what every man had done for him, but he felt he owed something to every man because of what God had done for him. My own experience is, and I am sure that yours must be, that when I stand in the presence of the Cross, I am struck with the over-whelming power of the Love of God for me. I know it's for everybody, but for a while, it's only for me, it's for me! This I can not escape, and when I realize that it's for me, then I am aware of how unworthy I am of it. I would say to God, "No, you can't love me, not like that, because you do not know how little I deserve it." But from the cross comes that answer, "I do know you, and I do love you," I can never forget that I owe something to all men, not because of what they have done for me, but because of what God has done for me. And so I suggest that you and I must find a way to identify ourselves with this revolution, this world and what's taking place in it.

Our places will all be different, everyone of us. I've not felt called upon to go with my friends on sit-ins, the freedom rides, but every person must find his place where he can sacrifice something where he can give something of himself to be a part of the redemption of the whole.

Coming out of Israel this summer, I had a new interest in Exodus, that I had not had earlier. If you read the book or saw the movie, you remember there is an incident that I want to close with

in both. It is the story of the little girl Karen, talking to her boy friend, who has his own reasons for being bitter against everybody. She is telling about how her own family sent her to Denmark, hoping to escape the Nazis scourge, but it moved on there too, finally, and then came the day when the decree was made, in Denmark, that all Jews would wear the Yellow armband, with the star of David. This cruel device had been used effectively in other places and now, it had come to Denmark. On a certain day every Jew must mark himself off from the rest of the human race by this outward sign, and you know what happened? When that morning came the King of Denmark appeared in public with a yellow band and the star of David, and all the citizens took the cue and soon everybody, Jew and Dane alike, were wearing the cursed sign.

Now you and I have got to find some sign in our lives, that this world revolution has cut deeply, down deep where it hurts into our hearts, and for some of us it will be the shape of a cross for that cross reminds us that He loved us that much, and because He loves us, we are under a sort of universal obligation, we owe something to all men.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Friend:

The dates of the annual South wide Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned are

November 6 - 7, 1961.

It will be held here in Atlanta. Please mark these dates on your calendar.

This will be a most necessary Workshop as we must find techniques and ways to help our Churches face issues more squarely.

We need your thinking and experience.

Please plan to come.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:lec

by ira hirschmann

In Hitler's last mad drive to exterminate the Jews, 250,000 terrified men, women and children were helpless. One man, unknown then, acted to save them. Today, he is known and loved by millions.

The woman on my right was engrossed in sprightly table talk with the man on her right.

We had been introduced as we sat down to dinner, but her name had escaped me in the wave of chatter and the shuffling of chairs. I did quickly notice, however, the evident modishness of her dress and the smartness of her grooming. "Chic" was the word, and to a middle-aged romantic she was immediately designated as a Continental.

I had no desire to eavesdrop, but snatches of her conversation reached me, disconnected words and phrases which despite their vagueness suddenly interested me. There was something in the

one man's humanity

BASED ON AN EPISODE IN TO KNOCK IS TO ENTER, BY MR. HIRSCHMANN, TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE FALL BY DAVID MCKAY COMPANY, INC.

way she flattened certain vowels and thickened her consonants which hinted at an accent that seemed to have meaning to me.

When, finally, she turned toward me, I reintroduced myself and put the question: "Are you from Europe?"

She laughed at the naïveté of my question and answered, "Couldn't you tell by my accent? I'm from Hungary, from Budapest."

"Were you there during the war?" I asked.

"Oh, yes, for most of it."

I remarked that I knew something of the hardships suffered by the people there at that critical time, adding, "Especially the Jews."

By this time our conversation was no longer the typical chatter one exchanges with dinner partners. Her face clouded over with an expression close to pain as she quietly told me, "I should know. I was one of them."

"But you did get out before the end?"

"Yes," she said after a

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moment's hesitation. "Yes, I got out, at the last moment. But if I hadn't been baptized that night, in a bomb shelter, I might not be here today, talking to you."

The words were simply said, but the impact struck me with more force than she could have expected. In that moment I was transported as if in a filmed flashback to another period, years earlier and thousands of miles away.

I was aboard a tiny excursion boat on the Sea of Marmora which separates the Aegean and Black Seas and is practically landlocked by the two halves of Turkey. It was late in the summer of 1944; my companion was Gilbert Simond, the International Red Cross representative in Turkey and we were on our way to the tiny island of Biuyacada to see Monsignor Angelo Roncalli, the Apostolic Delegate of the Vatican in the Middle East.

At that time I was serving as a special envoy for the War Refugee Board, which had been established by President Roosevelt with the express purpose of saving lives wherever and whenever possible. My personal mission was to extricate refugees from the Balkans.

In the months that I had been in Turkey, we had been able to force the closing of the concentration camp at Transnistria in Rumania. Ships of all sizes and descriptions were leaving the Black Sea port of Costanza, loaded with people fleeing to escape the fate suffered by so many others—being driven, in turn, into ghettos, concentration camps and finally the extermination centers. And the flow of these refugees across Turkey and Syria to safety in Palestine had grown to sizable proportions.

But all of us concerned with saving the remnants of European Jewry were horrified and frustrated by the news that was leaking out of Hungary. The reports that came to us from underground sources would have been unbelievable if we had not by that time learned at first hand of the actual existence of the gas chambers, the crematoria and the other implements of Hitler's savage and unrelenting war against the Jews.

We learned that the Nazis, under the personal direction of the infamous Adolph Eichmann, goaded by the knowledge that the tides of the war were racing against them, were determined to complete their grisly task of extermination, their "final solution to the Jewish problem." They sought to accomplish in weeks in Hungary what had taken years in Germany, Austria, Poland and the rest.

The statistics of the charnel house tell their own tragic story. From April 10, 1944, to June 28 of the same year, 516,075 Jews of all ages had been transported from Hungary to Auschwitz and systematically slaughtered. In slightly more than two months all Hungary outside of Budapest had been rendered "*Judenrein*"—free of Jews—the most devastating mass annihilation in the history of mankind.

We didn't know all the grim statistics then, but we did know that the time for rescue had shrunk to a few precious weeks. Something drastic had to be done immediately to save the Jewish population of Budapest—approximately a quarter of a million terrified and helpless men, women and children.

In desperation I turned to Gilbert Simond, a man of great good will who had been instrumental in the saving of thousands of lives. Simond was an influential Catholic layman and I begged him to prevail upon his friends in the church to help us in the name of humanity. He suggested that we see Monsignor Roncalli and arranged a meeting.

The home of the Pope's highest emissary in the Middle East was a spacious old house sitting high atop a hill. Hidden from below by lush foliage, it nevertheless afforded a stunning view of the sea in all directions. Immediately on our arrival on the island, we had been ushered into a well-appointed room where we waited for Monsignor Roncalli.

After a brief wait, he entered, a short rotund man whose good humor was immediately evident in his eyes, twinkling under his black skullcap. Warmly and graciously, he welcomed us in Italian, bidding us be seated. As we did so, I offered a silent prayer of thanks for the Italian I had learned some years back: it established an easy contact between us.

Once Simond and I were comfortably settled, our host turned to a small cupboard from which he took a bottle of red wine. After admiring its color, he poured out three glasses and insisted upon drinking to our health. Anxious about my mission, I discreetly tried to introduce the reason for my visit. But Monsignor Roncalli brushed me aside, saying, "That will come later. First we must enjoy the view, the conversation and the wine."

His personality was so radiant and his conviviality so genuine that I was warmed by his spirit and for the moment let the purpose of my presence escape me. In fact, it wasn't until the dregs of a second bottle had been downed that he would permit any thought of practical discussion. Then, suddenly, he announced, "*Dunque, cominciamo* . . . now, let us begin."

Monsignor Roncalli listened intently as I outlined the perilous plight of the Jews in Hungary. I cited the meager statistics available to me and repeated several of the eyewitness accounts I had received from underground operatives. Then he pulled his chair closer and quietly asked, "Do you have any contact with people in Hungary who will cooperate?"

After my affirmative reply, he hesitated a few moments before asking, "Do you think the Jews there would be willing to undergo baptism ceremonies?"

Not prepared for this suggestion, I equivocated a bit and said that I could only guess or assume that if it meant saving their lives, they would be ready to do so gratefully. I added, "I know what I would do."

He went on to say that he had reason to believe that some baptismal certificates had already been issued by nuns to Hungarian Jews. The Nazis had recognized these as credentials and had permitted their holders to leave the country.

We agreed that he would communicate with his representatives in Hungary and that I would get in touch with our underground connections to arrange for either large-scale baptism of Jews or, at least, certificates to be issued to women and children. It would be up to those who were baptized to decide later whether they would wish to remain in the church or "go their way."

The proposal and agreement had been accomplished in what seemed like a few minutes. It was clear to me that Monsignor Roncalli had considered this plan before my arrival and that he had created an atmosphere in which to test my credentials, my discretion and my ability to put the operation into effect practically. I had no doubt that the wheel would soon be set in motion in Hungary for "Operation Baptism" under the auspices and with the mercy of the Catholic Church.

Simond and I were silent as we sailed back to Istanbul in the little ferryboat. Somehow we were awed by the scope and direction of the events of the afternoon, arrived at so simply and without inhibition, but so heavy with possibilities. In our silence, each of us was taking stock of the implications of our compact. We were approaching twilight, and as our little steamer skimmed over the water the lengthening shadows stretched ahead like moving phantoms. Could this be a portent of the lifting of a curtain to reveal a new freedom for those whose lives depended on our help?

Try as I may, I have not been able to ascertain exactly how many Hungarian Jews were saved or had their lives made easier with those baptismal certificates. They must number in the thousands. And all this thanks to the compassionate intervention of the benevolent Apostolic Delegate to the Middle East.

No other personality I met during those troubled times in Turkey had more sharply etched himself into my memory. How often I have recalled our meeting and remembered his warmth, dynamism and sympathy. It was not within the purview of his pastoral duties to be involved in the rescue of Jews. His action was proof of his humane concern for the welfare of all people.

Is it any wonder that I was moved to tears when in 1958 I read the headlines which announced to the world that Angelo Roncalli had been elected the ruler of the Catholic Church and was from that date to be known as Pope John XXIII? END

A·CHARTER·OF·RACIAL·POLICIES

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

·WE BELIEVE·

1. We Believe that God is the Father of all people and all are His children in one family.
2. We Believe that the personality of every human being is sacred.
3. We Believe that opportunities for fellowship and service, for personal growth, and for freedom in every aspect of life are inherent rights of every individual.
4. We Believe that the visible church of Jesus Christ must demonstrate these principles within its own organization and program.
5. We Believe that the Woman's Division as an agency of The Methodist Church must build a fellowship and social order without racial barriers in every area it may touch.

·WE WILL·

1. Commit ourselves as individuals called by Jesus Christ to witness by word and deed to the basic rights of every person regardless of cost.
2. Unite our efforts with all groups in the church toward eliminating in The Methodist Church all forms of segregation based on race whether in basic structure or institutional life.
3. Create in local churches opportunities for inclusive fellowship and membership without restriction based on race.
4. Act with other groups and agencies to involve families in new experiences with other races and cultures.
5. Share in creative plans that challenge youth, students and young adults of all races to new understanding of the Church's mission and ministries.
6. Interpret and strengthen recruitment and employment practices of the Woman's Division consistent with our belief in the oneness of God's family.
7. Open the facilities and services of all Woman's Division institutions without restriction based on race and make such policies clearly known.
8. Establish all Schools of Missions and Christian Service and all leadership development and enrichment programs on a regional basis without restriction based on race.
9. Seek to change community patterns of racial segregation in all relationships including education, housing, voting, employment and public facilities.
10. Work for national policies that safeguard the rights of all the nation's people.
11. Support world-wide movements for basic human rights and fundamental freedoms for peoples everywhere.
12. Join with others who seek in church and community justice and freedom for all members of the family of God.

As we begin this New Decade, the Woman's Division of Christian Service calls with new urgency on the Woman's Society of Christian Service and Wesleyan Service Guild to study the principles and goals stated in this Charter, looking toward early ratification. Such ratification will constitute a commitment to work for the speedy implementation of those principles and goals within jurisdiction, conference, district and local Woman's Society or Guild.

Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, Literature Headquarters: 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati 37, Ohio.
5 62 Price, 5 cents; 6 for 25 cents.

New South

Dr. Robert Coles

on Two Boys of Conscience and Courage

Arts and Amusements for Southern Negroes

SEPTEMBER 1962

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

New South

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THE CYNICISM of our times seems at its glibbest in savant diagnoses of the psychic ailments of Negro protestants and their white allies against segregation. Psychiatrists in learned journals and parlor conversations suggest "a problem with authority" which drives young rebels to public demonstration and foul confinement in Southern jails. Sagacious businessmen and church women, and some puzzled pastors, point out in omniscient understanding that white girls join the movement for lack of dance dates, fraternity pins and steady boy friends. Negro leaders of an earlier vintage speak in gentle tolerance of the "lack of background" of nonviolent fighters who compensate for poverty and obscurity with the blaze of a Freedom Ride or a two-months' stint in solitary at Baton Rouge, replete with TV and newspaper notoriety. Angrier elders cry that "they do it just for attention," or "kicks," "excitement," "youthful defiance."

We are also treated to the fashionable theory that these wild-eyed youngsters and self-seeking preachers—working for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality and in local uprisings all over the South—are primarily, if unconsciously, concerned with "punishing their parents." This analysis is applied with especial care and detailed erudition to young white demonstrators who cast their lot with our revolution, and pain their parents by publicly picketing, sitting in or helping rural Negroes register to vote.

Aside from the possible parents' punishment in economic reprisal and social snubs, one must concede that the young revolutionaries' families are in-

(Continued on page 14)

Separate but Equal Lives

by Robert Coles, M.D.

WE ARE AT GRADUATIONS, high school graduations in Atlanta. We come to see them and are brought to recall the moments of a school year.

John walks down the aisle, tall, self consciously straight, eyes fixed in blinding attention, and calls back last summer of him, quiet, shy, determined calm over uncertain, poised muscles. When I first saw him he was reading a law book on assault and battery. It was a month before school was to open, and he was idling, or would shift to cutting hedges to keep from getting lazy and to keep his body trim and ready and fit. Only because he wanted to become a lawyer did he keep reading this law this summer, he let me know firmly, and then there was silence for both of us. His appetite was down, his sleep unsteady, but by his mother's description and not his. They lived in the dimness and almost dank air of a janitor's place, and while his father sorted trash and was summoned to the daily complaints of a large building, his mother quickly or nervously or wearily fastened rubber balls to small wooden Bola Bola rackets for children. Hundreds of these, counted not in pride but for small money, went from her hands six long days a week. On Sunday they all prayed long and hard.

School officials called his first days of school "normal." Detectives drove him to school, reporters interviewed him and when he came home he watched himself walking on films. The telephone sounded anonymous abuse, annoying or sharply funny by days but bringing choppy, fretful evenings and dazed, enraged early mornings. When he came home from school his mail offered special deliveries of scorn, and it was weeks before his box was empty. By then, he rather missed putting his books down on the floor and sitting on the edge of the couch and looking at his name on those heavily stamped envelopes and reading about all that he was doing and undoing (such as the Southern Way of Life, all by himself), and learning about what others said would happen to him, would come to harm him.

After some weeks John walked to school, and no trouble came his way. He would enter the building a little earlier than most and go directly to his classroom where he would open up again one of his books or lessons, sometimes seeing no distinct words but feeling the protection of sitting at his desk and reading. He was intent on learning, and his teachers found him serious and an eager student. He denied fear and he denied interest in the attitudes of his classmates. He knew that in that building he was a student

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Dr. Coles, a child psychiatrist, is spending two years with the Southern Regional Council in the study of children in desegregating Southern schools. He is the author of papers for journals of medicine and psychiatry and has written for *The Atlantic Monthly*.

whose color evoked constant, anxious notice, a source of fear, of novelty, of uneasy and often guilty respect; but he indicated in gesture and word and deed that he also knew that his survival depended upon work, upon a special disregard of himself and forgetfulness of the feelings of others. He might falter or fall if he stopped to plan or ponder, if he spent time on worry and anxiety.

For a tape one day he recorded his imagery: "Sometimes when I do stop and think about what's going on this year I realize that I'm in a kind of battle, a real tough situation that starts every morning and settles in the evening and then starts again the next day. There's very little rest, and even at midnight one of those people will call you up and breathe heavily upon you. If I didn't react like a soldier does in a war or like someone in a sudden crisis like a fireman or a policeman faces sometimes, I'd get paralyzed by worrying and thinking. I try to forget and just do my work and live from day to day and job to job, and trust my ability and strength, if I have any . . ." What he also knew, what many sympathetic and concerned white people often did not guite grasp, was that the unpleasant or humiliating moments were not new, that he and millions like him had lived a life of them, that they had slowly and unwittingly developed ways of handling their hurt, and that he could now endure them with a sense of purpose and fulfillment which almost made them sweet pain.

He came to this year and his new school feeling like a stalking scarecrow from whom others would fly in unknowing fear. He found refuge in study and in success in study and in the very passage of time. He found comfort from his family and admiration from his community. He silently suffered nervousness, frequent headaches and a few nightmares of gloom and anger. Much of what was hard for him, most unsettling and troublesome, came ironically with his new position of equality, from friendly smiles, shared experience, occasional words or motions of recognition. His toughest moments were with unwonted kindness. And his greatest knowledge, he felt, was of himself, when he was able at last to see and accept what many of his classmates felt for him. The night before his graduation he told me of his final triumph there, when he took the initiative in sitting by some friends in the cafeteria. They were glad, but he was more surprised at himself than at their responses.

John was graduating 14th in his class in a school which sends most of its graduates to college. He had gone to some school basketball games, attended a class picnic, and, upon receipt of his diploma, would soon be at the senior dance. He seemed in late May, for all the year's burdens and troubles, much more casual and relaxed than last summer. His health was good. He had always been susceptible to colds and had had asthma when younger. But, if the year had been stressful, it had not brought physical disease. For the first time in his life he had started taking vitamin pills this winter, because he was anxious not to miss school, and he felt that they gave him the energy he so needed. These pills, he would summarize, accompanied by unusual regularity of study and sleep and a new absence of tiring social activities, made him feel exceptionally well. Somehow, this year, he missed fewer school days than ever before.

The condition of his mind was sound at the beginning and sound at the ending. His spirits were high in May, even as his body moved more easily and spontaneously. He seemed less grim,

less apprehensive. His smile came more readily, lasted longer and seemed more natural. A psychiatrist writing for his medical records would describe him as a well developed, well nourished young man in good contact with his environment, with no signs of moodiness or despair, of good intelligence and ability to communicate his ideas and feelings.

When doctors evaluate health in people they call upon other people for comparisons. Knowledge of contrasts or similarities makes for differential diagnosis. Time offers itself promiscuously to everyone during a year, and gathers uncertain rewards in exchange. One interesting boy comes to mind at another graduation several days later. Jim is tall and lithe, a friendly young man of 17 whose blond hair calls your initial attention. Later you gather his firm gestures of hand and his strong voice which transmits an easy and articulate flow of words and opinions. He thinks that some day he will be a journalist, and the style of his mind and manner support this as more than idle whim or fancy.

Jim told me that he was opposed to the entry of the two Negroes into his high school. His parents were very much against any desegregation, and their son echoed these sentiments firmly and forcefully. He anticipated from these Negroes a rough year, with damage to his education and his enjoyment of school life. He talked of incompatibility and of outrage to customs and traditions. His words reflected strong and deep feelings, and yet these feelings seemed to live apart from his genuine friendliness for the large, dark housekeeper who moved with comfort and considerable competence about his house during my visits there.

During the year Jim learned about the laws of physics and the equalities of algebra his understanding of a foreign language improved; he read some books and memorized some lines from *Macbeth*. Week by week we talked of many things, of school and world events, of his career and those of the two Negro girls in his high school. He has a good eye and a good ear, and these both assert their own strength in spite of vigorous emotional opposition. What was for him the harsh and corrupt shadow of incipient "mixing" vanished into a daily experience with a specific person. His first encounter was with a nameless, faceless suit of dark clothes, in his eyes unkempt, with pockets of harm, treachery, disease and ignorance. But people wear suits and dresses and people show their own characteristics of thought and language, of feeling or even gait.

Jim's eyes were good and his ears were sound. He slowly began to recognize the differences which separated the two dark girls, differences of intelligence, of spirit, of interests and abilities. He saw one to be distant and a bit dull. He saw the other to be keen to please others and quick to comprehend. He saw distinctive and contrasting dresses or coats. He found himself describing the happy manner of one and the heavy, silent manner of her friend. With his friends he now discussed and argued as much about two persons as about their origin and race. His worries slowly began to shift from what damage the two girls might inflict to what harm would happen if all of their dark friends and neighbors would come into the white schools. With an increasing sense of the two Negroes as persons and girls came a cautious sympathy for what they were enduring in silence and often unkind isolation. Indeed, by spring, he could look at them as stubborn and gritty,

grant them a hesitant praise as pioneers with obvious personal courage, and confine his scorn and rancor to the fading fear of what their presence would produce in the future. He never forgot his own role as a white student at school for the first time in his city's history with a Negro, even as he began to talk of working beside them in a laboratory or sitting near them in a class, more in neutral telling than charged and pointed comment.

In truth he was in conflict. The Negro children experienced fear and loneliness, and largely replied with determined endurance. Such persistence could only splinter the responses of the white children. From the start Jim had rejected the few white boys or girls who were immediately friendly or protective toward the Negroes. He watched this small number withdraw their gestures from the Negroes under the pressures of ostracism and unaccustomed rebuke and insult, abandoning the two colored girls to silences interrupted only furtively in cloakrooms or empty corridors. He himself had called the Negroes and these few white classmates the common variety of names, had sent their way the usual jeers, all of which expressed a collective and personal confusion and feeling of betrayal which would yield only slowly to long days of simple if relentless time spent together in rooms and halls and cafeterias.

One long April afternoon he explained to me very carefully how he distinguished his friends at school, engrossed, as many adolescents are, in finding and locating his own identity by looking not only at himself but at those around him.

There were still these few, he reminded me, who came from another land of feeling or experience, or even hope, who seemed strangely unlike him in their willingness or ability to approach colored people and struggle with them for mutual knowledge and concern.

Moving to a majority were those who seemed to care little and notice less, annoyed, most of the time, by what seemed a distraction whose nature was less significant than its occurrence. Many adolescents are chiefly concerned with themselves, their study, their athletics or social life. Race is one more "ideology," one more complicated affair which asks for commitments from them which they reserve for their more immediate world. He described these friends almost wistfully.

Then he went on to those in another direction whom he saw as different from himself, but moved by fears and rage which he could understand, which he may have felt at moments, but which he described as alien to himself. We shared our knowledge of medical syndromes and he told me about the case of a girl friend who became physically sick, who wanted or needed to vomit, when she came "too near" a Negro. She avoided them in buses and shunned them in the classroom as if they were a deadly threat to her very life. "It's a physical thing with her, she's afraid she'll faint . . . I don't get that reaction. I don't want them here, but I'm not afraid of them, either." He continued about another friend who was provoked to words and deeds of dislike and attack which he also felt to be far from his own feelings and increasingly unattractive and upsetting. What puzzled him was not so much the content of their ideas, long familiar to him and also expressed by him on occasion, but the continuing intensity of their attitudes, and their compulsion to translate their impulses into sound and movement. He categorized himself

in perhaps romantic separation from all these children, sensing the desires and troubles of others even as all these touched separate chords of his own life and being.

Now, in this last day of school, Jim joined 18 of his classmates in solemn and surprising notes in the Annual of their graduating Negro companion, a rather bright, if by now weary, girl with a smile which offered her nervous fear disguised as pleasure. In his last month of school he had taken to history and current world politics with his characteristic high vigor, and his note to Sandra mentioned, with hesitant admiration, her part in "a changing world."

It was not that I hadn't felt changes in his sentiments over the months; it was the reminder, again, that each person will find his own way and moment, and that it's easier to analyze than predict what any person will do.

All over the South schools hold in their rooms new faces and old emotions. If we are interested in John and Jim as individuals we may have to abandon some notions which stick fast on groups but fall loose from particular people. There seems no end to surprises or contradictions as we talk with both Negro and white children in Atlanta and New Orleans. Of course, some of the paradoxes in school desegregation succumb in part to such explanations as the year of the event, the city affected, the age of the children involved and the jobs, the amount of money and the position in society of the families concerned. Although young children of six or seven can draw definite ideas and indicate definite feelings about racial identity, at their age games have precedence over ideas. Unless their parents have literally demanded of them the disease of a severe childhood phobia, they will learn about white and black skin, but they will also play together freely in even a harassed New Orleans school not out of naivete but in the natural and predominant playfulness of their age. The segregationist sees truly the risks of the very young of both races together in a school; but he is perhaps too gloomy about his own survival. Desegregation will not destroy hate that is taught at home. Young children, whether Negro or white, will ignore what they learn not because they don't realize it, or because they forget it, but because their age and its nature emphasizes other things. As they grow older and near the world of the grown person they recall all too easily old remarks, shrill threats, soothing or plaintive rationalizations, cries of defeat or despair.

Yet even in adolescence there are forces working both for and against the old traditions and customs, and the new ways which press themselves on each generation. Children gather many harvests from the early years and from family teachings, but adolescents thresh and winnow notoriously, often to the anguish of their settled parents. It is a practiced teacher indeed who is not challenged by the stubborn, often trying, curiosity of teenage youth. They may turn querulous or mischievous, but they are often astonishingly uncluttered by the handy excuses, the profound insights and tempered phrases which mark the matured minds and careful hearts of many of their elders. Teachers gasp in surprise and remind themselves that "his parents would die if they heard what he said," missing, in what seems to them confusion or inconsistency, the logic of the 16-year-old child who abandons centuries of history in the delight and pain of a mind in the labor of birth. Before this tide, racial attitudes have

no special dam, and, given any support at all by friends or officials of the schools or community, eddies of adolescent scrutiny can gather surprising force and direction.

Often over these past months I have heard people wonder at the experience of the relatively isolated Negro child in a school of white children or speculate about how white children receive them. It is a commentary on our time and habits of thought that we can ask some of the broadest questions with the least embarrassed quickness. People pounce with, "What have you found?" as if human nature is in some special way revealed in a desegregated classroom. Whether the question is asked in concern, anxiety, guilt or fear, the answer will always be that here were children who lived their separate lives, each bringing himself and leaving with whatever he became during those months. It is, of course, convenient to carry generalizations about, particularly when so much of our living and our relationships are splintered, guarded, not very lasting and touching. Under such conditions of existence a theory and its language can grant comfort and even offer itself for fixed passion, dissolving feeling and experience between people in its substitutive certainty. Conclusions and theories about human nature are as available today as they are wanted and begged. They may change hastily and contradict one another endlessly, but they abound. Why Man's fate and nature should have to be redefined and worded differently with such frequency and zeal, often for such scant reasons of discovery or experience, is as interesting as the assertions themselves.

Perhaps what we find, therefore, in these classrooms over the South, is our children, once again, like us before them, living with ambiguities, the hopes and fears and perils of what it is to be alive, to be a human being. From each of them we gather a different story, even as there are threads of similar thoughts and emotions through many or all of them. Perhaps their best moments will come when and if they themselves can sense this truth about themselves freely and even gladly.

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Martin,

Man of God,
What message lies within the shadows of your face?
What healing can you bring to this sore-ridden world,—
some anodyne,
some way
to meet a need?

Martin,
model for a people seeking life,
life only found in folding it away—
the seed in God's own bosom buried deep.

Martin,
Do we dare
to love completely?
What if
we cast this one last crust of bread
upon these ancient waters?

Martin,
Let your silence tell us of the song
that hearts can sing that are in love with God.
Let your blackness usher forth the light we need
to splinter blindness from our naked eyes.
Let your greatness tell us of the kingdom hid within.
Martin, help us,
Martin,
Man of God.

— *Sister Mary Augustine*

"Martin," celebrating the Negro lay brother of Lima canonized by the Catholic Church this year, is reprinted from SICK POOR with permission.

Arts and Entertainment for Southern Negroes

A smattering of sociology and ordinary observation suggests that the human being is more than the sum of his food, clothing, shelter and job, that he is also what he can read, see, enjoy and talk about. What then is open to the Negro? What is withheld from him? Does he have a chance to make of himself a whole man?

The Negro's status in the South is more than his economic buying power, his living quarters, his employment opportunities. As important as these are, his status is also his entree to our world of culture.

While citizenship embraces the right to vote, work, speak and think, it also encompasses the rights to see a play or a movie, hear a debate, talk in a discussion, read freely in a library, visit a museum or an art gallery, or relax in a park.

The Southern Regional Council questioned 13 cities in 10 states of the South: Birmingham, Ala.; Little Rock, Ark.; Atlanta and Savannah, Ga.; Jackson, Miss.; and Tulsa,* Okla.; Charlotte and Durham, N. C.; Columbus, S. C.; Nashville, Tenn.; Dallas* and Houston, Texas, and Richmond, Va.

Surveyed were movies, drive-in movies, municipal auditoriums, local theatre groups, summer theatre, and libraries.

We made no effort to assess the quality of culture available to whites and Negroes in the South. However, a single sample shows a disparity repeated countless times in countless places. On September 2, 1962, a day picked at random, the following movies were available to the white public in Richmond:

THE MUSIC MAN

BIRD MAN OF ALCATRAZ

AIDA and
MADAME BUTTERFLY

GUNS OF DARKNESS

THE SPIRAL ROAD

BIG RED

(and 6 others, newly released and of equal quality.) Here are all the movies available that day to the Negro public:

TARZAN GOES TO INDIA

LONELY ARE THE BRAVE and
ADA

DON'T KNOCK THE TWIST and
THE OUTSIDER

This one example indicates the cultural dearth imposed by segregation.

Three of the survey cities have desegregated theatres (downtown): Nashville, Atlanta, and Tulsa. Recent desegregation in movie theatres has also occurred in Chapel Hill, N. C.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Henderson, Louisville, Covington and Lexington, Ky.; and El Paso and Austin, Texas, though stringent measures have sometimes

Dallas omitted from movie and drive-in movie surveys.

been taken to restrict Negro patronage to students.

On the whole, movie segregation presents a fairly solid barrier to the intellectual growth and enrichment of the average Negro Southerner. In some places, Negroes are able to go downtown and sit in a segregated balcony of one or more of the "first-run" houses. This lofty perch, sometimes dubbed "The Buzzard's Roost," is often empty since the advent of the sit-in movement.

The movie barrier, as this type of segregation can be termed, is not, however, impenetrable. Negotiations with theatre owners, mayors, and members of the adult and student Negro community are underway in cities in the upper and Deep South, and may open more theatres soon. There have been stand-in protests by Negro students and adults in Knoxville, Nashville, Lebanon and Chattanooga, Tenn.; Hampton, Va.; Charlotte, Greensboro, Henderson, Eatonton, Salisbury, Chapel Hill, Fayetteville, Durham, Winston-Salem and High Point, N. C.; San Antonio, Austin, Houston, Amarillo and Dallas, Texas; Alexandria, Arlington, Falls Church, Hampton and Richmond, Va.; Louisville, Ky., and Tallahassee, Fla.

Although some might have assumed that drive-in desegregation would go easier than others—after all, Negroes and whites would be in their own cars in a darkened lot—this does not seem to be the case. The presence of crowds, the types of people who frequent drive-ins, the intermission eating and the free-wheeling behavior in such theatres seem to contribute to the tension over desegregation. Only in Kentucky has drive-in desegregation been at all successful. The Kentucky Commission on Human Rights reports that 70% of 106 theatres surveyed admit Negroes without distinction. On the southwide scene, however, drive-in desegregation has been negligible, and one of the few attempts to desegregate a drive-in theatre occurred in Columbia, S. C., and erupted into violence.

Where Negroes cannot go downtown, or to a drive-in and cannot stand

TABLE I. MOVIES

City	*Total Movie Houses*	*White*	*White with Segregated Section*	*Negro*	*Desegregated*
Tulsa	9	5	—	1	3
Columbia	7	5	—	2	0
Little Rock	9	8	3	1	0
Jackson	10	8	—	2	0
Richmond	15	12	—	3	0
Nashville	10	4	—	1	5
Durham	6	4	2	2	0
Savannah	7	4	—	3	0
Atlanta	30	15	—	5	10
Charlotte	12	9	—	3	0
Birmingham	11	7	—	4	0
Houston	42	35	—	7	0
Totals	168	116	5	34	18

TABLE II. DRIVE-IN THEATRES

City	Total Drive-Ins	White	White with Segregated Section	Negro	Desegregated
Tulsa	9	4	—	0	5
Columbia	7	7	1	0	0
Little Rock	5	5	—	0	0
Jackson	5	5	—	0	0
Richmond	9	9	7	0	0
Nashville	8	6	—	0	2
Durham	3	2	—	1	0
Savannah	2	2	—	0	0
Atlanta	15	15	1	0	0
Charlotte	5	5	—	0	0
Birmingham	7	6	—	1	0
Houston	17	16	—	1	0
Totals	92	82	9	3	7

the movie price "uptown," many Negro citizens have gone for a year or more without seeing a motion picture at all.

In two of the survey cities—Tulsa and Nashville—at least some drive-in movies have integrated parking. Three cities have drive-in theatres for Negroes. But in seven of the cities, there are no drive-in theatres "for" Negroes, or drive-in theatres with segregated parking areas.

The survey cities reported many local and summer theatre groups which offer a great variety of serious and musical productions. Some of these are amateur, and some staffed with talented professional actors and directors. This is a rich field of culture in the South.

Negroes are not permitted to see productions in three of the 13 cities surveyed. Eight have summer theatre programs, mainly outdoor. Two of these do not permit Negroes to attend.

In many cities in the South, munici-

TABLE III. LOCAL AND SUMMER THEATRES

City	Local Theatres	Summer Theatres
Tulsa	2 not segregated	Indoor, not segregated
Columbia	1, Negroes cannot attend	None
Little Rock	1 not segregated	None
Jackson	5, Negroes cannot attend	Outdoor, Negroes cannot attend
Richmond	3 not segregated	Outdoor, not segregated
Nashville	3 not segregated	None
Durham	1 not segregated	Indoor, not segregated
Savannah	1, Negroes cannot attend	Indoor, Negroes cannot attend
Atlanta	3 not segregated	Outdoor, not segregated
Charlotte	1, Negroes cannot attend	Indoor, not segregated
Birmingham	None	None
Houston	1 segregated, 2 not segregated	None
Dallas	1 segregated	Indoor, not segregated

pal auditoriums offer opera, orchestras, dance groups, as well as all night hillbilly folk songs and wrestling. Therefore, a study of facilities open to Negroes in auditoriums is important, since in some cities the municipal auditorium houses whatever fine arts programs exist or are brought to the city. It should be noted then that the returns of these questionnaires show a considerable advance in the admittance of Negroes as compared with movie theatres.

In six of 13 cities, municipal auditoriums are open to all, and provide no special arrangements for Negroes (no separate sections in the auditorium, or balcony, no special day of the week, or other such stipulation). These are Tulsa, Durham, Atlanta, Charlotte, Houston, and Dallas.

Those auditoriums which do not have "special arrangements," i.e., those which permit seating freely chosen, have not been scenes of riots or incidents. Furthermore, desegregation of auditorium facilities has, for the most part, been the result of voluntary agreements and not court orders.

"Double" concerts—one for whites, and one for Negroes, often on the same day—have been arranged in the stronghold of the still militant Deep South, Birmingham.

On June 1, 1962, an Actors Equity Ruling—that no Equity member of the 54 companies which produce live shows can act in a play in front of a segregated audience—took effect. The southern circuit for these companies has, in the past, included such stops as Charlotte, Atlanta, Birmingham, and New Orleans, as well as smaller cities en route. As of June 1, the only cities in a position to offer an Equity show—on the circuit route—to a desegregated audience may be Atlanta and Charlotte, according to an Equity spokesman.

Libraries

Negroes, or any minority people, may be deprived of movies, or plays, or exhibits in museums or art galleries, and still manage to reach questioning fingers into the world of ideas and

TABLE IV. MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUMS

City	
Tulsa	Not segregated
Columbia	Separate section in balcony (though lessee can require desegregation), special events, dances, sports events predominantly for Negroes but may have white spectators
Little Rock	Separate section in balcony
Jackson	Reportedly, there is a separate section in balcony for Negroes, but few Negroes attend
Richmond	Separate section in balcony depending on lessee, but frequently integrated seating takes place
Nashville	Under construction
Durham	Not segregated
Savannah	Sometimes segregated, depending on lessee
Atlanta	Not segregated
Charlotte	Not segregated
Birmingham	Separate section in balcony auditorium; at times a show may be for whites at one hour, for Negroes at another.
Houston	Not segregated
Dallas	Not segregated

culture if they are permitted to read freely without special rules to follow or special rooms reserved.

Libraries were sources of dispute during the sit-ins, and were often opened by the movement which first attacked seating at lunch counters. In Danville, Va., for example, libraries closed in the summer of 1960 to avoid court-ordered integration. They then reopened on an integrated "stand-up" basis, which continued for three months, after which all facilities were integrated. Protests of students and local ministers occurred in Petersburg, Va.; Jackson, Miss.; Baton Rouge, La.; Albany, Ga.; Greenville, S. C.; and Memphis, Tenn., among others. (In Greenville, the library opened, segregated by sex.)

At the same time, desegregation of library facilities during the past two years has been peaceful in what might be regarded as strongholds of segregation—i.e., in Charleston, S. C.; Savannah, Ga.; Montgomery, Ala.; and in two counties in Mississippi.

Of the 13 cities in this present survey, only two still have segregated libraries: Jackson and Birmingham.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 2)

deed punished with daytime fears and bedtime nightmares when their "unstable" and "neurotic" sons and daughters are instructing and escorting Negroes to register to vote, sometimes to the tune of gunfire and street beatings in deepest Dixie, or are enjoying the Southern Way of Life in a Black Belt jail.

It is not easy for kinfolks to wonder if this tall, laughing son is cowering in black solitary in Terrell County, Ga., with only bread and water, or if their gentle, bespectacled poetry-writing boy has a broken jaw or a ruptured kidney from a jailer in rural Alabama. It is certainly punishing for a white mother and father in Birmingham or a Negro couple in Nashville to wonder if their 18-year-old daughter is shot at from ambush or weeping under the crush of a wrist-breaker in prison in Mississippi.

But is parents-punishing their real "motivation," as we must nowadays term the reasons for faith, purpose and self-sacrifice? Our fancy analysts of personality and motives seem to know far better than Martin Luther King, Jr., Dion Diamond or Miss Ruby Doris Smith, just why, for instance, Dr. King endured house-bombings, arrests and threats on his family's life in Montgomery and jailings in Georgia, why Mr. Diamond chooses to risk street beatings and take on months of solitary in Baton Rouge and why the indefatigable Miss Smith pops up in the most dangerous demonstrations and the most brutal prisons in the South. To be sure, these critics have never met these Negro leaders, but this circumstance by no means impairs their confident judgments. Nor have they talked to Mr. and Mrs. James Forman who quit a $11,000 joint income so he could advance his career as head of SNCC for $60 a week, which the Formans frequently, but not always, collect. Yet these profound students of character and motive will assure us that the Formans and their employes, some of whom labor for an uncertain $15 or $20 a week in rural Mississippi, choose their temporary profession for huge salaries poured from the coffers of the NAACP, rich, South-hating Yankees or Muscovites. Nor do these omniscient analysts put any credence in the Negroes' simple claims

that they push, demand, suffer and imperil their bodies and spirits because they want to win public rights and freedom and to persuade whites to admit colored Americans to the human race.

Those of us who do credit these stated motives as honest ones are, of course, usually smiled away as "sentimentalists" or border-line "neurotics" ourselves.

I cannot, of course, say that every young person in the Movement is a marvel of "security," wholeness and fine emotional balance. Indeed, I met one Freedom Rider who seemed to me as obnoxious a young ass as I've encountered in contemporary life in or out of the Movement. I know one young white girl who seems to me—and here, I reckon I'm entitled to a bit of presumptuous psychologizing myself—quite devoted to hurting her southern parents, and from my brief acquaintance with her parents, I judge this may be a worthy cause.

As to the others, as far as my opportunity to know and judge them goes, they look to me as sound, attractive, gay and "integrated" of personality as any young folks I know who are giving their all on the football field, to dear old Phi Delt, for a degree in business administration or a new career as somebody's secretary or brisk young bond salesman. And they exhibit courage and constancy beyond anything I can detect in the well-adjusted, well-dressed and comfortably cynical youths who behave like everybody else. Of course these boys and girls do seem a bit edgy when they get out of a long stint in a Deep South jail or come fresh from a bus-burning, shooting or street beating. But a long ordeal, like final exams or a weekend of overwork, makes our "normal" young people nervous, too.

It occurs to me—and, again I presume to undertake amateur analysis—that our psychology fanciers are calling the wrong people crazy, and that they're doing so because their own ambitions and moral concerns are somewhat deficient for a best of all possible worlds.

If these critics believe that it is neurotic to struggle against oppression, cruelty and injustice to which their neighbors are subject, then they must cherish money, safety and the good opinion of the arrogant and mean-hearted more than they value freedom, kindness and equality for all Americans, even Southerners. Certainly their accusations against people in the Movement—of need for notoriety, sexual frustration and social failure, greed for money or hatred of parents—are "insights" which suggest vulgar values and petty desires in people who imagine these motives in others.

I am reminded of a more acceptable "insight" of Marion Wright, SRC vice president, in his review of the book, FREEDOM RIDE, in NEW SOUTH. With unprofessional wisdom, Mr. Wright wrote: "A better Freudian than this reviewer must determine why the white riders were the objects of especially brutal segregationist attention. 'Traitors to the white race' is the usual and facile expression. Perhaps the reason is deeper. It may lie in the spiteful and bitter resentment which little men instinctively feel for their betters. They resent manifestations of a nobility they themselves do not possess. In the fury of their assaults may lie secret admiration and envy."

I suggest that in the solemn psychoanalysis of freedom fighters which abounds today there may be, as Mr. Wright has it, secret admiration and envy of braver, stronger personalities.

New South

Integration, Yes, But . . .

"In the North, they're all in favor of integration on a 'yes, but' basis. 'Yes, but not now. Yes, but not here. Yes, but not next door.' I'm not saying there's no difference between the North and South because there's a world of difference.

"But in a way the South is healthier and less frustating. Both sides know where they stand. The white South says 'No!' We say 'Yes!' It's right out there between us where we can all see it and kick at it in public. I get the feeling that when integration comes in the South it will be with eyes open on both sides, and life down here will be healthier than in the North."—*A northern Negro student leader quoted in* "Negro Youths' New March on Dixie" *by Ben H. Bagdikian in* THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, *September 8, 1962.*

Reading File

Response to a Panel on "The Church in a Valley of Decision"

File Sec Fellowship of The Concerned

By

Rev. Vincent Harding

To: The Workshop of The Fellowship of The Concerned - October 30-31/62

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I speak for Father John Morris as well as for myself when I seek to offer this response to yesterday's panel presentation on "The Church in a Valley of Decision."

Our first response was this: God bless the women! God bless the women for their deep concern. God bless the women for their searching and sensitive spirits. God bless the women for so often being so far ahead of the men in the joyful, agonizing search for the way of discipleship in the midst of our nation's racial conflicts.

After having said that, it would be tempting for me to sit down, and for all of you to sit up and pat yourselves on the back and say "how good we are." We must not yield to this temptation, though, for self-congratulation and the easy offering of undeserved praise are among the besetting sins of the church. Rather, let us look and see what we have not done, what we have yet to do before we may even claim the title to "unworthy servants."

Actually, the panel left many things to be desired --- partly, of course, because of the meagre allotment of time that was made to each speaker. On the topic itself, "The Church in a Valley of Decision," little was really said. The nature of the decision was not defined in any way, and this omission was unfortunate, to say the least. For the title was no mere playing with words; the church is indeed faced now with a decision that is focussed on this matter of race. It is a great decision. It must choose to be or not to be the Church. It must choose to be the Church or a social club. It must choose to be the Church or another variety of white citizens' council. It must choose to be the Church or to be a Negro haven of rest. It must choose to be the Church or a Colored fashion show. Ultimately, of course, the choice before the Church now is to respond to God's challenge on the issue of race, or to die of abject fear. Here is the valley.

Perhaps it was because of this lack of a central definition that I found so little of a sense of urgency about the entire presentation. But a sense of urgency is greatly needed, for the context of the title words, as they are found in the book of Joel, is this: "Multitudes, multitides, in the valley of decision! For the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision." This is the point: the day of God's judgement is no less near to us, for a revolution now sweeps around us, the world is passing us by, as schools, restaurants, bars all move ahead; and day by day, a silent, segregated church becomes more and more irrelevant to the new society. Soon, before very long, separate but equal churches will be antiquated anachronism, fit only for the dung heap.

Somehow, the panel needed to say more about our need to face the church fully and honestly with this time of decision. In some way we

must help it to cease evading the moment of truth when it must decide to be God's people or to remain a white people and a colored people. We must bring it to the time when it will see no path but the path of decision between being the Body of Christ or being permanently split into white and non-white bodies. At the same time we must call the church to a new understanding of who it belongs to. Again and again, we heard the panel members speak of opening "our church" to the Negroes. Instead, we must cause men to know that our great calling may well be to get out of the way and let Christ open His church to all people. For it is His church, you know. Unless it is his, unless it follows his command to make disciples of all men, wherever they are found, unless it is open to all men, then it has not yet come near the fullness of his calling. Indeed, if this is not its stance, there may be great reason to question its credentials as a church under his Lordship.

Throughout the panel discussion, it was possible to sense an uncomfortableness not dissimilar to that which has been experienced in the nation at large of late. Just as men and women grew uneasy with the lack of local action to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the 1961 Interstate Commerce Commission ruling, so, too, has our uneasiness increased over the plethora of church pronouncements on race in the face of so little local congregational implementation. And as I think of the action we need, I remember a lady from Virginia who approached me at the recent World Mennonite Conference and asked: "Are you starting a new colored work in Atlanta?" My response to her was: "Sister, what we are really trying to do is to get all of the colored people out of the colored churches, and all of the white people out of the white churches, and put them together into one true Christian church." For in a real sense, this is our goal; not to integrate the churches, as some ladies said. No, our goal is to help create a fully Christian church, a church that refuses to let the walls of the world be built up in the church, a church which preaches and practices, "whosoever will, may come."

Now, how shall this necessary action come? How shall the church be brought to its hour of decision? How shall the volumes of pronouncements become flesh and live in deeds among us? The answers to this are not simple, but perhaps a direction may be seen. Just as the 1954 court decision and the 1961 ICC ruling did not bring (and have not brought) voluntary corrective action without some real stimulation in most cases, so we must not expect church pronouncements to bring action without similar stimulation. Is this not in keeping with our Protestant, crisis-centered theology? Rarely, for instance, do we expect a man to become a Christian only by reading volumes of documents about conversion. In our tradition -- for better or worse -- we look for a crisis experience, a sharp encounter with the truth, which may in turn lead to a turning from old ways and a commitment to the new. Is this not what our churches need in order to become truly inclusive fellowships? Do they not need to be faced with an inescapable crisis of decision?

How shall we do this? There are many ways. On the political level it took men and women who were willing to grasp Negro children by

the hands and lead them to principals and school boards -- then the issue could not be avoided. It took courageous young men and women to enter the restaurants and sit at the counters, facing the owners with the reality of their presence and the necessity of a choice. What does it take in the church?

Now, we may sit back and wait, perhaps, for some of these same young persons to enter the church without invitation and thus stimulate our decision-making. This is not a wise way, though, for many of them will never bother to come to our churches -- for a host of good and bad reasons. More importantly, though, this is not a wise way because it removes the initiative from our hands, and it is in our hands that it belongs. We are the people of the church. There are many ways in which we can grasp the chance (Miss Mears of United Church Women's "Project: Race" has a host of ideas). However, I should like to offer one suggestion which seems to me to be faithful both to the theme of this conference and to the life of the church. I would suggest that we give up those feelings of self-righteousness which so easily overcome us when we attend regional and statewide conferences like this. I would suggest that we grow dissatisfied with talk about the hands we have shaken and the tables we have shared at this level. The time has come for us to move down (or up!) to the level of our local congregations, to take our sister of another color by the hand, a and to walk by her side into our church sanctuary. Take her, and walk with her, and say to any who ask: "This is my sister in Christ; if this is Christ's church, then she belongs here as fully as I do." Indeed, we might be called upon to add the words: "If she does not belong here, then neither do I." In our hands -- there is the initiative. Joined hand in hand we may face the church with its choice.

Obviously, this is no easy way for us to go; but that is good. It is good because this issue of race, this frightening, shaking issue may finally bring us to our senses: at last it may break down our frantic efforts to be Christ's disciples and socially acceptable at the same time. In moments of the church's crisis, this kind of double life is rarely possible or even desirable. Thus the valley of our decision on race may be a place in which we discover anew that following Christ still brings with it the joyful agony of the cross.

Only briefly was this alluded to yesterday, when one of the panel members reported on the difficulty Albany's leading Baptist minister is having in finding a place to have his hair cut. (Actually, the barbershop problem is only a symptom of the greater trials this man faces.) He simply spoke for the openness of Christ's church, and has been granted the provilege of a glimpse at the cross. In Montgomery and New Orleans, some ladies now present have been faced with rejection by their husbands as a price for their own decision. Such experiences remind us that we too must be ready for this at every moment if we would really take the present opportunity in our own hands. We must be ready to be taken off the best invitation lists. We must be ready to be socially ostracised, intimidated and reviled. This was the way of our Master; why should his followers ask for a more pleasant path?

(At this moment I remember an example given by Archbishop Fulton Sheen illustrating the difference between Christianity and Communism.

He said that the communists have marched up to the Christ of the cross, torn him from the cross, cast him aside, and have marched off bearing the cross -- the cross of suffering, ridicule and rejection for their cause. On the other hand, we of the western world, said the Bishop, have walked up to the cross, taken Christ off, and have walked off with a gentle Jesus, meek and mild, leaving the cross and its costliness behind. Neither of these is the true faith, of course. For just as there is no real Christian cross without Christ, so, too, is there no true Christ without his cross. In our valley of decision on race, each of us must make our own choice.)

Here, then, is our response. And as I thought of the decision we now face -- a calling to open Christ's church to all men -- it seemed to me that T. S. Eliot was speaking to us all through his Murder in the Cathedral (and perhaps God was speaking through the poet). There, in his dramatic recounting of the life of Thomas Becket, 12th century Archbishop of Canterbury,Eliot often dwelt on the conflict between Thomas and the King, between the commands of God and the decrees of the state, between the way of our Master and the way of the world. Then, near the closing of Thomas' life in the play, Eliot portrays the priests of the Cathedral as they urge Thomas to lock himself in the sanctuary and to bar it against the King's knights who seek to kill him. They cry out:

Priests: Bar the door. Bar the door.
The door is barred.
We are safe. We are safe.
The enemy may rage outside, he will tire
In vain. They cannot break in.
They dare not break in. They have not the force.
We are safe. We are safe.

Thomas: Unbar the doors! Throw open the doors!
I will not have the house of prayer, the church of Christ,
The sanctuary, turned into a fortress.
The church shall protect her own, in her own way, not
As oak and stone; stone and oak decay,
Give no stay, but the Church shall endure.
The church shall be open, even to our enemies.
Open the door!

Priests: My Lord! these are not men, these come not as men come, but,
Like maddened beasts. They come not like men, who
Respect the sanctuary, who kneel to the Body of Christ,
But like beasts. You would bar the door
Against the lion, the leopard, the wolf or the boar,
Why not more
Against beasts with the souls of damned men, against men
Who would damn themselves to beasts.
My Lord! My Lord!

Thomas: Unbar the door!
You think me reckless, desperate and mad.
You argue by results, as this world does,
To settle if an act be good or bad.
Unbar the door! Unbar the door!
We are not here to triumph by fighting, by stratagem,
or by resistance,
Not to fight with beasts as men.
We have fought the beast and have conquered.
We have only to conquer now, by suffering.
This is the easier victory.
Now is the triumph of the Cross, now
Open the door! I command it. OPEN THE DOOR!

The door is opened, and within a few minutes time, the King's knights murder Thomas (for God has never promised safety to those who do his will, only his eternal presence with them). However, in the final moments of the play, the people of Canterbury are granted that great vision which helps them to see that Thomas' death, resulting as it did from his refusal to close Christ's church to any man, was indeed a blessing upon them all. It had caused them to see God and themselves. Therefore they could sing out:

Chorus: . . . . . .

. . . O God, we thank Thee
Who hast given such a blessing to Canterbury.

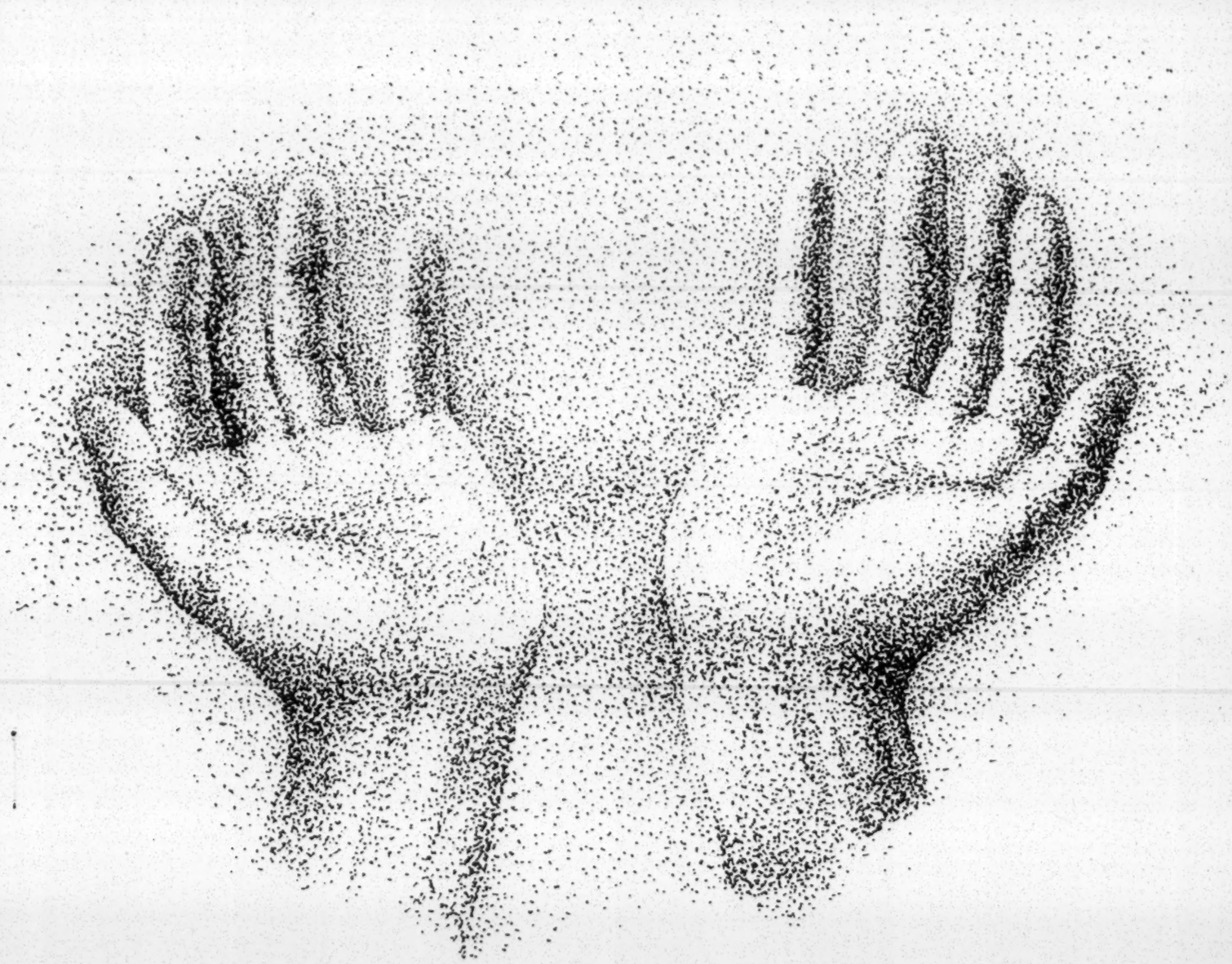
Forgive us, O Lord, we acknowledge ourselves as type of
the comman man,
Of the men and women who shut the door and sit by the fire;
Who fear the blessing of God, the loneliness of the night
of God, the surrender required, the deprivation
inflicted;
Who fear the injustice of men less than the justice of God;
Who fear the hand at the window, the fire in the thatch,
the fist in the tavern, the push into the canal,
Less than we fear the love of God.
We acknowledge our trespass, our weakness, our fault;
we acknowledge
That the sin of the world is upon our heads; that the
blood of the martyrs and the agony of the saints
Is upon our heads.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Blessed Thomas, pray for us.

Reverend Vincent Harding
Mennonite House
Atlanta, Georgia

IN OUR HANDS

What is man that thou art mindful of him
and the son of man that thou dost care for him?
Thou has given him dominion over the works of
thy hands;
thou hast put all things under his feet.

Psalm 8: 4-6



Work Book of the Fellowship of the Concerned

Southern Regional Council

Atlanta, Georgia - October 30-31

1962

---a Secret Plan
Is hid in my hand
---my hand is big
Big,
Because of this plan,
---God,
Who dwells in my hand,
Knows this secret plan
Of the things He will do for the world.

. . . Songs from the Slums . . .

Poems By -- Toyohiko Kagawa

Man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life . . . .
... from Inaugural Address of President Kennedy

The vast power in the atom, can be used to create wealth in the waste lands and figuratively stretch the surface to the earth, now uninhabitable into fit dwelling places for man.

It could be employed to bring to light treasures of mineral wealth now buried in accessible places; to irrigate deserts and transform them into blooming gardens; to air-condition vast stretches of the tropics and of the Artic sub-Artic continents, thus literally providing more living space for the increasing world population.

In short, man is on the eve of the era, in which he will be able to rebuild his world "nearer to the heart's desire" --- <u>only if he maintains</u> peace with his fellowman.

"The Promise of Tomorrow" -- By, Lawrence Williams

PROGRAM

OCTOBER 30, 1962
10:00 A. M.

SONG — Miss Cecilia Sheppard

PRAYER — Rev. J. J. Sneed, D. D.
Pastor, Haygood Memorial Methodist Church

GREETINGS — Southern Regional Council
Mr. Paul Anthony

Ga. Council of Churches
Rev. Edward Driscoll

Interdenominational Theological Center
Dr. Harry V. Richardson

Dr. Master J. Wynn

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson

INTRODUCTIONS

SONG — Miss Cecilia Sheppard

WORSHIP — "What Is That In Thine Hand?"
Rev. Emilie Pitcock

PURPOSE — Mrs. M. E. Tilly

THE CHURCH IN A - - - "VALLEY OF DECISION"
Leader -- Rev. Elbert Jean

PARTICIPANTS

Mrs. Norvell Wicker
Mrs. Benjamin Mays - C.M.E.
Mrs. E. L. Askren - Congrega'al
Miss Mary Beth Littlejohn - Meth
Mrs. Susie Holley - Baptist
Mrs. Edith J. Walsh - Presby-US
Mrs. C. Hoffman - Unitarian
Mrs. Robert Wilcox - Methodist
Mrs. Seymour Haber - Jewish
Mrs. W. W. Thrasher - Christian Ch.
Rev. Annie Campbell - Congrega'al
Mrs. Ben Russell - Presby - USA
Mrs. Fred Patterson - Sou. Baptist
Mrs. A. H. Sterne - Episcopal

"UNITY OF THE CHURCH" - - - The Reverend Vincent Brannon
Archdiocessan Commission on Christian Unity.

"THESE RIGHTS WE HAVE" - - - Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

PRAYER HYMN — Blessing

12:30 — LUNCH

AFTERNOON SESSION

MEDITATION Think On These Things
-- Mrs. Arthur Styron

Love Thy Neighbor As Thy Self -- Lev. 19:18

Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethern to dwell together in unity!

It is like the precious ointment upon the head that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard; that went down to the skirts of his garments.

As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew upon the mountains of Zion, for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life forevermore. Psalm. 133:

They helped everyone, his neighbor, and everyone said to his brother, be of good courage.

So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and that smoothed with the hammer, him that smote the anvil, saying, "It is ready for the sodering," and he fastened it with nails that it should not be moved. . . . Isaiah 41:6-7.

Thou shall not respect the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty, but in righteousness thou shall judge thy neighbor.

Thou shall not go up and down as a tale bearer among thy people, neither shall thou stand against the blood of thy neighbor. I am the Lord -- Thou shal not hate thy brother in thy heart.
Lev. 19: 15-17.

Thou shall not bear false witness against thy neighbor.
Exodus - 20:16

Hatred stirreth up strife, but love covers all sins. Prov. 10:12.

Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good.
Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another. .. Romans 12:9-10
Love is patient and kind; love is not jealous or boastful, it is not arrogant or rude.
Love does not insist in its own way, it is not irritable or resentful, it does not rejoice at wrong, but rejoices in the right. Love bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. So faith, hope, love, abide these three, but the greatest of these is love.

"FORGIVE THOSE WHO TRESPASS AGAINST US"
Mr. Freeman L. Nelson

"HOUSING - THE KEY TO BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS"
Miss Flora Hatcher

SONG Miss Cecilia Sheppard

DISCUSSION GROUPS: Miss Eleanor French -- Director
We Seek --
a conviction that will not let us rest
a faith that will not shrink
a courage that will not waver

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 1

Leader	Miss Janet Rogan
Reporter	Mrs. Sadie Barrow
Resource Persons	Mr. R. A. Thompson
	Mrs. Frances Pauley

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 2

Leader	Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner
Reporter	Mrs. Clayton Calhoun
Resource Persons	Mr. Robert Shrider
	Mr. Staige Blackford

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 3

Leader	Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson
Reporter	Mrs. Jane Schutt
Resource Persons	Mr. Paul Rilling
	Mrs. A. R. Hill

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 4

Leader	Mrs. John Patton
Reporter	Mrs. R. R. Eckart
Resource Persons	Mrs. Ralph Williams
	Miss Thelma Stevens

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 5

Leader	Mrs. Eva Parks
Reporter	Mrs. Elizabeth Hartsfield
Resource Persons	Miss Carrie Mears
	Dr. George Clary

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 6

Leader	Mrs. James R. Beach
Reporter	Miss Wilma D. Freeman
Resource Persons	Mr. A. I. Botnick
	Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen

OCTOBER 30, 1962

EVENING SESSION

7:30 P. M.

WORSHIP

SONGS "The Perfect Prayer" -- Steveson
Rev. Moses Pleasure - Tenor
Rev. Edward Norris - Bass Baritone

"Breathe On Me, Breath of God" -- Jackson
Quartet - I. T. C.

Dr. Killingsworth - - - Director

SOUTHERN COLLEGE STUDENTS LOOK AT THEIR REGION--
Dr. Robert Coles

PARTICIPANTS- - -

Lawrence Jefferson	- Morehouse College
Martha Holmes	- Spelman College
Gordon Patton	- Emory University
Joan Browning	- Georgia State

REPORTING TIME:

A word from those who came last year.

DISCUSSION GROUPS CONTINUED

9:30 P. M. ADJOURNMENT

OCTOBER 31, 1962
9:30 A. M.

SONG Miss Cecilia Sheppard

PRAYER IN UNISON:

Grandfather, Great Spirit, You have been always, and before You nothing has been. There is no one to pray to but You. The star nations all over the heavens are Yours, and Yours are the grasses of the earth. You are older than all need, older than all pain and prayer.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, all over the world the faces of living ones are alike. With tenderness they have come up out of the ground. Look upon our children, with children in their arms, that they may face the winds, and walk the good road to the day of quiet.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, fill us with light. Give us the strength to understand and the eyes to see. Teach us to walk the soft earth as relatives to all that live.

Help us, for without You we are nothing. Amen. . . . . from, Sioux Indian Prayer, Western United States

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"BUILDING A BROTHERHOOD"

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN - - - - Mrs. Bernard Facher

COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN - - Mrs. Henry L. deGive

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN - - "Assignment Race"
- - Miss Carrie Mears

REPORTS

"Evaluation of the Symposium on the Church --
-- Rev. John Morris
-- Rev. Vincent Harding

The Workshop Groups

"WHAT WE HAVE BEEN SAYING - WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?
-- Miss Thelma Stevens

CLOSING MESSAGE Dr. Harry V. Richardson

1:00 P. M. LUNCH

WHO's WHO

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson -- Official Hostess

HOSTESSES:

Mrs. Ben Milner, Mrs. Van P. Enloe, Mrs. George T. Gunning, and Mrs. Phil Narmour.

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Miss Cecilia Sheppard - Division of Religion - Paine College
Dr. J. J. Sneed, Pastor, Haygood Memorial Methodist Church - Atlanta
Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant, Southern Regional Council
Rev. Edward Driscoll - Executive Director, Ga. Council of Churches
Dr. Harry V. Richardson - President, I. T. C., Atlanta
Dr. Master J. Wynn - President - Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta
Rev. Emilie Pitcock - Minister of Christian Education, Southeastern Convention Congregational Christian Churches, United Church of Christ.
Mrs. M. E. Tilly - Director of Women's Work, Southern Regional Council
Rev. Elbert Jean - National Council of Churches
The Reverend Vincent Brannon - Chairman, Archdiocesan Commission on Christian Unity.
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar - Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Freeman L. Nelson, Dept. of Justice, U. S. Penitentiary, Atlanta
Miss Flora Hatcher, Assistant to the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C.
Miss Eleanor French - Director - Christian Social Relations, UCW
Miss Janet Rogan, Council of Catholic Churchs, Atlanta
Mrs. Sadie Barrow, Executive Director, YWCA, New Orleans, La.
Mr. R. A. Thompson, Executive Director, Atlanta Urban League
Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director, Ga. Council on Human Relations.
Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner, President, Woman's Society of Christian Service, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. Clayton Calhoun, Christian Social Relations, Methodist
Mr. Robert Shrider, Executive Director, Bethlehem Community Center, Atlanta
Mr. Staige Blackford, Director, Research Department, Southern Regional Council
Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson, President, Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, A. M..E. Zion Church, Louisville, Ky.
Mrs. Jane Schutt, Episcopal, Mississippi
Mr. Paul Rilling, Director of Field Services, Southern Regional Council.
Mrs. A. R. Hill, President, Bethlehem Community Center, Atlanta
Mrs. John Patton, UCW, Atlanta
Mrs. R. R. Eckart, CSR, Louisiana
Mrs. Ralph Williams, Bethlehem Community Center, Atlanta
Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary, Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church
Mrs. Eva Parks - Central Jurisdiction - Methodist
Mrs. Elizabeth Hartsfield, Ky Association of Christian Churches
Miss Carrie Mears - National UCW, Director of"Assignment Race."

Dr. George E. Clary - Director - Georgia Methodist Commission on Higher Education
Mrs. James R. Beach, Executive Secretary, Georgia Christian Women's Fellowship, Macon
Miss Wilma D. Freeman, Director - Girl's Auxiliary - Woman's Mission Missionary Union of North Carolina, Baptist State Convention
Mr. A. I. Botnick - A. D. L. - Consultant, Atlanta
Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen, UCW, Atlanta
Dr. Killingsworth, Director Music Department, I. T. C.
Dr. Robert Coles, Southern Regional Council - Research in Student Adjustment
Mrs. Henry L. deGive, Council of Catholic Women
Rev. John Morris, Director, Epsicopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, Atlanta
Rev. Vincent Harding, Mennonite House, Pastor
Mrs. Bernard Facher, B'nai B'rith

THESE -- You asked to be considered.

I. Unwed Mothers.

This we give and ask you to be aware of.

The U. S. Secretary of Education and Welfare, early in 1962, sent a 10-Point reform to State Welfare Agencies.

Point 4 is -- "Intensive Case Work Services. At least one home visit every three months required for relief families with illigetimate children.

The best trained welfare worker must be put on this job."

REFERENCES

The Ladies Home Journal, October 1962, Page 28, has an article "Sometimes Life Just Happens"

McCall's, October, 1962, Page 92, has an article "O Mother"

II. Our Political Campaigns

We give you this to read and ponder over.

From -- The Bench Mark -- used by permission from:

-- Church and Community Press, Atlanta.

> This is the Southern Preacher Speaking 150 years after The Great Revival, and with the same Clarity, the same fearless Insight, the same zeal for Truth, that the crusaders of Wilderness Road spoke in their own way for their own time.
>
> ---- James W. Sells

When Will My South Ask These Questions - -

-- Henry Burton Trimble

I was born in the South. I have lived in the South all my life with the exception of three or four years. I don't want to be a professional Southerner. I want to be an American too. I had much rather think of the things that I have in common with the whole of America than about the points of variation.

We can as a group, I think, feel that we are a family. We are talking about problems of mutual interest to us; some pleasant, some unpleasant. There is a nice thing about talking in the family spirit. You can say what you wouldn't say to a stranger.

As a family, I want to ask some questions. These are real questions to me. They are not frivolous at all. And I have nothing dogmatic to say in answer.

First I would ask: -- WHY HAS THE SOUTH CEASED THE PRODUCTION OF GREAT POLITICAL LEADERS? At least, their greatness has not been rewarded, for example by being elected to the Presidency. Look what we used to do: -- Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Polk, Lee. We haven't produced a man of that magnitude in a century. At least, I do not know of one. Over in Nashville, Tennessee, I served as pastor of the McKendee Methodist Church. James K. Polk was once a member of that church. Just down the street is the First Presbyterian Church. Andrew Jackson was once a member of that church.

Now, why don't we have folks like that now? This is a family question. Could it be that our leaders, to be elected to high office, must commit themselves to principles and ideas that are restricted to our area? And which are necessary to accept? Could that be the trouble?

I can't believe that a section which raised so much of the early leadership of a great nation has lost the knack of producing great men.

Woodrow Wilson began his active life as a lawyer. He hung out his shingle in Atlanta, and practiced here for two years. I suppose he intended to stay here the rest of his life, and be a Georgia lawyer. Would Woodrow Wilson ever have become President of the U. S. A. if he had remained in Georgia? Now, that is just in the family. I don't know. But it is a question that I think ought to arrest our attention.

There is another question that I would like to ask, I direct this -- Well, we are all church people. Here in The Southeast live, I suppose, the greatest solid block of Protestants on earth. It is an area where the church wields great influence. A large percentage of our population are church people. Sometimes we are called The Bible Belt. I don't think we deserve it. WHY IS IT THAT HERE IN THIS CENTER OF CHRISTIANITY, A RELIGION THAT TEACHES HUMANENESS AND KINDNESS AND BROTHERLY LOVE HAS SUCH A HARD TIME? Now, just in the family, I ask the question.

Why doesn't a Nobel Prize winner teach, or research, in a Southern university?

I believe that these are fair questions, and I think that they are of interest to the Southern people. We ought to give them serious consideration because they may be symptoms of something.

Now we talk about our way-of-life and our-South. But when I hear a person say anything about The South, I almost always feel like asking "Which South?" Because, clearly, there are two Souths. They both date back to Appomattox and, I suppose, even beyond that. When it was evident that the South was facing immediate defeat, there were two ideas. One was held by Robert E.. Lee, and his associates. The other held by another group, who didn't want to surrender. They wanted to break up into guerilla bands, take to the mountains, and prolong the desolation that had befallen the country.

We have had both types of successors to these two ideas. We have had the guerillas. We have had them in politics. We have had the guerilla who has been terribly afraid of Yankees and colored people.

But we have had the other school, too -- the school of thought inherited from Jefferson, Jackson and Lee. Now our hope resides in the quality of the education we are able to give our young people. We should all be greatly encouraged by the progress that has been made in all the departments of education in our South land during the last generation. May God grant that it shall never cease. Liberal institutions require the best possible education. To abandon efficient education is to abandon the highest and best type of civilization.

Is our Southern atmosphere a liberal atmosphere? Is it conducive to the development of the highest possibilities of our region?

What do we mean by a liberal atmosphere?

1. It is a situation where Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Press, and Freedom of Assembly are encouraged and actually used.

2. It is a place where problems are viewed objectively, and the mind, as well as the emotion, is employed in solving them.

3. It is a place where differences of opinion are tolerated.

4. It is a place where, in respect to important issues, a balance is maintained. No issue is allowed to be brought up to the point where it's significance is all out of proportion to its importance.

5. It is a place where ideals are popular, and progress is open to all people on the basis of merit.

6. It is a place where you don't use devices and pressures to press all the people into a single mold.

Now, I do not score our Southland on this test. I am not even sure that it is a good test. But I RAISE THE QUESTION AMONG US SOUTHERN PEOPLE AS TO WHETHER AND TO WHAT EXTENT WE NOW HAVE A LIBERAL SOCIETY CONDUCIVE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS TO THE FULLEST EXTENT POSSIBLE?

And now a few words about the church. I am still talking about our Southland, and still asking questions. I quote a familiar passage of scripture. Jesus was asked, "Which is the greatest commandment?" You know that his answer was, "Love God with your whole heart, and your neighbor as yourself."

There is a strange thing about the common interpretation of that passage to me. I go back to the time when we had the "testimony meeting." I have heard a great many people give their religious testimonies. It is puzzling that practically

all of the testimonies were related to the first part of that Commandment -- a man's relation to his God. The other part of it is just as important. But it never seems to be drawn into the Christian testimony.

And yet, it can be. Albert Schweitzer, I think, is the most influential Christian alive. One of the reasons that took him to Africa was to make some atonement for the wrongs done the black man by the white man. He tells a story concerning religious experience in the area that I am asking you to think about, -- OUR HUMAN RELATIONS.

He had not been there too long in his little hospital, when a man came in from the forest suffering great abdominal distress. There was no nurse around. Dr. Schweitzer managed to get the man to sleep. Then he performed the operation and sat waiting by the bed side. After a long wait the man began to move. He opened his eyes in bewilderment. Then he suddenly felt his side, and said, "Oh. What has happened. The pain is all gone. I am not hurting anymore."

Then Dr. Schweitzer tells how he reached out and took the black man by the hand and said, "The Lord, Jesus Christ, sent me to Africa to do this." And he added, "All consciousness of human division vanished from my heart. And I felt myself one with all mankind."

III. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Sorry, but this would require more hours than we have -- go home and form a study group. Refer to The Post -- September 22-29 --"My Life with Juvenile Gangs." by Vincent Riccio, as told to: Bill Slocum.

THE PROMISE OF TOMORROW

WILLIAM L. LAWRENCE

From Collier's Weekly - December 23, 1955

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

On Monday, August 8, 1955, on the opening day of the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, at Geneva, Switzerland, I was one of the group, composed of leading scientist from many nations, including Russia, that stood in hushed silence around a large circular tank filled with some 13,000 gallons of crystal-clear water.

The scene was the special building, directly behind the Palace of Nations, that housed the United States nuclear reactor, the first atomic power plant of any kind ever to be exhibited publicly anyway on earth. All of us present, including the Russians were aware that we were about to become witness to one of the greatest events in history, at which Peaceful Atom, a 20th century version of Atlas carrying a new world on his shoulders was to make public appearance.

Sophisticated men of science, many of them rationalists and even outright agnostics, stood wide-eyed with an air of expectancy and wonder very like that of children around a gift-laden Christmas tree. For consciously or sub-consciously, every one present realized that he was about to witness the arrival of the new Promethus with a richer gift by far than the gift of Promethus' fire that started men on his slow march from the cave on the road to the stars.

There was nothing unusual about the over-sized fish bowl to which the makers referred to as the "swimming pool reactor." The tank was about ten feet in diameter and 22 feet deep, but the lowe 18 feet were buried in the ground. At the bottom of the tank was a bizarre-looking contraption, a grid plate supported from below, about five and one-half feet high. This was the core of the reactor, loaded with some 40 pounds of uranium, enriched to contain about eight pounds of active fissionable variety of the element. Rather a small amount of fuel one might say. Not so small when one realizes that as an explosive the eight pounds would yield the equivalence of 72 thousand tons - yes, tons of TNT, while as a source of power that rather puny amount in terms of concentual fuel would yield a total of well over 100,000 kilowatt hours of energy.

As we stood there the lights went out and we were left in total darkness for a time that seemed very long. Out of the depth of the tank, there emerged a faint blue glow. Slowly, imperceptively the glow became more and more luminious until the reactor lattace was enveloped in whitish blue light. Around it was a halo of unearthly greenish blue that ended abruptly in

a haze of many shaded purple. The haze grew more intense, a purple fire that seemed to penetrate through the ring of steel that confined it, to spread ever outward until it permeated the entire room, enveloping all of us in a mantle of eerie cold purple light, coming, one felt from a source not of this world, from the very bowls of the cosmos as it were.

Outward, outward, the cloud of purple haze spread into ever-widening cirlces, until they seemed to penetrate the very walls of the room into outer space. It gave one the sensation of the eminence of a new dawn, of the rising of a new sun on the horizon of another worldly purple sky. One became aware being present at the birth of a world...

...As the lights were turned on again, we gradually returned to the mundane sphere of every day life, I remembered the other occasions at which I saw the same force from the inner core of the cosmos, the citadel of the atoms of which the material world is made.

I saw once again the purple ball of fire liberated in an uncontrolled burst of purple flamd and concentrating the light of more than a hundred noon time suns, that rose over the desert near Alamogordo, New Mexico, on the morning of July 16, 1945, when the first atomic bomb exploded in the greatest wartime secrecy. I remembered the giant mushroom cloud that emerged out of the super-sun, carrying a deadly radiations that annihilate all life in its path.....

I remember a bit of dialogue between me and one of the scientist who designed the atomic bomb on our way back to Los Alamos from the explosion at Alamogordo, "This was the nearest thing to doomday one can possibly imagine." I heard the voice of the scientist next to me say, though it seemed to come from a distance, "I am sure, I am sure," I heard the voice say, "that at the end of the world milli-second of the earth's existence, that last man will see something very similar to what we have seen."

And out of the silence that ensured, there came another voice=in-my-own-which also sounded from a distance - "Possibly so," said the voice, "but it is also possible that if the first man could have been present at that moment of creation when God said, "Let there be light," he might have seen something very similar to what we have just seen."

Here were two individuals who had just witnessed one of the greatest, if not the greatest events in modern history, one of the most significant in all history. Yet one saw a twilight, while the other saw the vision of a new dawn; one saw the potential end of a man on this planet, whereas the other saw the

vision of a new dawn; one saw the potential end of man on this planet, whereas the other saw the possibly beginning of a new life in a richer, more peaceful and abundant world.

Which of the two visions was nearer to the truth? During the momentous decade which followed there were times when the vision of dooms day seemed the most likely to come true. . . But that day in Geneva in August 1955, and during the two weeks of the historic conference that followed, it became more clear that man had successfully passed the greatest crisis in his history that had at least emerged from a world of night-mares, topped by giantic mushroom clouds into a world holding out the promise of the fulfillment of his most cherished dreasm -- peace, prosperity, and an environment fashioned by himself in which he will have the opportunity for the first time to realize his unlimited spiritual potential, achieved not by only a relative few...

It thus became clear at Geneva Atomic Conference that man was on the eve of the greatest industrial, social and economic revolution in the million years of his evolution on earth. From a civilization controlled by scarcity, he is about to emerge into the green pastures of a civilization build on plenty. From a world torn by strife and war he is about to enter a new world based on peace, a world built to order with no limitations to the realization of his vast potentialities physically intellectually, spiritually.

Ironically enough this great potential future that man may realize only if he maintains the peace with his fellows, came about as the product of the greatest and most destructive war in history, "Out of the eater came forth food, and out of the strong came forth sweetness" -- a modern solution of Sampson's riddle.

The vast power in the atom, can be used to create wealth in the vast lands and figuratively stretch the surface of the earth, now uninhabitable into fit dwelling places for man. It could be employed to bring to light treasures of mineral wealth now buried in accessible places; to irrigate deserts and transform them into blooming gardens; to air-condition vast stretches of the tropics and of the Artic sub-Artic continents, thus literally providing more living space for the increasing world population. In short, man is on the eve of the era in which he will be able to rebuild his world "nearer to the heart's desire" -- <u>only if he maintains peace with his fellowman.</u>

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

What is the Fellowship of The Concerned? It is what its name implies -- a fellowship of the Church Women leaders of both races, and the three faiths, concerned about their South. There are no officers and no membership dues. It is sponsored by The Southern Regional Council. The initiative for action, however, is entirely in the hands of the women.

HISTORY

Whenever there has been a crisis in human relations in the South, Church women have come together to face the issues and work out a program of action. The first call was to a Cause and Cure of War Conference, just before World War II. This answered a national call, under the direction of an appointed Southern leader (Mrs. M. E. Tilly).

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

When lynching was prevalent in the South, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was formed, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The story of their work is well known and saved the South from continued mob violence. (Mrs. Tilly was secretary of this group -- since then she has directed all other of these Southwide meetings.)

Rural Health.

Rural health was the next disturbing situation faced. This began as a Methodist project, but, realizing it was the concern of all the South, the leaders of the groups of the three faiths came together. The U. S. Surgeon-General gave his blessing to the endeavor by his presence and address at the meeting. This health conference was followed by district meetings in the States. In our files we have a letter from the Director of the State Health Department of Georgia, stating that it was entirely through these meetings that the Legislature passed the appropriation of one million dollars for rural hospitals a few months later. This same story could be said of each of the States.

Demobilization Conference.

Realizing that the women had spent a great deal of time in First Aid and Red Cross work, and now that the war was over this time should be mobilized for peacetime action, women were called together in a Demobilization Conference.

Workshop of Civil Rights.

With a member of the staff of the U. S. Department of Justice with us, this workshop was held to study civil rights and to become aware of current infringements of these rights in our South.

Conference on Injustice in the Courts.

At this conference was worked out a program "Know Your Courts as You Know Your Schools." Here the women named themselves The Fellowship of The Concerned, and began sitting in courts, giving courage to judges and juries alike. They presented the sheriffs of two-thirds of our counties with the pamphlet, "Race and Law Enforcement."

Supreme Court Decision on School Integration.

The first conference was held in 1953 just before the decision came and here the women planned what they would do in preparation for the decision. In February of 1955, the women again came together from the States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina. These have been followed up with State Meetings. On October 30-31, 1956, one-hundred-nine women came from 10 southern states -- this was a gathering of the women of three faiths, of each denomination, and of both races. This meeting is being re-enacted in the states. Altogether about 2,000 women, each year, have been in the South-wide and State meetings on this question. These Workshops have been great by every measure. One is impressed by the deep spiritual nature of them. This is well, for spiritual power is needed. These women are finding the spiritual strength and power to be --

Firm in conviction, never afraid to speak,
Persuasive in conversation,
Patient and understanding with those who do not agree..
"Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

1957 Workshop was held October 29-30.

The general subject was, "The Challenge of Controversy."

1958 Workshop was held October 16-17.

The subject was "Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."

1959 Workshop was held November 5-6.

The general subject was, "Roots Of Freedom."

1960 Workshop was held November 15-16.

The general subject was, "Justice Weighed in The Balance."

1961 Workshop was held November 6-7.

The general subject was, "One God, One World, One People."

1962 Workshop - - - October 30-31.

The general theme - - "In Our Hands." We used as a background a part of the 8th Psalm - - also Kagawa's poem, ". . . a secret plan, Is Hid in My hand."

Oct., 1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director James M. Dabbs, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
ALpine 2-2722 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Norman Jimerson
Chairman: Rev. Powers McLeod

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Chairman: Rev. Charles C. Walker

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Acting Executive Director:
Dr. Ralph Dreger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida
RA. 4-5862 (305)
Chairman: Mrs. Mabel Chesley

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 502
Atlanta 3, Georgia
525-6468 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Frances Pauley
Chairman: Rev. Charles Demere

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chairman: Dr. Rufus Atwood
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

LOUISIANA: (No state Council)
NEW ORLEANS COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL
Chairman: W. Theodore Baptist
101 S. Wren Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chairman: Dr. A. D. Beittel
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 E. Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina
FRanklin 6-6833 (704)
Exec. Dir.: Harry S. Jones
Chairman: Rev. Henry Ruark

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
ALpine 6-8808 (803)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Chairman: Rev. Fred Reese

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
CYpress 1-7544 (615)
Exec. Dir.: Miss Katherine Jones
Chairman: George Barrett

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
114-B Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond 19, Virginia
MIlton 9-0872 (703)
Exec. Dir.: Heslip Lee
Chairman: Dr. Thomas Henderson

TEXAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chairman: Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

Local Councils With Professional Staff:

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 207
Atlanta 3, Ga. - 525-6469 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Chairman: Mrs. Clifton Hoffman

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
3605 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas - JA. 4-5084 (713)
Exec. Sec.: Mrs. George Dumbauld
Chairman: Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of cooperative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The Council's program is planned and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. The latter include national foundations, many church denominations, and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio, and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It is an educational organization. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method--that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

President

James M. Dabbs
Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Vice-Presidents

Josephine Wilkins
Athens, Georgia

Dr. Albert W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Marion A. Wright
Attorney and Past President, SRC
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Chairman, Executive Committee

John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Executive Director

Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

6/24/61

PRAYER

Grant us brotherhood, not only for this day,
but for all our years.
A brotherhood not of words but of acts and deeds.
We are all of us children of earth --
Grant us that simple knowledge.
If our brothers are oppressed, then we are oppressed.
If they hunger -- we hunger.
If their freedom is taken away,
our freedom is not secure.
Grant us common faith that man shall know bread and peace,--
That he shall know justice and righteousness,
Freedom and security, and equal opportunity,
And an equal chance to do his best,
Not only in our lands, but throughout the world.
And in that faith, let us march toward the clean world
our hands can make . . . . Amen.

. . . . Stephen Vincent Binet

Written for and read by:

President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the United Nations
on Flag Day, June 14, 1942.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

"Why Are You Fearful?"

Compiled
for
THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
by

MRS. M. E. TILLY
Director of Women's Work

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"Why Are You Fearful"

Behold, the Lord passed by,
A great strong wind rent the mountains,
and broke in pieces the rocks before the Lord,
but the Lord was not in the wind; and after
the wind an earthquake but the Lord was not
in the earthquake, and after the earthquake,
a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; after
the fire a still small voice.—I Kings 19:11-12
And in that still voice onward came the Lord.

Fear not them which kill the body
but cannot kill the soul;
but rather fear him which is able
to destroy both soul and body.
—Matthew 10:28

I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor
angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor
things present, nor things to come,
Nor heights, nor depths, nor any other creature,
shall be able to separate us from the love of
God.—Romans 8:38-39

"Fear Not"

O man, greatly beloved, fear not, peace be unto thee, be strong, yet be strong: and when he had spoken unto me I was strengthened and said, Let my Lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.—Daniel 10:19

Fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be afraid of their reviling.—Isaiah 51:7

Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

Rejoice, and be exceedingly glad for great is your reward in heaven, for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

—Matthew 5:11-12

Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?

But and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye, and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled.

But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear.

Having a good conscience, that, whereas they speak evil of you, as of evil doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ.

For it is better, if the will of God be so, that you suffer for well doing, than for evil doing.

—I Peter 3:13-17

Fear thou not, for I am with thee;
be not dismayed, for I am thy God.
I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee.
I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteuosness.

For I, the Lord, thy God will hold thy right hand,
saying to thee, Fear not, I will help thee.
—Isaiah 41:10,13

Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.

But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.

Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.—Matthew 10:29-31

Be strong, and of good courage,
dread not, nor be dismayed.
—I Chronicles 22:13

Wait on the Lord, be of good courage and he shall strengthen thine heart,
Wait I say on the Lord.—Psalm 27:14

Fear ye not, stand still and see the salvation of the Lord.—Exodus 14:13

Have I not commanded thee?

Be strong and of good courage; be not afrighted, neither be dismayed; for Jehovah thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.
—Joshua 1:9

I Sought the Lord and He Delivered Me From My Fears

—Psalms 34:4

There is no fear in love, but perfect love
castest out fear.—I John 4:18

What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee.
In God I will praise his word,
in God I have put my trust.
I will not fear what flesh can do to me.
—Psalm 56:3-4

The Lord is my light and my salvation;
Whom shall I fear?
The Lord is the strength of my life.
Of whom shall I be afraid?
Though an host should encamp against me,
my heart shall not fear.—Psalm 27:1,3

God is our refuge and strength,
A very present help in trouble,
Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed,
And though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea.—Psalm 46:1-2

We glory in tribulation, knowing that tribulation worketh patience,
And patience experience, and experience hope,
And hope maketh not ashamed, because the love

of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given us.—Romans 5:3-5

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High
Shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.
I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress;
My God, in him will I trust.
Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler,
And from the noisome pestilence.
He shall cover thee with his feathers,
And under his wings shalt thou trust.
His truth shall be thy shield and buckler.
Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night,
Nor for the arrow that flieth by day,
Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness,
Nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday,
Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge,
Even the Most High, thy habitation,
There shall no evil befall thee,
Neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling;
For he will give his angels charge over thee,
To keep thee in all thy ways.
They shall bear thee up in their hands,
Lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.

—Psalm 91:1-6, 9-12

I will lift up my eyes unto the hills,
from whence cometh my help.

My help cometh from the Lord,
which made heaven and earth.

He will not suffer thy foot to be moved;
he that keepeth thee will not slumber.
Behold, he that keepeth Israel
shall neither slumber nor sleep.

The Lord is thy keeper;
the Lord is thy shade
upon thy right hand.
The sun shall not smite thee by day,
nor the moon by night.

The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil;
he shall preserve thy soul.
The Lord shall preserve
thy going out and thy coming in
from this time forth, and even for evermore.

—Psalm 121

The Eternal God Is Our Refuge and Underneath Are the Everlasting Arms

—Deuteronomy 33:27

The Lord thy God in the midst of thee is mighty,
he will rejoice over thee with joy,
he will rest in his love,
he will joy over thee with singing.

—Zephaniah 3:17

Fear not, for I have redeemed thee;
I have called thee by thy name;
thou art mine.
When thou passeth through the waters
I will be with thee
And through the rivers, they shall
not overthrow thee.
When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt
not be burned,
Neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.

—Isaiah 43:1-2

Thou will keep him in perfect peace
whose mind is stayed on thee,
because he trusteth in thee.
Trust ye in the Lord forever,
for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.

—Isaiah 26:3-4

They shall sit every man under his vine and under
his fig tree,
And none shall make them afraid,
For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

—Micah 4:4

We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed;
we are perplexed, but not in despair;
Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down but not
destroyed;
Always bearing about in the body the dying of
the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might
be made manifest in our body.

—II Corinthians 4:8-10

Yea, though I walk through the valley
of the shadow of death,
I will fear no evil, for thou art with me;
Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me.
—Psalm 23:4

Watch Ye, Stand Fast in the Lord: Quit Ye Like Men, Be Strong.

—I Corinthians 16:13

"If God be with you, who can be against you."

Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.—Ephesians 6:10

Be strong and of good courage, fear not nor be afraid, for the Lord thy God he it is that doth go before thee; he will not fail thee nor forsake thee.—Deuteronomy 31:6

FORGET NOT THY MAKER

I, even I, am he that comforteth you.
Who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid
of man that shall die,
of the son of man which shall be made as grass,
And forgetest the Lord thy maker,
that hath stretched forth the heavens
and laid the foundations of the earth,
and hast feared continually every day
because of the fury of the oppressor,
as if he were ready to destroy?
And where is the fury of the oppressor?
—Isaiah 51:12-13

OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD

Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good.

Bless them which persecute you; bless and curse not.

If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink.

Be not overcome with evil but overcome evil with good.—Romans 12:9,14,20,21

LOVE NEVER FAILS

Love suffereth long and is kind.
Love envieth not.
Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up,
Doth not behave itself unseemly,
Seeketh not its own, is not easily provoked,
Thinketh no evil,
Beareth all things, believeth all things,
Hopeth all things, endureth all things.
Love never faileth.—I Corinthians 13:4,5,7

CONTROL THY SELF

Yea, and for this very cause, adding on your part all diligence, in your faith supply virtue, and in your virtue knowledge.

And in your knowledge self control, and in your self control patience, and in your patience godliness.

And in your godliness brotherly kindness, and in your brotherly kindness love.

—II Peter 1:5-8

IN NOTHING BE ANXIOUS

In nothing be anxious but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your request be known unto God.

And the peace of God which passeth all understanding shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.

Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true,
whatsoever things are honest,
whatsoever things are just,
whatsoever things are pure,
whatsoever things are lovely,
whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.

Those things, which ye have both learned and received, and heard, and seen in me, do and the God of peace shall be with you.

—Philippians 4:6-9

THE REWARD

And my God shall supply all your need according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus.

—Philippians 4:19

Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.—Luke 2:12

Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.—Matthew 28:20

. . . Most of the reasons offered for segregation are, upon careful examination, flimsy; we see that the dangers against which it is supposed to protect us are for the most part unreal; we see that some of our attitudes in the matter are simply habits, and others a cloak for selfishness, and still others the result of the confusion of life, which is sacred, with segregation, which is only one of its perishing forms; we see, finally, that these old habits stand in the way of certain positive forces within us struggling for expression, chief among them the spirit of love which Jesus expressed and commanded—and yet—and yet—we are afraid it can't be done. We think it ought to be; we really don't want to defend it ourselves; but we're afraid it can't be—at least not now.

Perhaps this vague fear exists in the minds of many Christians. If so, we should name it for what it is. For its proper name may shock us into a deeper awareness of ourselves, and in the fantastic world we have created in the South, that would be all to the good.

It is lack of faith. Faithlessness. No more and no less. If we had more faith in God, we should have less fear. If we were filled with faith, we should have none. (No man attains, except at moments, this peak. Yet it is the peak toward which we climb.)

As we believe in love—which is to say, as we have love—we do not have fear. As we are afraid, then, we lack love, and lack faith in a God of love. Our fearfulness is the mark of our faithlessness, and simply means that the essential fire of Christianity burns but flickeringly upon the altar of our hearts.

How may that flame be steadied? By placing it alongside the original, the brightest of all its expressions, the life of Jesus. Contemplating that shining example, we shall find his spirit growing within us and the fears that now cling to our hearts like miasma along Southern ditches in summer dispersing before the beams of the rising sun.

As we have faith, we shall develop the institutions of a more Christian society. It is not easy to give institutional shape to love; it means transforming it into justice. Regardless of this difficulty, the source of our strength—and of our weakness—is clear: out of the heart proceed the issues of life. As our hearts are sensitive both to God's presence and to human need, as we yield ourselves to his encompassing love, we shall act well, and shall build, in these changing times, a more Christian society.

From "The Southern Heritage," by James McBride Dabbs (President of Southern Regional Council, Inc.)

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OUR CHILDREN

INTER-FAITH GROUP

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER

FEBRUARY 8, 1963
10:30 A. M. - 12:30 P. M.

I saw Tomorrow passing by
On little children's feet,
Within their forms and faces,
Read their prophecy complete
I saw tomorrow look at me
Thro little children's eyes,
And thought how carefully,
I must teach.

Author, unknown

OUR CHILDREN

WHAT SHALL WE TEACH THEM ABOUT HUMAN RELATIONS

- - - - - -

And Thou Shalt Love the Lord Thy God
With all thine heart,
And with all thy soul,
And with all thy might.

- - - - - -

And these words, which I command
Thee this day,
Shall be in thine heart,

And thou shalt teach them diligently,
Unto thy children,
And shall talk of;

When thou sittest in thine house,
And when thou walkest by the way,
And when thou liest down, and
When thou riseth up.

- - - - - -

And thou shalt bind them
For a sign upon thine hand,

And they shall be as frontlets
Between thine eyes,

And thou shalt write them
Upon thy gates.

...Deuteromony 6:5-9

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

LITERATURE TABLE

Samples of material have been sent from many church boards. They are free. We hope you will avail yourselves of it.

PROGRAM

10:30 --- 12:30

INTRODUCTION Mrs. M. E. Tilly

CALL TO WORSHIP Mrs. Seymour Haber

IN UNISON

Blessed be the name of God, for ever and ever, for wisdom and might are His. He giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding. The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him and He will show them His covenant.

WORSHIP Mrs. Herman Yang

PANEL "What Shall We Teach Our Children About Human Relations?"

COORDINATOR --
Mr. Pat Watters

PARTICIPANTS --
Miss Janet Rogan -- Rabbi Stuart Davis
Dr. Jerome I. Berlin -- The Audience

SUMMARY --
Mr. Vincent Harding

PRAYER IN UNISON:

Almighty God our Heavenly Father, who has set the solitary in families, we commend to Thy continual care the homes in which Thy people dwell. Put far from them every strain of prejudice, every root of bitterness. Fill them with faith virtue, patience, knowledge, Godliness. Turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers.

We praise Thee for renewing Age with the company of Youth, Bless their vision of a New Time, grant that they may be strong; that Thy Word may abide in them that they may run a straight race, and not be weary. ...Amen.

From ... Prayers, Old and New
Forward Movement Publications

WHO'S WHO

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, The Fellowship of the Concerned, Southern Regional Council

Mrs. A. Haber, President of the Atlanta Council of B'nai B'rith Women

Mrs. George Gunning, President, Atlanta Diocesan Council of Catholic Women

Mrs. Van P. Enloe, President, United Church Women of Atlanta

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson, Corresponding Secretary, United Church Women of Atlanta

Mr. Pat Watters, Columnist, The Atlanta Journal

Rabbi Stewart Davis, Asst. Rabbi, The Temple

Miss Janet Rogan, St. Martin's Council on Human Relations; Regional Medical Social Consultant

Dr. Jerome I. Berlin, Dr. of Philosophy and Clinical Psychology;
Director of Human Development Institute,
1299 W. Peachtree Street, N. E.

Dr. Vincent Harding, Representative in the South Mennonite Central Committee

STEERING COMMITTEE

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Chairman

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan, Secretary

Mrs. Howard Aronin

Mrs. Wm. H. Borders

Mrs. Boone Bowen

Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen

Mrs. Van P. Enloe

Mrs. Bernard Facher

Mrs. Leon Goldstein

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Mrs. Phil Narmour

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Mrs. Fred Patterson

Mrs. John Patton

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson

Mrs. A. J. Rubin

Mrs. J. Owen Smith

Mrs. W. W. Weatherspool

Mrs. W. R. Wilkes

"If all the girls in the world took hands,
beginning here with me,
It would make a line exceeding fine that would
reach from sea to sea;
If all the boys in the world took hands,
stretching from shore to shore,
It would make a circle of friendliness where
wars could be no more."

My family resides in a segregated society, where even to be a "moderate" is to be suspect, and where "One Worlders" are referred to with contempt. From such a situation many people, both white and colored, seek to escape by moving. Every section of our land is faceing its greatest struggle, and its greatest opportunity, at the same time. I want to remain in my community to share the struggle and the opportunity.

... Wherever I am, I try to teach my children, by precept and example, to respect persons as persons, and as children of God.

... We have a globe in our home, and some large maps: one of the United States and one of the world. We have a picture of the flags of the United Nations. Three of our children can associate flags and nations.

... One daughter is a member of the World-Wide Doll Club and receives periodically a doll from some different country, along with an explanation of the customs of that country.

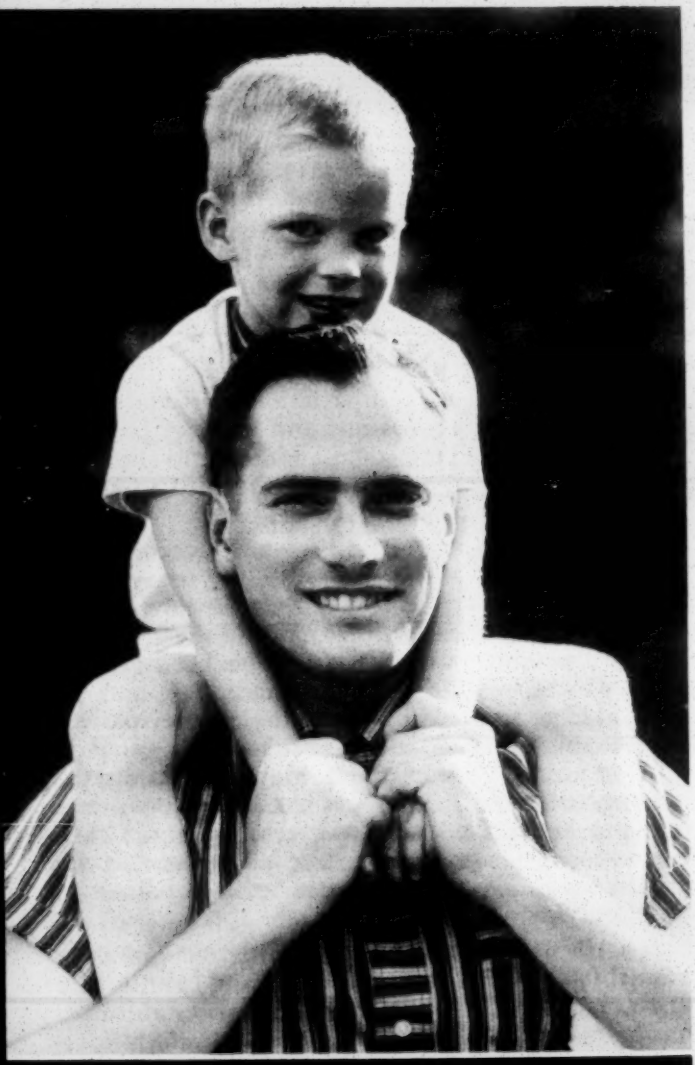
... Our family watches together some TV programs, one of which is the World Series in baseball. Sometimes it is amazing how many different nationalities and ethnic groups are represented by the players. Another program which we see together frequently is the World News Roundup. By this means we travel here, there, and yonder around the world. We become more aware of places and problems, though, than we do of conflicts among persons of other races and backgrounds.

... We sometimes count, and locate on the map, the date lines to the front page of the newpspaer. Our family uses various devotional guides. Occasionally THE UPPER ROOM has a"World Fellowship Number."

Human rights are more basic than states' rights. The state does not create rights; its task is to make fraternity and conditions which support equal rights secure for all its citizens. We can't legislate morality, but we can and should develop and support legislation which encourages and supports morality. There is a natural "consciousness of kind" but it need not be "unkind." Each person, as a child of God, has the right of equal opportunity for full self realization. Intelligence, mutual respect, and co-operation are musts for survival. They are necessary if we are to build a good society, and more necessary still if we are to take seriously the discipleship of our Lord who calls us to prepare the way for the gift of the Kingdom of God.

----By Bond Fleming

From .. The Board of Education, The Methodist Church



Your Child

Your Child and His Attitudes

By DONALD M. MAYNARD

Once upon a time there was a father who had no interest in bugs or crawling things. In fact, he didn't like them. To him they were objects to brush quickly from one's clothes, and to avoid when possible. One evening his young son, who was having his first experience with catching fireflies, rushed up to him and asked him to hold a firefly he had just caught. The father's first inclination was to withdraw his hand quickly and to refuse his son's request with an exclamation of disgust and irritation. Fortunately, he caught himself just in time, and gingerly held the firefly in his hand, and then another, and then still another, as the son delightedly continued what was to him a thrilling experience.

It is worthy of note that this young boy continued his interest in all phases of nature, and today, many years later, is carrying on significant research in the field of zoology and teaching in one of the great universities of our land. The father has been grateful through the years that in this every-day, and yet crucial experience with his son, he did not pass on to him his own attitude of dislike for bugs. How easy it would have been for him to transmit the feeling to his son that bugs and crawling things were to be avoided, or to be crushed and killed. And how impoverished the life of the son would have been had the father's attitude been passed on to him.

The purpose of this illustration is to remind us that it is during the formative years of a child's life that many of his basic attitudes are established, attitudes that will do much towards determining whether or not he has confidence in himself, whether or not he has wholesome attitudes towards others and can get along with them, and the kind of values around which he builds his life. As a parent contemplates this responsibility, it is almost frightening.

But it is equally important that we do not let this illustration give us the wrong impression. Important as the parents may be in the formation of children's attitudes, he is not the sole determiner of them. Other people, the child's peers, and his first hand experiences with objects and people in his environment, all influence him. This particular boy, for example, even though he had at first caught from his father a dislike for bugs, might have changed when he discovered that many of his peers were interested in objects of nature. A teacher in the school might have directed him into many inter-

esting contacts with, in this case, bugs, and later on the teaching of science in school might have created an interest in the whole field of zoology. Nevertheless, the influence of parents, especially during the earlier years, is likely to be more important than any other factor.

By the term "attitudes," we are thinking primarily of the feeling that a child or a person has towards objects, events, people, or ideas. It is the feeling aspect of attitudes that is as important. And although it is true that we feel more intensely about some things than others, we think of an attitude as having an intensity of emotion connected with it that leads to a certain type of behavior. Attitudes give direction to our behavior and our lives. If I have a favorable attitude towards someone, I want to be with that person, in my behavior I tend to approach him. If I have an attitude of dislike, I try to avoid the person, and I tend to go away from him. I tend to be favorably inclined toward the ideas of people whom I admire and like; I tend to be critical of the ideas of those whom I do not like or admire.

It is important, then, for you to ask yourself two basic questions: What are the more basic attitudes I want my child to develop? And second, what part do I have to play in the development of my child's attitudes?

How Attitudes Are Formed

The child is not born with attitudes about people or ideas. He is not born with prejudices toward others; he is not born with a deep-seated sense of inferiority. These are attitudes that are acquired, that grow out of his experiences. Because they are acquired, they may either be prevented in the first place, or changed after they have been developed. This, of course, is why you, the parent, have such a significant role to play. Your child is in your care during the formative years when many of the most basic attitudes are created.

As you think of your child and his attitudes, keep in mind the following:

1. Your child, very early in life, learns to behave in ways that bring about the gratification of his needs, some of which are physical, others psychological and social. He discovers that how well they are satisfied depends upon how well he gets along in his interpersonal relationships which, for a small child, means with you, the parent. The behavior that he discovers is pleasing to you becomes associated with certain attitudes. These attitudes consequently influence his future interpretation of his environment and create within him a readiness to act in a certain way.

Your child, for example, has a great need for your approval. If he discovers that whenever he exercises initiative and resourcefulness in his play, or manifests great curiosity about the world of nature and of people, you seem to be a bit irritated and express your disapproval, he may decide that it is better to stifle creative thinking and curb impulses to express himself freely and enthusiastically. He is likely to develop a basic attitude towards life that says life must be lived cautiously, rather than with an adventuresome spirit. In the future, therefore, he responds negatively to creative opportunities.

Again, in his play with his peers it is inevitable that he should run into conflicts and difficulties. This is a normal part of the process of learning how to get along with others. But one evening he comes home and says he has been in a fight, and he speaks disparingly of his adversary. It soon is revealed that the boy is one of another race, or creed. You may not realize it but this may be a very crucial moment in your child's life. How you respond to the situation may determine whether your child develops racial prejudice or exemplifies a feeling of tolerance and appreciation for others. If you, too, speak with contempt for the lad of another race, and encourage your son to feel that he is "no good" or inferior, the seeds of racial prejudice may be firmly entrenched. On the other hand, if you show disapproval of such evidences of racial prejudice, your child's attitude towards others may become one of respect and appreciation. Behavior, you see, helped influence the development of attitudes, which attitudes, in turn, influenced future behavior.

[redacted]

II. Although your child's attitudes may be affected by what you say, other means of communication are likely to be more effective. And of course what you do is more important than anything else. But do not forget that it is important that you offer verbal expressions of approval and appreciation to your child. Do not take for granted that he knows you love him and are proud of him. Tell him so, in no uncertain terms.

Far more important than your words, will be the more subtle means of communication. The smile on your face and the light in your eye as you congratulate your son on something he has done, are far more significant than the words you may utter. And a scowl, or a shrug of the shoulders, or the pursing of the lips when your child shares with you a mediocre report card conveys your disappointment more eloquently than scolding or recrimination. Saying nothing in such a situation may be more devastat-

ing to the spirit of your child than the honestly facing of the facts in the situation.

Actions have special significance as you try to help your child develop wholesome attitudes toward religion. You can tell your child that you believe in God, but if in the telling you are unenthusiastic and seem to be expressing shibboleths that you have learned, your child is not fooled. If, in addition, he sees no evidence that you ever pray to God; if you never speak of Him in connection with the ongoing life of the family; and if your grace at the table is purely perfunctory, he soon senses the fact that God isn't a very vital factor in your life. You can take your child to church school and tell him it is good for him, that you went as a child. If you then return home to read the Sunday paper, and do not bother to attend the services of your church, your son will look forward to the time when he is big and can stay home. In other words, your child's attitude toward religion is likely to reflect your own.

III. Your child will tend to assume the attitudes of persons and groups with which he identifies himself. When he is small, you may note that he frequently expresses the attitudes of a beloved character in his favorite story. Later on he tends to emulate the athletic heroes with whom he identifies himself. There is considerable evidence that children who watch television extensively reflect the attitudes of their favorite characters.

In later childhood, and especially during adolescence, your child will be particularly concerned about the approval of those who belong to a special group of which he is a part. Sometimes the expectations and attitudes of these peer groups are quite different from your own. Your child thus finds himself in a quandary. He wants to please you—although this may be news to you—and he also wants the approval of his group. He may find himself vacillating between espousing the attitudes of the group, and those of the home. He may be genuinely concerned as to what is right or wrong, as attitudes are closely related to values. Try to be as sympathetic as possible with him in his predicament. Watch for moments when you can share with him the reasons for your attitudes; give him a chance to express his own viewpoints, and encourage him to make up his own mind.

Recognizing the importance of peer groups upon the formation of attitudes, it is perfectly proper that you should be concerned about the groups to which your child belongs. You will try to provide for your children friends and companions whose basic atti-

tudes you deem to be commendable, although they may not always be identical with your own.

IV. Far less important than the influence of peer groups, is the influence of logical argument, or the acquisition of factual information, although they both have some influence upon attitudes. Encourage your child to think logically and to get the facts that form the basis of judgment and thus of attitudes. Remember, however, that these are not all important. It may be well, also, to remember that the attitudes of your child will not be markedly changed by threats or punishment.

V. Your child's first-hand experiences with his environment help determine his attitudes toward himself and others. A child who is guided into a creative activity in which he achieves something that seems to him and to others to be significant, develops confidence in himself. Happy experiences with those of other races provide a foundation for attitudes of respect and appreciation for them. A role-playing experience in which he tries to feel as others feel, may bring about changes in his attitudes.

VI. Do not forget the influence of the community in which you live upon your child's attitudes. In your efforts as a citizen to see to it that you have honest officials, that your schools and teachers are held in high regard, and that throughout the community there is respect and appreciation for the various racial and religious groups, you will be trying to provide your child with that kind of an environment which will help produce wholesome, worthwhile attitudes.

Department of the Christian Family
in cooperation with
Department of Christian Education of Children
Division of the Local Church
General Board of Education, The Methodist Church
Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee

No. 3109-C 100M - 1962

Wesleyan Christian Advocate 9/26/63 MET MT-file

TRIBUTE AT CHICAGO—Mrs. M. E. Tilley, member of Haygood Church, Atlanta, was surprised by both verbal and floral bouquets at the second national Methodist Human Relations Conference held in Chicago. Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick, shown above with Mrs. Tilley, introduced her to the conference. A citation to her said that the conference "gives thanks to God for the life and witness of Mrs. Tilley, who for more than 40 years from her native Atlanta led the south and the nation, especially through inspiring church women, forward along the road to Christian brotherhood. Her love for her fellowman, after the pattern of God's love for all men, has caused her to contend on innumerable fronts for justice, freedom and brotherhood in the face of threat, persecution and suffering. In it all she has maintained in her own soul a Christlike gentleness and a contagious joy."

ATTENDS VOCATIONAL

File

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
of the
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
October 22-23, 1964

"THE TORCH HAS BEEN PASSED"

Courtesy of Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation

"LET THE WORD GO FORTH FROM THIS TIME AND PLACE, TO FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE, THAT THE TORCH HAS BEEN PASSED TO A NEW GENERATION OF AMERICANS -- BORN IN THIS COUNTRY, TEMPERED BY WAR, DISCIPLINED BY A HARD AND BITTER PEACE, PROUD OF THEIR ANCIENT HERITAGE -- AND UNWILLING TO WITNESS OR PERMIT THE SLOW UNDOING OF THOSE HUMAN RIGHTS TO WHICH THIS NATION HAS ALWAYS BEEN COMMITTED, AND TO WHICH WE ARE COMMITTED TODAY AT HOME AND AROUND THE WORLD.

"LET EVERY NATION KNOW, WHETHER IT WISHES US WELL OR ILL, THAT WE SHALL PAY ANY PRICE, BEAR ANY BURDEN, MEET ANY HARDSHIP, SUPPORT ANY FRIEND, OPPOSE ANY FOE TO ASSURE THE SURVIVAL AND THE SUCCESS OF LIBERTY.

"LET BOTH SIDES UNITE TO HEED IN ALL CORNERS OF THE EARTH, THE COMMAND OF ISAIAH -- 'TO UNDO THE HEAVY BURDENS,.. AND LET THE OPPRESSED GO FREE.'"

--From the Inaugural Address of
President John F. Kennedy

I. WE ARE CITIZENS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY

Our country is the world;
Our countrymen are all mankind.
--Lloyd Garrison

America's destiny matters to America; the West's destiny matters to the West. But the destinies of both America and the West as a whole are of small importance by comparison with the destiny of the human race.
--Arnold J. Toynbee
America and The World Revolution

II. THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy calls upon us to fill the "vacuum" of leadership in civil rights that followed the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.
"...we need only think back ten years to another legal milestone in our civil rights history... What happened after that decision? Where were the pulpit, the press, the public officials? The answer is that they were silent... Leadership was provided by demagogues and mobs. We got what we deserved.
"Rarely in history are nations presented with a second chance, with a new opportunity to correct a deep failure of the past. I believe that we have been given that chance."
--From - Remarks by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, August 18, 1964

We pray Thee, O Father....

Keep alive within us the vision of our higher purposes and nobler destiny, and renew our zeal for the divine tasks of life.
Open our hearts to the cry of the persecuted and the despoiled.
Hasten the day when hate and strife shall cease to divide the family of men, and justice and love reign supreme....
--From - Union Prayer Book
Central Conference of American Rabbis

III. OUR CHILDREN -- TODAY - TOMORROW

O God, hear us as we pray for all the children of our nation and of the world.
For those especially do we pray who are being brought up in homes where there is no beauty, nor joy, nor love; for those who suffer from deprivation, want, and sickness for whom no proper care is offered;

OUR CHILDREN (cont'd)

- for those who suffer in mind and soul through fear and bitterness and strain;
- for the wayward and those who are misunderstood.

In Thy mercy restore to them that which they have lacked and that which has been taken from them.
Bless all efforts that are made in behalf of child welfare.
Awaken those who are in positions of power and responsibility to a deeper consciousness of the rights and needs of children.
Wipe out from the souls of all neglected children the scars of suffering, misery, and fear.
Give back to them the courage, the confidence, and the untroubled joy which should be theirs.
Grant to all who tend and teach children the love and patient wisdom they need.

--AMEN

"THE TORCH HAS BEEN PASSED"

October 22, 1964
10:00 A.M.
Peachtree Manor Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

Song -- Led by Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.

THE CALL TO US --- A voice cries

In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD,
make straight in the desert a highway for our God.
Every valley shall be lifted up,
and every mountain and hill be made low;
The uneven ground shall become level,
and the rough places a plain.
And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed,
and all flesh shall see it together,
For the mouth of the Lord has spoken.

-- Isaiah 40:3-5
Revised Standard Version

Prayer -- The Reverend Dwight Nysewander, Pastor
Haygood Memorial Methodist Church

Roll Call by states

Greetings -- Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Gordon Thompson, Superintendent
Atlanta-Emory District, The Methodist Church

Purpose -- Mrs. M. E. Tilly

"We Are Citizens of a World Community" --
Miss Thelma Stevens, Assistant Secretary
Woman's Division of Board of Missions

"The Civil Rights Act of 1964" --
Mr. John Wheeler, Vice Chairman
National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations
President, Southern Regional Council

"Our Children -- Today - Tomorrow" --
Mrs. Bruce Schaefer, Director
Family and Children's Service
The State of Georgia

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:00

Greetings -- The Honorable Ivan Allen
Mayor of the City of Atlanta

DISCUSSION GROUPS - Under the direction of
Miss Eleanor French
Division of Christian Unity
National Council of Churches

We Seek --
a conviction that will not let us rest
a faith that will not shrink
a courage that will not waver.

I. The Civil Rights Act of 1964

A - Room ~~119~~ 419
Leader — Mr. Pat Watters, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Reporter — Mrs. Mahlon Chew
Resource People - Mrs. Edward M. Vinson
Rev. & Mrs. Leroy Smith
Mr. Al Ulmer

B - Room 207
Leader — Mr. Monroe Schlactus, Regional Director
Anti-Defamation League
Reporter — Mrs. Grady Wall
Resource Person - Mrs. Bertha Nelson, Albany, Ga.
Miss Ruby Hurley

C - Room 218
Leader — Mr. Robert E. Shrider, Director
Bethlehem Center
Reporter — Mrs. Howard Aronin
Resource People - Mr. Vernon Jordan
Mrs. Stuart E. Sinclair

D - Room 219
Leader — Mr. Jesse B. Blayton, C.P.A.
Reporter — Mrs. Newton Fowler
Resource People - Rev. James Welden
Miss Thelma Stevens

E - Room 307
Leader — Mr. John Due, Voter Education Project
Reporter — Mrs. Willis Peck
Resource People - Mrs. Margaret Long
Miss Mathilde Killingsworth

II. Our Children -- Today - Tomorrow

A - Room 308
Leader Miss Estelle Clemmons, Atlanta University
Reporter Mrs. A. A. Ohmsen
Resource People - Mr. James Vaughn, Foster Care Consultant
Rev. Don McEvoy

B - Room ~~318~~ 518
Leader Mrs. Candler Tatum, Board of Education
North Alabama Methodist Conference
Reporter Miss Kathleen Eidson
Resource People - Mrs. Annie Ruth Hill
Miss Lucille Lewis, Children's Bureau

C - Room 319
Leader Mrs. Luther Foster, Tuskegee Institute
Reporter Mrs. Raymond Musser
Resource People - Miss Elizabeth Fairbanks
Rev. D. W. Sneller
Miss Edna Clark, Children's Bureau

D - Room 508
Leader Mr. Gerrard Sherry
St. Martin's Council on Human Relations
Reporter Mrs. W. W. Dodd
Resource People - Mrs. G. Ray Mitchell
Mrs. Vernon Jordan, Fulton County
Family and Children's Services

E
E - Room 519
Leader Mr. James Parham, State of Georgia
Family and Children's Services
Reporter Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen
Resource People - Mrs. C. B. Copher, Fulton County
Family and Children's Services
Mrs. M. R. Darlington
Gate City Day Nursery Ass'n

Miss Louise Killingsworth

DINNER - 6:00 - Terrace Room

EVENING SESSION

7:00

"The Long Hot Summer"

Nigeria -- Al Ulmer
Peace Corps Worker

The Summer In Mississippi -- Judy Richardson

Why Gail Went Back -- Mrs. W. B. Suddeth

The Mother Speaks at The Memorial Service --
Mrs. Harry V. Richardson

DISCUSSION GROUPS --

October 23

9:00 A.M.

Songs -- Led by Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Meditation -- Father William E. Calhoun
Our Lady of Lourdes Rectory

THE CHURCHES ARE SPEAKING
Mrs. J. G. Walsh, Director
Christian Community Action, Board of Woman's Work
Presbyterian Church in the United States

WHAT HAVE WE BEEN DOING
Group Work in North Carolina
Miss Miriam J. Robinson, Executive Secretary
Woman's Missionary Union of North Carolina

The Council of Catholic Women

The B'nai B'rith

The Temple Sisterhood

National Council of Jewish Women

United Church Women of the
National Council of Churches in the U.S.A.
Mrs. Stuart Sinclair, President

THE SOUTH - THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT of 1964
Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council

SUMMARY -- Mrs. Clifford Durr
Mrs. Geraldine Fisher

Closing Message -- "A Love Affair With Life"
Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

PUBLISHED BY THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

SPECIAL BULLETIN—AUGUST 1964

A SUMMARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

This summary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was prepared in response to questions about the Act which have come to the Commission from citizens in every section of the country. It is designed to provide a clearer understanding of the major provisions of the new statute.

Some of the questions raised about any new law cannot be fully answered until the policies and programs necessary for carrying out the law have been developed by the appropriate Government agencies. Other questions will be further clarified as the courts deal with cases brought under the law.

This summary was prepared by the staff of the Commission and is available for distribution as a service under the national clearinghouse function assigned the Commission by the new Civil Rights Act.

Title I

VOTING

The purpose of this section is to provide more effective enforcement of the right to vote in Federal elections (for President, Vice President, presidential electors or members of Congress) without regard to race or color. It also speeds up the procedure by which voting rights suits may be decided.

The Act:

a. requires that the same standards be applied to all individuals seeking to register and vote;

b. forbids denial of the right to vote because of some minor mistake or omission;

c. requires that only literacy tests that are written may be used as a qualification for voting; and that the tests and answers be available on request;

d. establishes that in voting rights law suits the court must presume that anyone who completed the sixth grade is literate, unless the State can prove otherwise.

In any voting suit brought by the Government charging that there is a "pattern or practice" of voting discrimination, either the Attorney General or the defendant may ask that a three-judge Federal court be appointed to hear the case. Appeals from the decisions of such a court may be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

Title II

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin is specifically forbidden in the following places of public accommodation:

a. hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch counters, movie houses, gasoline stations, theaters and stadiums;

b. any other establishment which offers its services to patrons of the covered establishment; for example,

–a barbershop or tavern located in a hotel, or

–a department store in which there is a restaurant: *so long as* the covered facilities either affect interstate commerce in their operations, or are supported in their discriminatory practices by State action.

In addition, discrimination is forbidden in any other place of public accommodation that is required to segregate by State or local laws.

If there are no State or local laws requiring segregation, the Federal law does not cover:

a. barbershops, beauty parlors and other service establishments unless they are located in a hotel and offer these services to hotel guests;

b. retail stores that do not serve food, or places of recreation (except as listed above) which do not serve food;

c. lodging houses, hotels or similar places which take temporary guests if they have fewer than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the owner.

Places that are actually owned and operated as private clubs are exempted from coverage of this title except to the extent that they offer their facilities to patrons of a covered establishment, such as a country club that customarily allows guests of a hotel to use its golf course.

No person may intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone for the purpose of interfering with the rights created by this title.

The provisions of this title may be enforced in two ways:

1. By *individual action* in a civil suit filed by the persons discriminated against, or

2. By *Government action* in a civil suit filed by the Attorney General.

In public accommodations suits filed by individuals:

—the court hearing the suit may appoint a lawyer for the person bringing the complaint and exempt the complainant from the payment of certain costs;

—the court may permit the Attorney General to enter the case;

—if there is a State law or local ordinance that prohibits discrimination, the complaint must first be taken to the State or local authorities, allowing them 30 days to begin a proceeding before suit can be filed in a Federal court;

—once the case is in court, the court can postpone action until the State or local proceeding is completed;

—if there are no State or local anti-discrimination provisions, the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service (see Title X) so that it may seek to secure voluntary compliance within no more than 120 days.

The Attorney General may file a public accommodations suit when he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance. As in Title I voting suits, he may request a three-judge court for this action.

In public accommodations suits brought either by individuals or the Attorney General, the court may issue temporary or permanent injunctions or restraining orders against those found to be violating the law. A person or persons failing to obey such court decrees may be punished by contempt proceedings under the jury trials provision of the law (see Title XI).

Title III

PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Attorney General is authorized to bring a civil suit to compel desegregation of any publicly-owned or operated facility whenever he receives a written complaint of discrimination. He must believe that the complaint merits action and must certify that the individual or individuals making the complaint are themselves unable to take the necessary legal action. State or municipally owned or operated parks, libraries and hospitals are among the facilities covered.

Title IV

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Under this title the U.S. Office of Education is authorized to:

a. conduct a national survey to determine the availability of equal educational opportunity;

b. provide technical assistance, upon request, to help States, political subdivisions or school districts carry out school desegregation plans;

c. arrange training institutes to prepare teachers and other school personnel to deal with desegregation problems;

d. make grants enabling school boards to employ specialists for in-service training programs.

In addition, the Attorney General is authorized to file civil suits seeking to compel desegregation of public schools, including public colleges.

Before filing such a suit the Attorney General must have received a signed complaint from a pupil or parent and must have determined that the complainant, according to standards set forth in the Act, is unable to bring the action. The Attorney General is also required to notify the school board and give it a reasonable period of time to correct the alleged condition before filing suit.

Title V

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The life of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is extended until January 31, 1968. Since 1957 the Commission's functions have included investigating denials of the right to vote, studying legal developments and appraising Federal policies relating to equal protection of the laws, and making recommendations for corrective action to the President and the Congress.

Title V gives the Commission added authority to:

a. serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;

b. investigate allegations of vote fraud.

Commission hearing procedures are amended to further protect the rights of individuals who may be affected by Commission proceedings.

As a national clearinghouse, the Commission will provide civil rights information in such areas as voting, housing, education, employment and the use of public facilities to Federal, State and local government agencies and officials, organizations and businesses, and the general public.

Title VI

FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Under this title every Federal agency which provides financial assistance through grants, loans or contracts is required to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin in these programs.

For example, this title would require the following:

a. hospitals constructed with Federal funds would have to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin;

b. elementary and secondary schools constructed, maintained and operated with Federal funds would have to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin;

c. State employment services financed by Federal funds would have to refer qualified job applicants for employment without discrimination;

d. schools for the deaf and the blind operated with Federal funds would have to serve the deaf and blind of any color;

e. colleges and universities receiving funds for their general operation or for the construction of special facilities, such as research centers, would have to admit students without discrimination;

f. construction contractors receiving funds under Federal public works programs would have to hire employees without discrimination.

Action by a Federal agency to carry out the requirements of this title may include the terminating of programs where discrimination is taking place or refusal to grant assistance to such a program.

Each agency is required to publish rules or regulations to carry out the purposes of the title. These rules and regulations are subject to the approval of the President.

Compliance actions are subject to the following conditions:

a. notice must be given of alleged failure to comply and an opportunity for a hearing must be provided;

b. in the event assistance is to be cut off, a written report must be submitted to Congress 30 days before the cut-off date;

c. compliance action may be appealed to the courts.

Social security and veteran's benefits, and other Federal benefits distributed directly to individuals are not affected by this law.

Federal assistance in the form of insurance or guaranty—for example, FHA insured loans—are not covered by this title (however, the President's Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in Federally aided housing remains in effect).

Title VII

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

This title establishes a Federal right to equal opportunity in employment. It creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to assist in implementing this right.

Employers, labor unions and employment agencies are required to treat all persons without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. This treatment must be given in all phases of employment, including hiring, promotion, firing, apprenticeship and other training programs, and job assignments.

When this title goes into full effect employers will be subject to its provisions if they have 25 or more regular employees in an industry that affects interstate commerce. Generally speaking, labor unions will be subject to the Act if they either operate a hiring hall for covered employers, or if they have 25 or more members who are employed by a covered employer. Employment agencies are also included if they regularly undertake to supply employees for a covered employer.

(Enforcement of the nondiscrimination requirements for employers and unions is postponed for one year. Employers and unions with 100 or more workers will be covered beginning July 2, 1965 and coverage will be extended each year until July 2, 1968 when employers and unions with 25 workers will be covered.)

Not covered by this title are (1) public employers, (2) bona fide private clubs, (3) educational institutions with regard to employees working in educational activities and all employment in religious educational institutions, (4) employers on or near an Indian reservation with regard to preferential treatment of Indians; and (5) religious corporations, institutions, etc., with regard to employees working in connection with religious activities.

When someone believes he has been discriminated against because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any phase of job placement or employment, he may bring his complaint within 90 days to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or to the Attorney General.

The Commission will handle his complaint directly, unless the State or locality where the alleged discrimination occurred has fair employment laws. If so, the person complaining must allow the State or local officials no more than 120 days to resolve the matter. If there is no satisfactory conclusion within this time or if the State or locality rejects the complaint before the time is up, the complainant may then go to the Commission, which is authorized to settle valid complaints by conciliation and persuasion. Nothing said during the conciliation proceedings may be made public or used as evidence without the consent of the parties.

If the Commission fails to secure compliance within a period of no more than 60 days, the individual may take his case to a Federal court. This court may appoint an attorney and may exempt the complainant from payment of certain costs. The court, in its discretion, may allow the Attorney General to enter the case.

A worker who thinks he has been discriminated against may take his complaint directly to the Attorney General, who may bring the case before a three-judge court if he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance to this title.

If the court in either action finds discrimination, it will order the employer, employment agency or union to take corrective action, which may include hiring or reinstating employees with or without back pay.

Title VIII

VOTING STATISTICS

The Secretary of Commerce is required to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and voted in such geographic areas as the Commission on Civil Rights recommends.

A similar survey must also be conducted on a nationwide basis in connection with the 1970 Census. No person questioned during such surveys may be compelled to disclose his race, color, religion or national origin and everyone must be advised of his right to refuse to give this information.

Title IX

INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

The Attorney General is authorized to intervene in any Federal court action seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin. If a Federal court refuses to accept a civil rights case and sends it back to a State court, this action may be reviewed on appeal.

Title X

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

A Community Relations Service is established in the Department of Commerce to provide assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems where discriminatory practices impair constitutional rights or affect interstate commerce. The Service is authorized to cooperate with both public and private agencies, either on its own initiative or upon request from local officials or interested persons in situations where disputes threaten peaceful relations among the citizens of a community.

In addition, the Service is authorized to seek a voluntary settlement of public accommodation complaints which may be referred to it by a Federal Court. The Act directs that all activities of the Service in providing conciliation assistance shall be conducted in confidence and without publicity.

Title XI

MISCELLANEOUS

This title gives a right to jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising out of Titles II, III, IV, V, VI and VII. Title I retains the more limited jury trial provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

Appropriations are authorized to carry out the Act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the Act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section preserves existing remedies under Federal law. This title also preserves the rights of the States to legislate in the same areas covered by this Act, so long as such legislation is not inconsistent with the purposes of the Act.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

John A. Hannah, Chairman
Eugene Patterson, Vice Chairman Designate
Frankie M. Freeman, Member Designate
Erwin N. Griswold
Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Robert S. Rankin

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;
- Investigate allegations of vote fraud; and
- Submit interim reports and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

GSA WASH DC 65-1579

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

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RESOLUTION

LAITY IN MISSION AND THE 1964 ELECTIONS

Assembly of United Church Women
Kansas City, October 7

"The time has come to make the ministry of the laity explicit, visible and active in the world." We believe, as citizens and Christians, that one important way to do this is through the ballot box. We know the importance of each vote. We know, because it has happened before, that only one vote per precinct could decide the next presidential election. We know that 36% of Americans of voting age failed to vote in the last national election. We know that a special responsibility rests upon women who as eligible voters now outnumber men voters by more than four million.

Our responsibility is underscored by the price paid by others for the right to vote. Members of Christian churches have seen their churches bombed because they were centers for voter registration education. Men and women have lost their jobs because they dared register to vote. Many have given their time and some their lives to help fellow citizens to register.

Aware that the 1964 elections will determine the direction our nation will move in its domestic and foreign policies. WE, UNITED CHURCH WOMEN, MEETING IN THE 1964 ASSEMBLE IN KANSAS CITY, OCTOBER 7, THEREFORE, COMMIT OURSELVES, AND URGE ALL CHURCH WOMEN, TO PREPARE FOR AND VOTE IN THE 1964 ELECTIONS AS A PART OF OUR MISSION AS LAITY.

In fulfilling this task we will:

1. Study the issues in the campaign,

   examining the platforms of both parties;
   comparing the voting records of the candidates;
   learning what groups and interests are supporting each candidate and party and what influence they would have upon the candidate if he were elected.

2. Clarify, as Christians, our positions on the issues.

   Make full use of the years of careful research and thought of fellow Christians as found in Policy Statements and Resolutions of the National Council of Churches, and many denominations. These statements are not attempts to tell the Christian what to think: they are aids to thought.

3. Welcome differences in the search for truth.

4. Resist name-calling, accusation without proof, appeals to prejudice, wild promises that cannot be fulfilled and other demogogic methods often used in political campaigns.

A TEST NOW OF CHRISTIANITY

--The Atlanta Journal
by Eugene Patterson

"...How, in God's name, do you reach them?" Reg Murphy of this newspaper asked that question in anguish. He had just returned from Atlanta's Lakewood Park on Saturday. There to cover the George Wallace-Ross Barnett speechmaking, he had been an eyewitness to the savage beating of two Negroes.

Whites had cornered the Negroes against a fence. They did not strike simply with their fists. They swung metal folding chairs, again and again, with crushing force against the bodies and heads of their human quarry. Murphy saw blood splash and spurt. "Kill 'em," people were screaming.

"I thought I was watching two men being killed," Murphy said. "I was almost physically sick."

* * *

Policemen who braved blows themselves got to the bleeding Negroes in time, took them away from their butchers and sent them to the hospital. Murphy came to the newspaper office and tried to write quietly of the brutality he had seen, and the screams he had heard.

The frustrated, violent men "have lost their way in their search for their kind of government," he wrote.

"Any sort of analysis would have to point out to them that they undercut their own cause--and any other conservative cause--by such conduct."

At this point quiet, analytical words failed Reg Murphy and he concluded his commentary with one shattering question. "But how, in God's name, do you reach them?"

That is a question for the men themselves, for their families, for their ministers--yes, and for the heedless, imported political opportunists who came from out of state to please them cheaply after Georgia's own responsible leadership had been honest with them. There is no alternative but compliance with the law, Sen. Herman Talmadge had said.

* * *

But how do you reach the people who smashed metal chairs against bleeding bodies, or people who cried "Kill 'em" at the sickening sight? There are a few mean men in any society, of course, who can be reached only by the police, and convinced only by the chain gang. Recent outcroppings of violence at places where Georgians are trying to obey the law are a challenge to the professional honor of law enforcement officers, as well as to the honor of the state.

But what of those who are not basically brutal, yet who are swept along, when herd leaders inflame them, until lesser men's passions sway their own humane codes?

Murphy asked, in God's name, how they can be reached. Perhaps the answer can only in in God's name, and through the counsel of those who preach in it, like Atlanta's Pastor Robert E. Lee. He told his flock Sunday that Christ has never been, and cannot be, served with "pistols and ax handles."

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF A CHILD

Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 20, 1959

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have, in the Charter, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas the United Nations has, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Whereas the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection before as well as after birth,

Whereas the need for such special safeguards has been stated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the statutes of specialized agencies and international organizations concerned with the welfare of children,

Whereas mankind owes to the child the best it has to give,

Now therefore

The General Assembly proclaims this Declaration of the Rights of the Child to the end that he may have a happy childhood and enjoy for his own good and for the good of society the rights and freedoms herein set forth, and calls upon parents, upon men and women as individuals and upon voluntary organizations, local authorities and national governments to recognize and strive for the observance of these rights by legislative and other measures progressively taken in accordance with the following principles:

Principle 1

The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this declaration. All children, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Principle 2

The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

Principle 3

The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

Principle 4

The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow up and develop in health; to this end special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate prenatal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

Principle 5

The child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his particular condition.

Principle 6

The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and in any case in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother. Society and the public authorities shall have the duty to extend particular care to children without a family and those without adequate means of support. Payment of state and other assistance toward the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.

Principle 7

The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture, and enable him on a basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities, his individual judgment and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.

The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and upbringing; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents.

The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavor to promote the enjoyment of this right.

Principle 8

The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.

Principle 9

The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form.

The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

Principle 10

The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.

WORDS ARE POWERFUL --

They may convey meaning or obstruct it. They may commend or offend. Great care is needed in their use or they may alienate.

The word Negro is pronounced "knee-grow." It is a proper noun, as is Caucasian, Mongolian, Indian and should be written with a capitol "N".

Some examples of misused words --by Dr. James K. Mathews
(A missionary for many years in India)

Citizens of India are often called Hindus, one-fourth of them are not.

A Muslim is pained when called a Mohammedan, or by calling his religion Mohammedanism -- the correct name is Islam.

The correct name of the religion of Japan is Shinto, not Shintoism.

The people of Asia prefer to be called Asians -- not Asiatics or Orientals.

Citizens of Malaya are Malayans not Malaysians. These last names have come to have a connation of inferiority.

We live in a day when words are deliberately misused -- "peace offensive," "cold war" -- somehow, while standing for peace, we impress some "onlookers" that we are for war.

TABOO WORDS --

"Natives" - a perfectly good word "gone wrong" sometimes. Africans and Asians resent its use. It is resented when applied to the inhabitants of certain parts of our country. Learn to say Africans, or Indonesians, or Indians.

"Boy" - as applied to the African male regardless of age or status.

"Vernacular" - for language. It literally means "the language of slaves."

"Dialect" - not complementary, people speak languages.

WORDS CAN SPEAK LOUDER THAN ACTION --

South Americans do not like it when United States citizens refer to themselves as Americans. It would be more courteous and accurate if we referred to ourselves as North Americans.

"CLICHES"--are forever with us-- "grass root" (whoever admitted being a grass root?)

"key person" (who isn't one?)

October, 1964

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director John H. Wheeler, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2108 Fulton
Huntsville, Alabama
852-5938 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Edwin Stanfield
Chmn.: Dr. Lucius Pitts

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1220 West Capitol
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FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
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525-6469
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129 E. Forsyth St.
Jacksonville, Fla. 353-8081 (305)
Exec. Dir.: Ernest Lent

Sent
Fellowship
of the Concerned

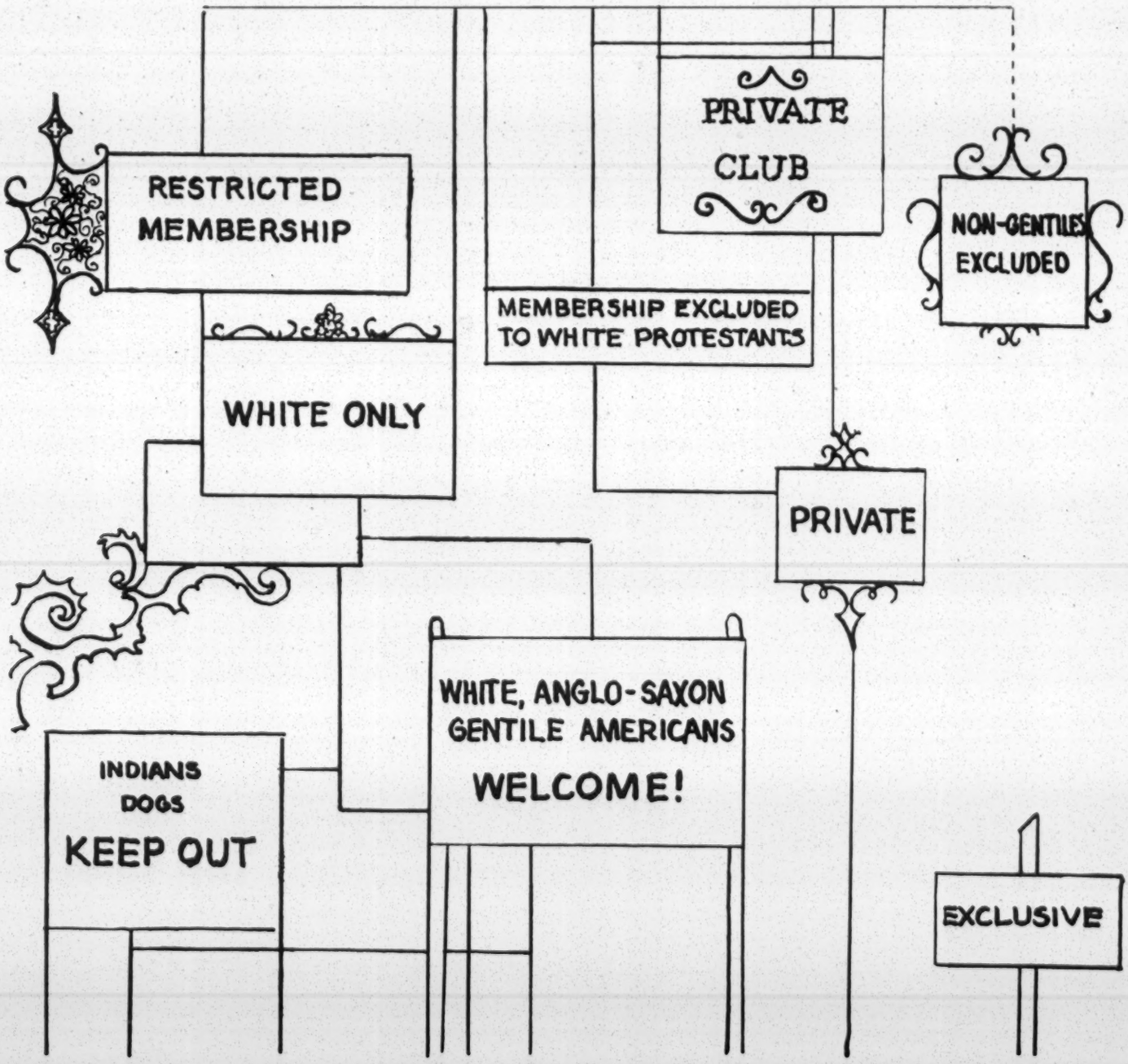
INTER-FAITH CONFERENCE

- A Confrontation of

"THE EVILS WE DEPLORE"

FEBRUARY 26, 1965 - 10:30 A.M.

THE TEMPLE, 1589 Peachtree St., N.E.



Abou Ben Adhem (may his tribe increase!):
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich, and like a lily in bloom,
An angel writing in a book of gold;
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold,
And to the presence in the room he said,
"What writest thou?" The vision raised its head,
And with a look made of all sweet accord,
Answered, "The names of those who love the Lord."
"And is mine one?", said Abou. "Nay, not so,"
Replied the Angel. Abou spoke more low,
But cheerily still, and said, "I pray thee, then
Write me as one who loves his fellow-men."
The Angel wrote and vanished; the next night
It came again with a great wakening light,
And show'd the names whom love of God hast blest
And lo! Ben Adhem's led all the rest.

--Leigh Hunt
(1784-1859)

P R O G R A M

10:30 - 12:45

PRAYER - (In Unison)

O God of boundless might and incomprehensible glory, infinite compassion and measureless love to man; look down upon us as we gather for this hour of self-searching of the inner recesses of our hearts.

Show us the riches of Thy mercy and tenderness, and make us worthy, with a pure heart, and a contrite spirit, with hallowed lips and lives that have no need to be ashamed to pray unto Thee. AMEN.

GREETINGS - Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild

PURPOSE - Mrs. M. E. Tilly

PLAY - "Some of My Best Friends" - (Youth Group)

Elizabeth Edwards
James Price
Serelda Smith
Patrick Tracy
Patsy Wise

"THE EVILS WE DEPLORE" - (Speakers)

Mrs. Ella Mae Brayboy
Mrs. Betty Cantor
Mrs. Edw. G. Holmes
Mr. Gordon Patton
Rev. Henry Steins

DISCUSSION GROUPS - "Save us from weak resignation
To the evil we deplore."

LEADERS - Mrs. Boone M. Bowen
Mrs. Thos. G. Brockman
Miss Estelle Clemmons
Mrs. Phil Narmore
Mrs. Stanley Rawn
Mrs. I. Wilen

REPORTERS - Mrs. Bruce Fanguy
Mrs. K. Kaplin
Mrs. R. N. McLemore, Jr.
Mrs. Nobbie Morgan
Mrs. Jack Patterson
Mrs. H. A. Rubin

SUMMARY - Rev. Don McEvoy

CLOSING PRAYER - (In Unison)

Eternal Spirit of good will,
Help us to keep our hearts warm with affection,
And with a spirit of forgiveness and brotherly cooperation,
And with zeal to promote good will among men. AMEN.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS:

Atlanta Diocese of Catholic Women
B'nai B'rith
National Conference of Christians and Jews
Southern Regional Council
United Church Women

PLANNING COMMITTEE:

Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen
Mrs. Edw. P. Faust
Mrs. J. C. Howard
Rev. Don McEvoy
Mrs. Phil Narmore
Mrs. Stanley Rawn
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PROGRAM COVER:

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Lettered by

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February 26, 1965
Atlanta, Georgia

"Why Are You Fearful?"

☆

Compiled

for

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

by

MRS. M. E. TILLEY
Director of Women's Work

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"Why Are You Fearful"

Behold, the Lord passed by,
A great strong wind rent the mountains,
and broke in pieces the rocks before the Lord,
but the Lord was not in the wind; and after
the wind an earthquake but the Lord was not
in the earthquake, and after the earthquake,
a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; after
the fire a still small voice.—I Kings 19:11-12
And in that still voice onward came the Lord.

Fear not them which kill the body
but cannot kill the soul;
but rather fear him which is able
to destroy both soul and body.
—Matthew 10:28

I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor
angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor
things present, nor things to come,
Nor heights, nor depths, nor any other creature,
shall be able to separate us from the love of
God.—Romans 8:38-39

"Fear Not"

O man, greatly beloved, fear not, peace be unto thee, be strong, yea be strong: and when he had spoken unto me I was strengthened and said, Let my Lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.—Daniel 10:19

Fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be afraid of their reviling.—Isaiah 51:7

Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

Rejoice, and be exceedingly glad for great is your reward in heaven, for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

—Matthew 5:11-12

Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?

But and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye, and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled.

But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear.

Having a good conscience, that, whereas they speak evil of you, as of evil doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ.

For it is better, if the will of God be so, that you suffer for well doing, than for evil doing.

—I Peter 3:13-17

Fear thou not, for I am with thee;
be not dismayed, for I am thy God.
I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee.
I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.

For I, the Lord, thy God will hold thy right hand,
saying to thee, Fear not, I will help thee.
—Isaiah 41:10,13

Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.

But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.

Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.—Matthew 10:29-31

Be strong, and of good courage,
dread not, nor be dismayed
—I Chronicles 22:13

Wait on the Lord, be of good courage and he shall strengthen thine heart,
Wait I say on the Lord.—Psalm 27:14

Fear ye not, stand still and see the salvation of the Lord.—Exodus 14:13

Have I not commanded thee?

Be strong and of good courage; be not afrighted, neither be dismayed; for Jehovah thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.
—Joshua 1:9

I Sought the Lord and He Delivered Me From My Fears

—Psalm 34:4

There is no fear in love, but perfect love
castest out fear.—I John 4:18

What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee.
In God I will praise his word,
in God I have put my trust.
I will not fear what flesh can do to me.
Psalm 56:3-4

The Lord is my light and my salvation;
Whom shall I fear?
The Lord is the strength of my life.
Of whom shall I be afraid?
Though an host should encamp against me,
my heart shall not fear.—Psalm 27:1,3

God is our refuge and strength,
A very present help in trouble,
Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed,
And though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea.—Psalm 46:1-2

We glory in tribulation, knowing that tribulation worketh patience,
And patience experience, and experience hope,
And hope maketh not ashamed, because the love

of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given us.—Romans 5:3-5

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High
Shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.
I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress;
My God, in him will I trust.
Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler,
And from the noisome pestilence.
He shall cover thee with his feathers,
And under his wings shalt thou trust.
His truth shall be thy shield and buckler.
Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night,
Nor for the arrow that flieth by day,
Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness,
Nor for the destruction that wastest at noonday,
Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge,
Even the Most High, thy habitation,
There shall no evil befall thee,
Neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling;
For he will give his angels charge over thee,
To keep thee in all thy ways.
They shall bear thee up in their hands,
Lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.
—Psalm 91:1-6, 9-12

I will lift up my eyes unto the hills,
from whence cometh my help.

My help cometh from the Lord,
which made heaven and earth.

He will not suffer thy foot to be moved;
he that keepeth thee will not slumber.
Behold, he that keepeth Israel
shall neither slumber nor sleep.

The Lord is thy keeper;
the Lord is thy shade
upon thy right hand.
The sun shall not smite thee by day,
nor the moon by night.

The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil;
he shall preserve thy soul.
The Lord shall preserve
thy going out and thy coming in
from this time forth, and even for evermore.

—Psalm 121

The Eternal God Is Our Refuge and Underneath Are the Everlasting Arms

Deuteronomy 33:27

The Lord thy God in the midst of thee is mighty,
he will rejoice over thee with joy,
he will rest in his love,
he will joy over thee with singing.

—Zephaniah 3:17

Fear not, for I have redeemed thee;
I have called thee by thy name;
thou art mine.
When thou passeth through the waters
I will be with thee
And through the rivers, they shall
not overthrow thee.
When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt
not be burned,
Neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.

—Isaiah 43:1-2

Thou will keep him in perfect peace
whose mind is stayed on thee,
because he trusteth in thee.
Trust ye in the Lord forever,
for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.

—Isaiah 26:3-4

They shall sit every man under his vine and under
his fig tree,
And none shall make them afraid,
For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

—Micah 4:4

We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed;
we are perplexed, but not in despair;
Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down but not
destroyed;
Always bearing about in the body the dying of
the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might
be made manifest in our body.

—II Corinthians 4:8-10

Yea, though I walk through the valley
of the shadow of death,
I will fear no evil, for thou art with me;
Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me.

—Psalm 23:4

Watch Ye, Stand Fast in the Lord: Quit Ye Like Men, Be Strong.

—I Corinthians 16:13

"If God be with you, who can be against you."

Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.—Ephesians 6:10

Be strong and of good courage, fear not nor be afraid, for the Lord thy God he it is that doth go before thee; he will not fail thee nor forsake thee.—Deuteronomy 31:6

FORGET NOT THY MAKER

I, even I, am he that comforteth you.
Who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid
of man that shall die,
of the son of man which shall be made as grass,
And forgetest the Lord thy maker,
that hath stretched forth the heavens
and laid the foundations of the earth,
and hast feared continually every day
because of the fury of the oppressor,
as if he were ready to destroy?
And where is the fury of the oppressor?

—Isaiah 51:12-13

OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD

Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good.

Bless them which persecute you; bless and curse not.

If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink.

Be not overcome with evil but overcome evil with good.—Romans 12:9,14,20,21

LOVE NEVER FAILS

Love suffereth long and is kind.
Love envieth not.
Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up,
Doth not behave itself unseemly,
Seeketh not its own, is not easily provoked,
Thinketh no evil,
Beareth all things, believeth all things,
Hopeth all things, endureth all things.
Love never faileth.—I Corinthians 13:4,5,7

CONTROL THY SELF

Yea, and for this very cause, adding on your part all diligence, in your faith supply virtue, and in your virtue knowledge.

And in your knowledge self control, and in your self control patience, and in your patience godliness.

And in your godliness brotherly kindness, and in your brotherly kindness love.

—II Peter 1:5-8

IN NOTHING BE ANXIOUS

In nothing be anxious but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your request be known unto God.

And the peace of God which passeth all understanding shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.

Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true,
whatsoever things are honest,
whatsoever things are just,
whatsoever things are pure,
whatsoever things are lovely,
whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.

Those things, which ye have both learned and received, and heard, and seen in me, do and the God of peace shall be with you.

—Philippians 4:6-9

THE REWARD

And my God shall supply all your need according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus.

—Philippians 4:19

Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom—Luke 2:12

Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.—Matthew 28:20

. . . Most of the reasons offered for segregation are, upon careful examination, flimsy; we see that the dangers against which it is supposed to protect us are for the most part unreal; we see that some of our attitudes in the matter are simply habits, and others a cloak for selfishness, and still others the result of the confusion of life, which is sacred, with segregation, which is only one of its perishing forms; we see, finally, that these old habits stand in the way of certain positive forces within us struggling for expression, chief among them the spirit of love which Jesus expressed and commanded—and yet—and yet—we are afraid it can't be done. We think it ought to be; we really don't want to defend it ourselves; but we're afraid it can't be—at least not now.

Perhaps this vague fear exists in the minds of many Christians. If so, we should name it for what it is. For its proper name may shock us into a deeper awareness of ourselves, and in the fantastic world we have created in the South, that would be all to the good.

It is lack of faith. Faithlessness. No more and no less. If we had more faith in God, we should have less fear. If we were filled with faith, we should have none. (No man attains, except at moments, this peak. Yet it is the peak toward which we climb.)

As we believe in love—which is to say, as we have love—we do not have fear. As we are afraid, then, we lack love, and lack faith in a God of love. Our fearfulness is the mark of our faithlessness, and simply means that the essential fire of Christianity burns but flickeringly upon the altar of our hearts.

How may that flame be steadied? By placing it alongside the original, the brightest of all its expressions, the life of Jesus. Contemplating that shining example, we shall find his spirit growing within us and the fears that now cling to our hearts like miasma along Southern ditches in summer dispersing before the beams of the rising sun.

As we have faith, we shall develop the institutions of a more Christian society. It is not easy to give institutional shape to love; it means transforming it into justice. Regardless of this difficulty, the source of our strength—and of our weakness—is clear: out of the heart proceed the issues of life. As our hearts are sensitive both to God's presence and to human need, as we yield ourselves to his encompassing love, we shall act well, and shall build, in these changing times, a more Christian society.

From "The Southern Heritage," by James McBride Dabbs (President of Southern Regional Council, Inc.)

Used by permission of the Author, and Publisher Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. (New York, 1958)

ERPRISE

Dr J W Daniel 10-50

Price Ten Cents Number 8

Collier's Features Mrs. Tilly and Claxton

In the December 30 issue (this past week) of Collier's magazine an interesting article about one of the most dynamic women of the South, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, has the first three paragraphs concerning Claxton. Helena Huntington Smith, author of the article, visited Claxton during the latter part of last August while on a trip accompanying Mrs. Tilly. She picked up the material she used about Claxton at first hand during her visit here.

The immediate object of Mrs. Tilly's visit was to see Mrs. Possie Daniel about some of the work being done jointly by them through the Women's Society of Christian Service.

The article "Mrs. Tilly's Crusade", tells in Miss Smith's words, about "A tiny Georgia lady in her sixties, who wears roses in her bonnet, proves a powerful fighter for human and civil rights in the South. Is a Negro denied his vote? Does a sheriff close his eyes to violence? Then she speeds to the fight—and usually victory."

In the first three paragraphs of the article Miss Smith points to Claxton, (because of this city's successful efforts in opposing the Klu Klux Klan by passing an ordinance by unanimous city council vote and the fact that the Klan has not operated in the city limits since), as an indication of "a bright new wave of the future." The Collier's article states that "the good people of Claxton were not acting alone ,but as part of a network with strands all over the South, a network of decent citizens opposed to violence and discrimination in their own communities."

Mrs. Tilly, a remarkable lady from Atlanta and daughter of a Methodist, has fought violence, intimidation and discrimination wherever it has reared its head in the South. The remarkable thing about her fight is that it is done in a quiet way and almost entirely by soliciting the aid of other women in local communities throughout the south.

Mrs. Tilly has been eminently successful in her work. She has been able to swing legislatures

PMA Announces Officers Elected In 5 Communities

Returns from the 5 PMA community elections were announced today by J. A. Powell, Chairman of the Evans County PMA Committee.

By communities, the following farmers were elected to administer PMA farm programs in 1951.

CLAXTON DISTRICT: Joe Smith — chairman, Henry A. Strickland—vice-chairman, W. G. Purcell—member, G. L. Blocker 1st. alternate, A. G. Strickland—2nd. alternate.

UNDINE DISTRICT: W. E. Calloway—chairman, Rufus Sapp—vice-chairman, Hubert Hendrix—member, John Lanier—1st alternate, A. D. Eason—2nd alternate.

CANOOCHEE DISTRICT: B. H. Durrence—chairman, A. J. Bowen—vice-chairman, J. L. Mitchell—member, W. E. Sikes—1st alternate, J. G. Helmuth—2nd alternate.

BELLVILLE DISTRICT: I. C. Hearn—chairman, Walter Daniel—vice-chairman, Curtis D. Smith—member, Herbert Daniel—1st alternate, Jim Brown—2nd alternate.

DAISY DISTRICT: Carson Sands — chairman, Raymond Burkhalter—vice-chairman, Joe C. Strickland — member, W. K. Durrence—1st alternate, E. W. Strickland—2nd alternate.

At the same time, the following delegates were elected to attend a County convention for the purpose of electing a county committee.

DELEGATES: John L. DeLoach, Claxton; W. E. Sikes, Canoochee; H. L. Sikes, Undine; I.

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Mrs. Tilly has been eminently successful in her work. She has been able to swing legislatures of various states to her way of thinking, has opposed the violence of public officials from governors to sheriffs to police chiefs and has been the victor in most cases. Miss Smith interprets the success of Mrs. Tilly's work as due to the fact that it is "gradually becoming fashionable to 'do the right thing'. More Southern communities are building good schools for Negroes and raising teachers' pay" . . . "the conscience of the South is its women. In church and out of it, as many a preacher will tell you, when it comes to courage to do the right thing, the women are far ahead of the men.

In addition to her work from 1940-1948 as secretary of Christian Social Relations of the Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, southeastern jurisdiction, she now serves among other posts in a policy making capacity for the Georgia Inter-racial Committee, the Urban League of Atlanta, the Georgia Council of Church Women, the Georgia Conference of Social Work and is a national figure in all kinds of labor, social welfare, child welfare and rural welfare circles.

When she came to Claxton she was here as the field representative of the Southern Regional Council but "as a colleague explained to Miss Smith, "Mrs. Tilly goes and does what has to be done, and finds out later whom she did it for."

Mrs. Tilly is another of those important women of the South, like Miss Emily Woodward, who in their quiet, intelligent, dynamic way are leading the mass of people of the South in the direction they want to head, social progress in its finest sense.

HUMAN STOCKYARD PRICES

Prices were good and there was very strong demand for all es of cattle and hogs at the uary 1st sale at Shuman kyard. There was a big run raded and odd lot hogs.

1,$20.65; No 2, $20.05; No 3, Heavies, $19.55; Shoats, to $21; Sows, $16.60 to $17. es, $12 to $17.

m beef cattle, $24.90 to Bulls, $19.00 to $24.90; ows, $16.50 to $19.40.

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Both community and county committeemen will take office by January 1, 1951. These committeemen will administer the 1951 Agricultural Conservation Program which provides assistance to aid farmers in carrying out soil and water conservation practices on their farms. In addition they have responsibilities for price support programs for tobacco, peanuts, acreage allotments and marketing quotas, and Federal Crop Insurance.

Although they are paid only for the few days a year that are actually engaged in the administration of these programs, they are "on call" at all times to assist their neighbors in matters pertaining to PMA programs.

Cotton Committee To Meet in Claxton

By J. P. Newell, Jr.

The Evans County Cotton Improvement Committee will meet at the Court House in Claxton on Monday, January 8th at 3:00 p.m. The purpose of this committee meeting is to make plans to improve the quality of cotton that we grow and also increase the quantity per acre raised. This committee has a very important roll to play during the year 1951. As we all know there is an acute shortage of cotton due to the fact that some has been exported and due to the increased demand for military purposes.

The United States Department of Agriculture is asking the cotton farmers to increase cotton acreage sufficient to produce 16,000,000 bales during the 1951 crop year. As you know the cotton acreage allotment has been lifted for the 1951 year, you must not fail to plant cotton because if and when it becomes necessary to put the cotton acreage allotment law back into effect our acreage might be reduced and given to the states that continued to plant large acreage.

NOTICE

We are offering 50c to the person who brings the first issue of January 12, 1950 of the Claxton Enterprise to this office.

ATED PAGE (s)

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DATE: _____

TRAVEL (Type of Transportation & Destination)

_____

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_____
(Auto @.08 per mile)

$_____

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINE, ETC.

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$_____

TOTAL - - - - - - - - $_____

LESS ADVANCE - - - - - - -$_____

TOTAL DUE - - - - - - - - $_____

PLEASE PRINT:

SIGNED_____

ADDRESS_____

Write what you will try to do in the next week, or this month, or later. You do not need to sign your name. Bring it to the session tomorrow.

YOUR CHURCH AND RACE

An Action Guide

> "This is the calling of the Church with regard to race, to witness within itself to the Kingship of Christ and the unity of His people, in Him transcending all diversity . . . Their calling requires Christians to witness to the Kingship of Christ and the unity of all mankind, and to strive through social and political action to secure justice, freedom and peace for all . . . From Report of the Section on Intergroup Relations, Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Evanston, 1954."

Assignment Race 1961-1964 provides the opportunity for church women across the nation to unite their efforts in helping to achieve full participation for all people without distinction of race in

- the local church and denomination
- the council of church women
- the community, concentrating in the area of greatest racial tension and need.

Each participating denomination is taking responsibility for an action program to be developed within its own communion. United Church Women is assuming special responsibility for the interdenominational action program.

This action guide suggests steps to take in looking at the local church. It has been prepared to help us know where we are in our own local church as a basis for plans to further implement our concern.

Although this guide can be used by any group within the local church, it is prepared primarily for the women's group. It is important to recognize at the outset that an assessment of where we are is only a first step in a study-action process. It is on the basis of such a study that a plan of action which is appropriate to each local church can be developed by a group in that situation.

Knowing Your Local Church

Your Denomination's Policy

What are your denomination's pronouncements and resolutions concerning segregation and discrimination in the church and community?

What is the evidence in your congregation of knowledge of such pronouncements and resolutions?

Your Local Church

A. What are the requirements for membership in your local church?

B. Is more than one racial group represented in the membership of your church?

If so, what percentage of the membership is represented by minority group or groups?

What were the circumstances that led to the church becoming interracial?

If not, why is this so?

C. Does your church serve and include in its membership all people in the neighborhood in which it is located?

If the neighborhood is all or predominantly of one racial group, what consideration has been given to ways of broadening and deepening the fellowship through more inclusive experiences?

D. What is your local church doing in the following areas:

1. Making available information concerning race through
   - the church library?
   - literature distribution?
   - literature displays?
   - audio-visual aids?
   - special reports?
   - speakers?

2. Studying and interpreting the Christian basis and responsibility for achieving an inclusive church fellowship and racial justice in the community by means of
   - regular study?
   - fellowship groups?
   - special study action groups?
   - the pulpit?

3. Providing opportunities for sharing in experiences across racial lines
   - through pulpit and congregation exchanges?
   - by bringing age level groups together for worship, study, action, discussion of mutual concerns, recreation, social occasions, etc.?

4. Being sure that the philosophy of Christian education expressed in the teaching, in the materials used, and in the attitudes of teachers reflects the Christian faith and the denomination's intention?

5. Working in the community through Christian witness to make the moral issue clear by
   - supporting movements and legislation toward racial justice, including housing, employment, education, hospital service, recreation, public accommodations, etc.?
   - encouraging and supporting the laity in their witness and work in the community?

E. What is the pattern of church membership in other churches in the community?

What evidence is there of growth toward the goal of inclusiveness?

F. What is the racial policy and practice in local church related institutions such as schools, hospitals, social welfare agencies?

G. Now a look at ourselves and our church

1. What does the review of our practices indicate to me
   - in relation to my concern and commitment as a Christian?
   - in relation to the need for continuous examination of my attitudes and behavior?
   - in relation to my responsibility to witness in the community?

2. What is required of my church for it to become "in reality a racially inclusive 'community of saints'?"

3. Do we as women have a particular contribution to make to our church in fulfilling its mission in this area? If so, how can this be done with greater power?

   Have we initiated or participated in projects with United Church Women, or if no council, then with women's groups from other churches?

4. What action is suggested as a result of this review?

   What constructive plan do we see being initiated, who would participate, what is the first step?

RESOURCES

Some local resources which can be helpful in carrying out this study-action process are your minister, official governing body of your local church, local council of church women, the local or regional denominational body, the local and state councils of churches and the experience of other local churches

Resources in the way of information, literature and consultation are available from the following national organizations:

1) The Social Education and Action Department of your denomination.

2) United Church Women, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

3) Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

GRAVE ALWAYS OPEN AT FEDERAL PEN CEMETERY

Prisoners Call Burying Ground "Boot Hill" and Tradition Calls for Open Grave

CEMETERY BEGAN WITH WILD WEST FLAVOR

IN FEDERAL PEN'S BOOT HILL SLEEP
SCORES WHO GOT BACK-DOOR PAROLES

* * * * * * * * * * * *

By Frank Veale, Jr.

The Wild West of Billy the Kid, Jesse James and the Dalton boys had its boot hills -- where those who died with their boots on in blazing gun battles at High Noon were buried.

Atlanta has its own Boot Hill -- it's not on the lone prarie but on it the winds blow free and some men from the West lie in its dark red clay.

Boot Hill is the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary's prison cemetery. Prisoners in the penitentiary never visit Boot Hill -- that is, unless they get a back-door parole. That is their sentence, going out the back door of the penitentiary.

Has Buried fourteen.--The winds blew across the lonesome hill as a reporter and Chaplain H. Park Tucker kicked some oak leaves off the slabs of stone.

"I have buried 14 men on Boot Hill," said the chaplain as he looked sadly at the graves. On the side of Boot Hill in front of the chaplain lay a huge mound of dirt. A grave stood open with a crude ladder leading down its somber sides.

"An open grave on Boot Hill is a tradition at the prison," Chaplain Tucker declared. "When a prisoner is buried here, another grave is dug by the detail and left open."

"No words can describe the horror prisoners have for the prospect of dying in prison," the chaplain added.

Were Homeless.--"You see, the only men buried on Boot Hill are the ones who have no home, no relatives to claim their bodies -- or else their relatives refuse to claim the body and the government buries them," Chaplain Tucker said.

The stillness on Boot Hill suddenly was shattered by rifle fire. Ironically enough, the crackle of gunfire echoes each day over the forgotten graves of those who rest in Boot Hill. The rifle range adjoins the cemetery with only the Southern Railway tracks between.

The prison Boot Hill was started in 1902, the year the Atlanta Penitentiary was built out of Stone Mountain granite. In 1902 inmate No. 5540, born in 1873, died in the prison.

Sixty-Year Old Grave.--In the prison stone shed, prisoners made a headstone for No. 5540, possibly mixing a tear or two of sympathy in with the concrete, and his fellow prisoners buried him on Peckerwood Hill.

Boot Hill was born.

Most of the graves in the old days had the prisoner's name, his number, date of birth, date of death and where he was from carved into the headstone.

Later new headstones were prepared and these had only the name of the prisoner -- no number and no location.

In the center of Boot Hill stands a large monument with an inscription reading: "And in eternal peace thy penance end."

Why the Boot.--How did Boot Hill come by its Wild West name? "Back in the early days," Chaplain Tucker said, "many prisoners were sent to Atlanta from the West. And many of the gravestones were marked originally with I. T. or Indian Territory. It soon became known to the inmates as Boot Hill."

By 1932 Boot Hill had 134 men resting in the hard clay.

"There is only one free man in Boot Hill." Chaplain Tucker said as a train rumbled by on the tracks overhead with a piggyback load of shiny new automobiles.

The chaplain walked over and knocked some leaves off another gravestone. Inscribed on the stone was "Ike Henderson."

He Asked to Stay.--"Isaac Henderson was imprisoned in 1913 and when his time was up he had no place to work, so he asked the warden if he could stay and work at the penitentiary," Chaplain Tucker said. "When he died in 1918 he was buried on Boot Hill -- the only man in 177 who is not an inmate."

Chaplain Tucker, who has served at the Penitentiary for 15 years and has talked to thousands of prisoners in that time, walked slowly back toward the truck.

Recalls 81-Year-Old.--"The man who impressed me the most," the chaplain recalled, was Old Folks. Old Folks never committed a crime until he was 49. After that he spent the rest of his life in penitentiaries off and on and died here at the age of 81."

"No, I'll never forget Old Folks," the chaplain mused as he climbed back into the cab of the truck.

On the way past the rifle range a guard stopped firing and looked our way. "Don't shoot, we're with you," called the chaplain. The guard smiled and waved the truck on.

In 1932 Boot Hill was immortalized in the haunting verse of Capt. John Madden, a guard at the prison:

GOD LOOKED DOWN

They wreathed their graves
with flowers of spring --
Those mounds so long, long here;

And God looked down with
tender smiles, and placed
his blessings there.

Alone, forgotten through the
years, each stone a mark
of shame,
Their epitaph no word of
hope, a number, not a name.

Too long, too long, have we
forgot that God alone must
judge.
Too long within the human
heart, we carry hate and
grudge.

How quick we are to ridicule,
to score, to quick condemn,
When only by the grace of
God we might've been one
of them.
They do not sleep on glory's
field, nor in the hall of fame,
But some of them in words of
gold wrote high and
clear his name.

And each man had a mother
  dear (the same as you and I)
And for her sake we lay a
  wreath, for those who
  slumber by.

Shine softly on each grave,
  O moon, blow gently,
  Southern breeze,
And sing a requiem soft and
  sad, as you sigh through
  the trees;
Then let the dewdrops fall
  upon the unearthed, rugged
  sod.

A SALUTE to the AMERICAN THEATRE

45 MINUTES OF FILM THAT TELESCOPES A CENTURY OF THE AMERICAN THEATRE'S PROUDEST ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS AN ARTISTIC, DEMOCRATIC FORCE.

"Glorious!" — *New York Times* "Moving!" — *Boston Daily Globe*

"Splendidly executed!" — *St. Louis Post Dispatch*

Now you can see this spectacular pageant of theatrical talent on film which millions witnessed over more than 100 CBS television stations

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THE OCTOROON

a scene from the pre-Civil war drama on the theme of racial prejudice, with PHYLLIS NEWMAN and RICHARD EASTON.

"My love! My love? (aside to camera)
Alas! He does not know, and will despise me,
spurn me, loathe me, when he learns who,
what, he has so loved."

WAITING FOR LEFTY

by CLIFFORD ODETS with ELI WALLACH

A plea for action about the depression and social problems of the 1930's.

THE MALE ANIMAL

by JAMES THURBER and ELLIOTT NUGENT

with TOM POSTON and HOWARD ST. JOHN

"He was accused of murder, but thousands of people believe he was executed simply because of the ideas he believed in."

CALL ME MISTER

with WILLIAM WARFIELD *singing the famous* RED BALL EXPRESS

HOME OF THE BRAVE

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HOME OF THE BRAVE

by ARTHUR LAURENTS with WILLIAM SHATNER

"I had to get beat up a couple of more times before I learned that if you're a Jew, you're not like other guys . . . You're alone . . ."

SOUTH PACIFIC

by RODGERS AND HAMMERSTEIN

with BILLY TABBERT singing the famous song he introduced in the Broadway production "YOU'VE GOT TO BE TAUGHT."

THE CRUCIBLE

by ARTHUR MILLER with FRITZ WEAVER

A witch-hunt of 1692 has a message for 1960.

RAISIN IN THE SUN

by LORRAINE HANSBERRY with CLAUDIA McNEIL, OSSIE DAVIS, RUBY DEE and DIANA SANDS

A scene from the New York critics' award-winning best American play for 1958-59.

Narrated by FRANCHOT TONE

A Stimulating Salute to Theater

NEW YORK (AP) — Possibly one of the most stimulating shows of the whole TV season turned up at 11:30 a.m. yesterday on CBS with bits from a dozen Broadway shows presented in "A Salute to The American Theater."

This was a purposeful salute, by the Anti-Defamation League, to call attention to the theater's traditional part

A Salute...

"A fine hour, worthy of prime evening time." — ASSOCIATED PRESS

"Glorious . . . splendidly executed." — NEW YORK TIMES

"A tribute to the battle against bigotry." — LOS ANGELES TIMES

"A series of splendidly executed scenes." — ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH

"Excellent . . ." — NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR

"Superior drama." — DES MOINES REGISTER

Imagine selecting from famous Broadway dramatic and musical plays — going back a full century — those scenes which speak out most passionately for democracy!

You remember, or have heard, of them all: *The Octoroon (1859), Waiting for Lefty, The Male Animal, Call Me Mister, Home of the Brave, The Crucible, South Pacific, Raisin in the Sun, and* more.

Imagine selecting your pick of talent from Broadway and Hollywood to act and sing in these scenes: Richard Easton, Phyllis Newman, Eli Wallach, Tom Poston, Fritz Weaver, William Warfield, William Shatner, Billy Tabbert, Claudia McNeil, and many more.

To The...

American Theatre

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To The...

American Theatre

These scenes and stars have been united in one memorable film *A Salute to the American Theatre,* a dramatic affirmation of democracy, brought to television viewers by the Columbia Broadcasting System in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

A demand mounted for the opportunity for many more people to see *A Salute to the American Theatre.* The result: kinescope-films of the program are being made available for the use of community organizations throughout the country.

Now you may view — and review — what critics have hailed as one of television's most glorious hours.

Prints of **A Salute to the American Theatre** are available for showing to schools, clubs, religious groups, and other community organizations.

The program is available in 16MM, sound, running 45 minutes, nominal rental charge.

For Rentals Write To

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

515 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Or Your Local ADL Regional Office

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mrs. Milton Eben Tilly (Dorothy Rogers Tilly)

Born in a Methodist parsonage at Hampton, Georgia; daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. R. W. Rogers. Married to Milton Eben Tilly; has one son and one grandson.

Graduated from Rhinehardt College; Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia; student at Scarritt College in Nashville, Tennessee, the University of North Carolina, and Garrett Institute.

In the Methodist Church: Served on Conference, Jurisdiction and National Boards; eight years on General Board of Temperance; and was the first woman trustee of Wesleyan College.

In Methodist Women's Work: Served eight years as S. E. Jurisdiction (nine Southern states) secretary of Christian Social Relations, and twelve years on National Committee on Christian Social Relations. Taught for many years under General Board of Education and Methodist Church. Served many years on Conference Board of Missions and as officer of the Conference Women's Society.

In local Methodist Church: Served as steward, adult Church School teacher, Superintendent of Junior Department; Secretary of Spiritual Life of the Women's Society of Christian Service.

National: Four years on National Commission of Children, Youth of the Children's Bureau; called to Detroit to the hearings dispute between General Motors and the UAW-CIO; served on President Truman's Civil Rights Committee; was sent by American Christian Palestine Committee (with five men) to bring a report to the State Department and the Trustee Council of the United Nations on the Internationalization of Jerusalem.

Civil and Social Work: with League of Women Voters, Y.W.C.A., and Georgia Commission on Race Relations.

Has received Citations by: Atlanta Constitution and Atlanta Chamber of Commerce; the Phi Mu Sorority; Emory University Political Science Fraternity; Philadelphia Fellowship Commission; Gammon Theological Seminary; Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church; National Council of United Church Women; Paine College; and an Achievement Award from the Alumni Association of Wesleyan College (1962).

Presently employed as Director of Women's Work for the Southern Regional Council.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Fellowship of the Concerned

Dear Friend:

Because of the deep concern of all of us about the education of Georgia's children, we feel it is well for "The Fellowship of the Concerned, Georgia Women Concerned about their State," to come together for prayer and study.

The date - February 19th

Place - The Library of the Y.W.C.A.
72 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sessions - 2 p.m. to 4:30 and
7 p.m. to 9:00

Dr. Claude Thompson of Emory will lead our two worship services as we seek guidance and strength "for the facing of these days."

We will have some legislators with us to interpret the action of this 1959 session. Mrs. Fred Patterson will lead the discussion.

All members of the Board of Directors of the United Church Women of Georgia are invited and urged to attend. They will be already for their workshop the next morning which will be held in the same place - the library of the Y.W.C.A.

To those who do not live in Atlanta, expenses for Hotel accommodations for the night of the 19th, travel and meals will be paid. We are, however, asking that two share a hotel room.

The challenges of the times are great! How God is calling us! How He is trusting us! Not in our might or power but in His spirit and His strength we will not fail.

Sincerely yours,

lec

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Friend:

This is to give you the first notice of the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. As usual it will be held in Atlanta, Georgia.

The dates will be November 15 and 16.

We are making plans to pay for transportation and entertainment. We hope that you will put this date on your calendar and plan to attend.

I would appreciate any suggestions that you have to offer to make the Workshop a success.

Sincerely,

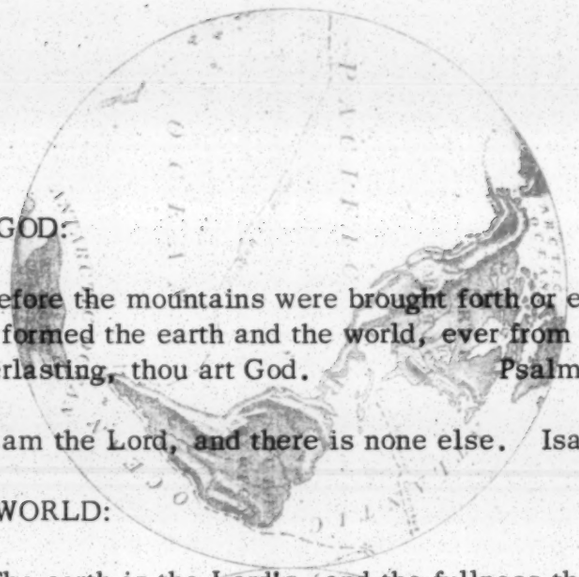
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

WORK BOOK

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THE KINGDOM WITHOUT FRONTIERS



ONE GOD:

Before the mountains were brought forth or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, ever from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God. Psalms 90:2

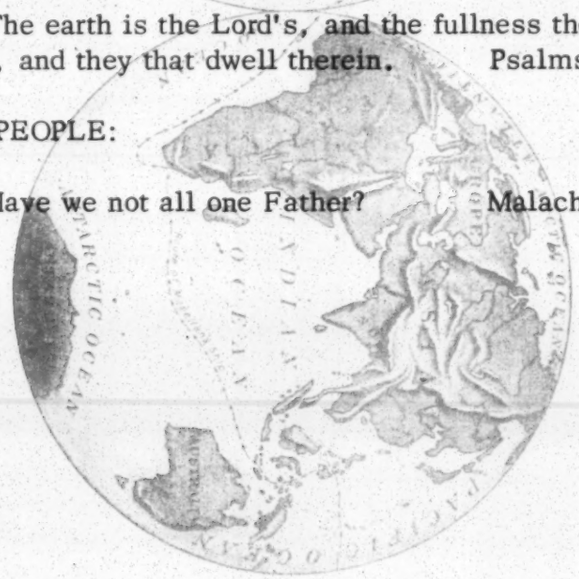
I am the Lord, and there is none else. Isaiah 45:6

ONE WORLD:

The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein. Psalms 24:1

ONE PEOPLE:

Have we not all one Father? Malachi 2:10



"The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right ... which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women ... remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded ... It is the spirit of Him who ... taught mankind that lesson it has never learned but has never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered ... with the greatest." -------Judge Learned Hand

ONE GOD

God is the God of every race and nation. No belief in God is adequate unless it is a belief in an all-inclusive God. He is a God of justice, mercy and love. He cannot be a racial or national God. He cannot be a class God. He is a God of all people. --Benjamin Mays, "Seeking to be Christian in Race Relations."

ONE WORLD

Whose world - Does the world belong to some of us more than to the rest of us? To strong nations more than weak ones? To the West or to the East? To man or to God? --From "Whose World" - John S. Wood

Wendell Wilkie did not discover one world; God made one world.

Never before has the world's oneness been so apparent, never before has its adversities been so evident and its glaring disparities been so clear.
--W. Richey Hogg, "One World, One Mission"

ONE PEOPLE

There is only one man in the world and his name is ALL MEN.
-- Carl Sanburg, "The Family of Men"

The human family is one, whatever be their nationality, language, religion, color, social standing, culture or political opinions. All members of this family have an equal nobility. -- From Father Dominique Georges Pire's Address at Dedication of the Gandhi International Youth Center in Huy, Belgium

The Glorious Mix-Up on the Day of Pentecost

When the Spirit of God moved the hearts of the listeners as well as those of the apostles, people of sixteen nationalities and three continents were baptized into the Christian Church and made members of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit. Across the diversity of language, color, custom and culture the will of God cut sharply and three thousand new members of the church rejoiced in their experience of real unity.

It was no accident that God chose such a motley crowd on which to bestow His gifts of faith, cleansing and brother love. Pentecost was a mighty demonstration of His purpose ". . . that they may all be one." It was the undoing of Babel which sent the tribes of men stumbling along their separate and quarrelsome ways.
-- Theodore E. Matson, "Edge of the Edge."

The Fellowship of the Concerned

Who? Church women of all faiths and denominations have long furnished valuable moral leadership in the South. Now as never before their active leadership is needed—to help bring our practices in closer accord with the ideals of Christianity and Judaism, to strengthen and broaden democracy, to build a society in which every person can be confident of security and justice. By their determination to see these aims achieved, thousands of Southern church women are joined together in a fellowship that knows no boundaries of race or creed — the Fellowship of the Concerned.

When? In September 1949, 150 leaders of church women's groups came together for a two-day conference on the spiritual approach to social issues. They gathered at the call of the Southern Regional Council, the National Board of the YWCA, and church women's organizations. The conference had as its guests Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Southern authorities on civic and religious life.

Where? The conference took place at the Wesley Memorial Church in Atlanta, Georgia. But the delegates represented every Southern State and dozens of communities. They pledged themselves to report the results of the meeting to, and to enlist the cooperation of, church women in their areas.

Why? There are still serious inequalities in our courts and law enforcement. Negro citizens frequently suffer from the discrimination of judges and juries. The measure of justice to white persons is too often influenced by social or economic status. The most defenseless of our citizens are not always safe from brutality at the hands of police officers, many of whom are poorly chosen, poorly paid, and poorly trained. These failures of our democracy must be remedied if we are to supply the moral leadership demanded of us by our religious convictions and our world position. The remedy lies with us, in our own communities.

What? The conference earnestly examined the problems of our region, weighed our day-to-day practices against our democratic and spiritual ideals. The result? A program around which all conscientious Southern women can rally —a simple, workable plan of action for the Fellowship of the Concerned.

—And You? **If you are willing to join with others to translate your religious convictions into everyday realties—**

If you are concerned about injustice and inequality—

If you want to play your part in the building of a greater respect for the individual—

The program of action presented here needs your support, your energy, your determination to make it work. The responsibility is ours—yours and mine.

What We Can Do in Our Communities...

About the Law

√ Inform ourselves of the areas in our communities where law is not equally enforced, and work for corrective action.

√ Visit the courts and make our influence felt in the interest of equal justice for all.

√ Encourage better selection and training of policemen.

√ Work for appointment of Negro policemen.

√ Commend public officials when they show courage and integrity.

√ Call to the attention of authorities violations which are known to us.

√ Get in touch with the Southern Regional Council—63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia—when tension arises, and take all possible local action to prevent violence.

About the Vote

√ Do our part to see that opportunity for registration and voting is legally and actually secure for all.

√ Oppose state re-registration measures that threaten the security of any voters.

√ Uurge our county Democratic executive committees to train all workers in the proper performance of their duties.

√ Offer our services as election managers and clerks.

About Public Opinion

√ Affirm in personal relations and religious and civic work our conviction of the dignity of all human beings and the ideal of equal justice.

√ Support and encourage pastors who offer progressive leadership in the community.

√ Affiliate with other groups working for the same objectives.

√ Discuss problems with our newspaper editors; commend their good works; and urge the adoption of improved practices in the handling of racial news (as outlined in the Southern Regional Council pamphlet *Race in the News*).

√ Urge local schools to cooperate in using existing materials to build better human relations.

√ Begin, on however small a scale, an institute on race relations.

√ Endorse the Home Town Self-Survey as a means of self-education and constructive action.

Southern Church Women Draft Action Program

I AM concerned that our constitutional freedoms are not shared by all our people; my religion convinces me they must be and gives me courage to study, work, and lead others to the fulfillment of equal justice under the law. I will respond to calls from the Southern Regional Council to serve my faith and my community in the defense of justice.

With this pledge, 150 church women leaders from twelve Southern States concluded a two-day conference in Atlanta on "the spiritual approach to social issues." The delegates met September 8 and 9 at the call of the Southern Regional Council, in cooperation with church women's groups and the National Board of the YWCA. The meeting was inter-faith, inter-denominational, and inter-racial.

Guest speaker and participant in the conference was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who is presently serving as the United States delegate on the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. She took part in the workshops Thursday, September 8, and addressed an audience of some 1,800 in the evening. Her subject was "The Declaration of Human Rights and the Community."

Individual Responsibility

Mrs. Roosevelt stressed the responsibility of the individual to work for a broader democracy at the community level. Citing her experiences as a delegate to the United Nations, she declared that every failure of democracy in the nation weakens us in the eyes of the people of the world.

"The economic and military leadership of the United States," she said, "is unquestioned. But we have not yet succeeded in giving the world the moral and spiritual leadership which it so desperately needs."

During the workshop session, Mrs. Roosevelt strongly endorsed the suggestion of Mrs. M. E. Tilly that church women visit the courts and make their influence felt in the interest of equal justice. "I miss my guess," she said, "if you do not find a lot of things that will surprise you."

The conference opened Thursday morning with a keynote address by Mr. Paul D. Williams, president of the Southern Regional Council.

"It is important," he told the conference, "that we ponder our spiritual heritage, for there are many people in the world and in our own country who think otherwise. . . . In a sense there are no such things as Catholic rights, or Protestant rights, or Jewish rights—or, for that matter, Mongolian rights, or Negro rights, or Caucasian rights. There are only human rights . . ."

Speakers and Workshops

In the course of the morning, the church women heard Dr. W. J. Faulkner, dean of the chapel at Fisk University, on "The Spiritual Beginnings of Law"; Mr. Morris Abram, Atlanta attorney, on "Law and Morals"; and Mr. Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, on "County Government." The afternoon was devoted to workshop discussion of law enforcement, administration of justice, and "building a spirit of brotherhood" through the church, the press, and the schools.

The night meeting, held in the Wesley Memorial Church, was open to members and friends of the co-sponsoring organizations; the main auditorium, which seats 2,000, was filled almost to capacity. Mrs. Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, gave the invocation, and Mr. Williams introduced Mrs. Roosevelt. Following her speech, hundreds of the

audience filed past to speak brieffly to her.

Friday morning the conferees held their concluding workshop session, at which a program of action for the home community was adopted. (See page 2.) Mrs. Lowry Hunt reported to the group on a self-survey now being carried out in Madison, Georgia, and urged the church women leaders to initiate similar self-studies in their own communities. Mrs. Irving Cohn, executive secretary of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, gave an account of the interracial Teachers Institute held annually in that city.

Dr. Hugh Brimm, executive secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, spoke on "The Church: Her Responsibility and Opportunity." A concluding address, "Courage for the Task," was given by Dr. Faulkner. His words summed up the spirit of the entire conference.

"Today," he declared, "we have seen the vision of a new Southland. But we must remind ourselves that for every bit of progress in human relations a price must be paid. Those of us here today will have to pay that price."

Concern

Bu they are not heart-sick for the ruin of Joseph. Therefore they shall soon go into exile, at the head of the exiles.

Amos 6:6, 7*a*

Conviction

The spirit of the Lord is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

Isaiah 61:1

Courage

Be strong and of good courage; fear not, nor be affrightened; for Jehovah thy God, he it is that doth go with thee.

Deuteronomy 61:3

For more information about the Fellowship of the Concerned, write to—

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leaders throughout the state of Georgia have spoken out against the recent ruling of the Georgia Board of Education banning forever any teacher who is a member or is in any way affiliated with the NAACP.

In statements to the Georgia Committee for Interracial Cooperation, six prominent men in the state branded the ruling as wrong. The men include Hamilton Lokey, representative from Fulton County; Dr. George E. Clary, executive secretary of the Southeastern Jurisdictional Council of the Methodist Church; Frank W. Spence, member of the Savannah Board of Education; William C. Turpin, Macon lawyer; T. F. Callaway, former president of the Georgia Baptist Convention; Willis A. Sutton, former superintendent of Atlanta schools; and the Rev. C. DeWitt Matthews, pastor of the Vineville Baptist Church, Macon.

Excerpts from the statements are:

Hamilton Lokey: "The resolution of the State Board of Education barring members of the NAACP from teaching in Georgia 'forever' is both wrong in principle and futile in purpose. But the greatest tragedy of all seems to the fear of thinking people to speak out against the action. The authors of the resolution know it is wrong, both morally and legally. There can never be sufficient justification for an action which would destroy the basic freedoms and liberties upon which this action is wrong, but we all seem to be affaid that we will be branded as 'brainwashed leftists' if we speak up. It is never wrong to speak up for right. It is never wrong to stand for principle, for law and order, for equal justice under law.

Dr. Clary: "Any effort on the part of whites to pass laws that will bypass the action of the Supreme Court is I believe doomed to certain failure. The Negro is not going to remain as a second class citizen in this day of enlightment... If the two groups will face the matter in the spirit of mutual respect and on the basis of what is best for all concerned it can and will be worked out."

Frank Spencer: "(The) recent pronouncements of the State Board of Education ... are indeed a source of danger to the welfare of our citizens.

"America's faith and vision in protecting the rights of its citizens has been acclaimed by people of all nations. Intolerance and other indignities perpetrated upon American citizens regardless of race or creed merit vigorous resistance by men and women of good will and understanding."

William Turpin: "I feel that the actions referred to (the board ruling) will be promptly stricken down by the courts, and I am heartened by the feeling of resentment which these actions have aroused over Georgia... I feel it safe to say that any person who values his civil liberty must be disturbed by any such attempt to limit freedom of thought."

T. F. Callaway: "The recent action of the Georgia Board of Education and the state Attorney General making membership in that organization (NAACP) to mean the forfeiture of the right to teach in our public schools is a clear violation of their constitutional privilege... The proposed plan is unfair, unAmerican, undemocratic and unChristian."

Willis Sutton: "I can't think of anything worse than the recent action of the state board. The state of Georgia is supposed to be a democracy, and our public schools are the essence of democracy."

Rev. Matthews: "It is time ... that thinking people who love liberty of conscience and freedom of expression repudiate the emotional and frantic effort of the State Board of Education and the Attorney General to 'keep Georgians in line' by their unAmerican threat to Georgia Teachers' job security. Americans still cherish freedom of thought and are not ready to surrender this sacred right."

Free
src - Fellowship
of the Concerned!

AIDS TO THOSE IN NEED

FEDERAL

STATE

COUNTY

HELPS -
Compiled by
MRS. M. E. TILLY

Aids To Budgets For Those In Need -

Federal, State and County

Welfare Department -

Old Age Assistance and Medical Care
Aid to the Blind
Aid to Dependent Children
Aid to Permantly and Totally Disabled

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION
Under Public Law 565-1954

Vocational rehabilitation is a service provided jointly by the State and Federal Government to conserve the greatest of all assets--the working usefulness of human beings. This service is comparable to Public Education, Public Health and other activities for the Welfare of the people. Employment is always the aim of Vocational Rehabilitation.

SERVICES PROVIDED TO RESTORE WORK ABILITY

Medical, psychological and vocational diagnosis to determine the extent of the applicant's disability, and his mental and vocational limitations.

Counsel and guidance to help the disabled person attain the right job objective.

Physical restoration, medical, surgical, psychiatric and hospital care, and work therapy, to correct to reduce the disability.

Artificial appliances--limbs, braces, hearing aids, and other devices, to increase work ability.

Training, in schools, colleges, on-the-job, by tutors or correspondence, in preparation for the right job.

Transportation and maintenance during treatment or training, in needed.

Tools and equipment, if needed, to give the disabled person a fair start.

Placement in a suitable job, and follow-up to make sure he is safely and satisfactorily employed.

MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL

Studies show mental illness is the most prevalent disability among our people. The cost of care and treatment of the mentally ill is a heavy drain upon public financial resources, and the families of patients.

MENTALLY RETARDED

With financial assistance provided through a Federal grant, a three-year project was undertaken. The primary objectives were: (1) the development of better techniques for evaluating the vocational potential of mentally retarded persons; (2) the development of facilities for training and job preparation; and (3) the provision of necessary Vocational Rehabilitation services to a larger number of mentally retarded persons.

The Division has cooperated with local communities in establishing workshops for training thse clients in Atlanta and Savannah. It also works with local school systems in programs for "exceptional children."

The number of mentally retarded rehabilitated into jobs increased from 37 in 1958-59 to 83 in 1959-60.

EPILEPTICS TRAINING

In providing training for eligible clients, the Division utilizes the services and facilities of public and private institutions: universities, colleges, trade schools, and commercial schools in the communities.

Last year (1959-60) 867 were enrolled in universities and colleges. At the same time, 1,236 were in training in other educational institutions and establishments. Among those rehabilitated, 884 had their major vocational training as follows:

Colleges and Universities	267
Business and other specialized college or school	192
Trade Schools	265
Sheltered workshops	10
On-the-job	75
Other	75
Total	884

OASI DISABILITY DETERMINATIONS

To qualify for disability insurance benefits, a worker must be so seriously disabled that he is "unable to engage in any substantial gainful activity."

In addition, he must have worked under Social Security for at least five years out of the ten years before he became disabled.

YOUR OPPORTUNITY FOR JOB TRAINING

Who can get training?

Unemployed and underemployed persons who can qualify for training and who cannot expect to get full-time employment without training.

Unemployed youth 16 years of age or older.

What kind of training will be given?

Vocational courses in schools
On-the-job training
A combination of vocational and on-the-job training.

Do trainees pay for training courses?

No.

Will trainees receive any money from the government?

Yes, in certain instances, as follows:

1. Unemployed heads of families or heads of households who have had at least 3 years of gainful employment

2. Unemployed youths over 19 but under 22 years of age who do not qualify for regular training allowances--if allowances are necessary to provide occupational training.

3. To continue to receive allowances, trainees must have a satisfactory attendance records and make satisfactory progress

4. An individual may not receive a training allowance for more than 52 weeks.

How much allowance does a trainee eligible for such benefits receive?

In case of an unemployed youth over 19 but under 22 years of age who does not qualify for a regular training allowance, no more than $20 a week.

For trainees to live away from home, subsistence payments not to exceed $5 a day, and transportation, not more than 10 cents a mile.

It is expected that courses will be given in vocational training facilities already established, in public schools and colleges, and in facilities provided by employers, trade associations, labor organizations, and other industrial and community groups cooperating in the on-the-job training program.

EMPLOYMENT SECURITY LAW

Benefit Eligibility Conditions - Section 4

54-609. An unemployed individual shall be eligible to receive benefits with respect to any week only if the Commissioner finds that:

(a) He has registered for work at and thereafter has continued to report at an employment office in accordance with such regulations as the Commissioner may prescribe, except that the Commissioner may, by regulation, waive or alter either or both the requirements of this subsection as to such types of cases or situations with respect to which he finds that compliance with such requirements would be oppresive or would be inconsistent with the purposes of this Act.

(b) He has, while unemployed or while employed less than full-time during a regular work week if his deductibe earnings (any amount over $8) do not equal or exceed his weekly benefit amount, made a claim for benefits in accordance with the provisions of Section 6 (a) of this Act. (This provision as amended, shall be effective Julyl, 1960.)

(c) He is able to work, and is available for work, and has actively and in good faith sought employment, and is actively and in good faith seeking employment, and is bona fide in the labor market...

EDUCATION

"Future Teacher Scholarships - The best and brightest note in the teacher picture in Georgia is that young Georgians with the finest minds and a talent for teaching may now apply for state future teacher scholarships that can go as high as $5,000 and do not have to be repaid -- not a single dime of it -- by those who will teach in Georgia. This program is putting more and more brains in Georgia classrooms, has given students a new respect for the teaching profession. Future Teacher Scholarship holders are often the outstanding students on Georgia campuses, are graduating with honors, are being chosen campus leaders. We need this kind of mind and personality in Georgia classrooms. No money that the state invests is paying richer dividends than this program. We now have 750 bright young Georgians in college on these scholarships, would like to have 1,000, with 250 going in each September, 250 coming out to teach in Georgia classrooms."

— May,1963, Bulletin of the Department of Education

Both Federal and State unite in providing scholarship funds for the study of medicine and nursing.

MRS. MILTON EBEN TILLY

Born in a Methodist parsonage at Hampton, Georgia. Daughter of Reverend & Mrs. R. W. Rogers; married to Milton Eben Tilly, a Georgian; one son and one grandson.

Education.--A. B. degree from both Reinhardt College and Wesleyan College. Studied at Garrett Seminary; University of North Carolina; Scarritt College.

In Local Church.--President of a Junior Missionary Society at the age of 12. Continuously through the years has been an officer of some kind in the local church, a steward, Church School teacher, officer in Woman's Society.

North Georgia Conference.-- Has served on many boards. In the Woman's Society - District Secretary, Secretary of Children's Work, Conference Secretary. A member of the Woman's Missionary Council .

The Methodist Church.--Three times a delegate to the General Conference.

First woman trustee of Wesleyan Conference. For many years a teacher under General Board of Education. Eight years a member of The General Board of Temperance.

Secretary of Christian Social Relations, Southeastern Jurisdiction.

* * * * * * * *

In Georgia.--Served on the Boards of Georgia Conference of Social Work, the Urban League, and United Church Women of Georgia.

Moving spirit in the establishment of the Georgia Training School for Delinquent Negro Girls -- and in unhooding the Ku Klux Klan in the state and South.

In The Nation.--A member of Children's Bureau for four years. Was called to Washington to spend four and one-half months by the Federal Council, Catholic Rural Life Commission, American Federation of Labor, Farmers Union Conference of C.I.O. in the interest of the tenant farmer.

Was called to Detroit to listen-in on the dispute between General Motors and C.I.O.-AUW. Later appointed by Governor Arnold to administer the funds sent by the Federal Council of Churches to the strikers at the Chevrolet and Fisher Body Works.

Was sent with 5 men to Israel by The American Palestine Committee on a special errand.

Served on President Truman's Civil Rights Committee -- with one other woman and 13 men.

Now -- Director of Women's Work of the Southern Regional Council, directing "The Fellowship of The Concerned," on Board of Directors of American Civil Liberties Union, American for Democratic Action; Special Consultant on Christian Social Relations of the United Church Women; National Council of Churches.

CITATIONS RECEIVED

From The Atlanta Constitution and Woman's Chamber of Commerce, a chest of silver.

Other citations -- National Council of Negro Women; National Phi Mu Sorority; Emory University Chapter of Phi Sigma Alpha Fraternity; Philadelphia Fellowship Commission.

Aaronsburg Committee; Frontier Club of America, Gammon Theological Seminary; Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church; United Church Woman of The National Council of Churches, and Wesleyan College.

Paine College, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; made a Life Patron by the Woman's Society of Christian Service, North Georgia Conference.

SRC CENTRAL OFFICE FILES

Mr. Routh

"A"

General Correspondence
Aaronsburg Story
Aiken, Newton - Evening Sun
Alexander, Dr. Will
American Civil Liberties Union
American Council on Education
American Council on Human Rights

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
General Correspondence
Andrews, David
Behrman, Mayes
Bell, B. Tartt
Bennett, Richard K
Little River Farm Committee
Osborne, Irene
Queene, Anne
Copy of "The How of Merit Employment from A to Z"

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
General
Chicago
Miami
New York - General
New York - Lukas, Ed

American Jewish Congress
American Library Association
American Nurses Association
American Parents Committee, Inc.
American Teachers Association
American Veterans Committee

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
Cohen, Oscar
General Correspondence

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT (Filed alphabetically by name)
1954
1955

Ashmore, Harry
Associated Church Press
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
Atlanta University Conference - re state & central office services
Atlanta University - General Correspondence

AUDITS (File copies only)
From 1/20/54 -

"B"

BA-BH

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE FOLDERS
BA
BE
[illegible]

BI-BO

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE FOLDERS
BI
BL
BO

Board of Community Relations

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

" An Analysis
Lists
Memoranda (File Copies Only - 54-55)
Memoranda, Exec. Com. (File Copies Only - 54-55)
$100 pledges
Who's Who (Biographical Info re members)

Committees:
Finance - 1955
Nominating - 1954-55
" - 1955-56
Personnel
Program Planning

General Corres:
Haas, Leonard
Johnson, Charles S.
Wilkins, Josephine
Board - 1953-54
Board - 1955
Exec. Com., 1955

Meetings:
Exec. Com - 7/20-21/56
" " 4/20-21/56
" " 1/20-21/56
Bd. - 11/9/55
Exec. Com - 10/28-29/55
" " 8/16-17/55
" " 5/26/55
" " 2/17/55
Bd. 11/10/54
Exec. Com 7/20/54
Minutes (File Copies Only) September, '53 -

BR-BT

General Correspondence BR

BU-BZ

General Correspondence BU
" " BY
By Laws and Amendments

"C"

CA-CC

General Correspondence CA
Carnegie Corporation of America

General Correspondence CE

CH-CN

General Correspondence - CH
Charter - SRC
Child Study Association of America

CHURCHES
General Correspondence
B'hai's

Baptists:
General Correspondence
American Baptist Convention
Southern Baptist Convention

Catholic:
General Correspondence
Catholic Committee of the South - Father Shean
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
Catholic Interracial Council - George K. Hunton

Congregational:
General Correspondence
Board of Home Missions, Department of Race Relations

Disciples of Christ:
General Correspondence
Freeman, Samuel

Episcopal:
General Correspondence

Evangelical and Reformed

Lutherans:
General Correspondence

Methodists:
Board of Missions, Woman's Division of Christian Service
Board of Social and Economic Relations
Bishops, Correspondence re contributions to SRC
Division of National Missions - Corres. re contributions to SRC.
General Board of Education
General Correspondence

National Conferences:
National Conference of Christians and Jews

National Councils:
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. - J. Oscar Lee

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.-
General Correspondence
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church -
General Correspondence

Presbyterians:
General Correspondence
Christian Council of Human Relations - Carl R. Pritchett

Union of American Hebrew Con regations - Albert Vorspan
Unitarian - General Correspondence

General Correspondence CI
General Correspondence CL

CO-CQ

General Correspondence CO
Coleman, A. Lee - "Desegregation of Public Education in Kentucky"

COMMISSION ON EQUAL PENALTIES
General Correspondence - 1955
General Correspondence - 1954
General Correspondence - 1953
General Correspondence - 1951-52
Brown, Charles
Harris, E. Berkley
Harrison, Earl G.
Johnson, Guy B.
Johnson, Oakley C. - correspondence
Johnson, Oakley C. - "Is the Punishment of Rape Equally. . . "
Johnson, Otis S.
Lemann, Monte
Letters re Commission Members
Lukas, Edwin
Potter, David
Sangree, Milton Huyett
Research Material
Wright, Marion A.

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
Thesis by Edward F. Burrows - corres re
Correspondence re Files of Commission

COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Governor's Commission on Human Rights - Madison, Wisconsin
Commission on Human Relations - Kansas City, Missouri
Commission on Human Relations - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee - Cincinnati, Ohio
Mayor's Interracial Committee - Detroit, Michigan

Community Chest and Council

COUNCILS
Council Against Discrimination of Greater Chicago
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
Council of Southern Mountain Workers

Cox Committee Questionnaire

SRC Central Office Files - 5

CR-CZ

General Correspondence CR

CRACKPOTS
General Correspondence
Criticisms of SRC - general
Criticisms of SRC - Cook, Attorney General Eugene
" " " - notes on telephone conversation

General Correspondence CU

"D"

DA-DN

General Correspondence DA
General Correspondence DE
General Correspondence DI

DO-DZ

General Correspondence DO
General Correspondence DR
General Correspondence DU
Durham Conference Statement

"E"

General Correspondence E

Ehlers, Henry
Emory University - Institute of Citizenship
Emory University - Journal of Public Law

ENGAGEMENTS
January
February
March
April
May
June
July
August
September
October
November
December
Itinerary Sheets - GSM, 1954-55

"F"

FA-FN

General Correspondence FA
General Correspondence FE

FELLOWS
General Correspondence

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Fellowship of the Concerned
General Correspondence FI

FIELD TRAVEL REPORTS
Brewer, Earl
Cotton, Miss A.

Freeman, Samuel
Hunt, R. L.
Kramer, Alfred S.
McKay, Robert
Menefee, Robert
Parrish, C. H.
Vastine, William
" " - Correspondence
Weaver, Calen R

FISK UNIVERSITY
Herman Long
Institute of Race Relations - Summer '55
Southwide Interorganizational Conference

General Correspondence FL

FO-FZ

General Correspondence FO

FOUNDATIONS
General Correspondence
Doris Duke Foundation
Field Foundation, Inc.
Fund for Adult Education
Ford Foundation
Fund for the Advancement of Education
Phelps-Stokes Fund
Sidney-Hillman Foundation, Inc.
Sigmund-Silberman Foundation
John Hay Whitney Foundation

Fund for the Republic
General Correspondence - 1955
General Correspondence - 1954
General Correspondence - 1953
Freeman, David - 1955
" " - 1954
List of Key People in Southern and Border States
Loescher, Frank
~~[illegible]~~
Publicity Releases - April 11, 1954
" " - October 7, 1955
Quarterly Reports - 1955
Quarterly Reports - 1954
Request for Grant - 1955-56
Request for Grant - 1954-55
Yarmolinsky, Adam

General Correspondence FR
Freedom Agenda Program
Friedman, Alvin
Friendship House
General Correspondence FU

"G"

GA-GK

General Correspondence GA

General Correspondence GE
General Correspondence GI

GL-GZ

General Correspondence GL
General Correspondence GO
General Correspondence GR
General Correspondence GU

HAA-HAL

General Correspondence HA
[redacted]

HAM-HD

Hamilton, Scott

HE-HN

General Correspondence HE
General Correspondence HI
Highlander Folk School

HO-HT

General Correspondence HO
Howard University - Workshop on School Integratbn 1955

HU-HZ

General Co respondence HU
Hundley, George K
General Correspondence HY
Hyde-Park Kenwood Community Project (Mrs. A. L. Brody)

"I"

General Correspondence

INFORMATION
- Agriculture
- Churches (Integration)
- Church Statements
- Community Studies
- Crime and Juvenile Delinquency
- Employment and Income
- Health
- Housing
- Industrialization
- Immigration
- Ku Klux Klan
- Libraries
- Miscegenation
- Miscellaneous
- Newspaper Practices
- Police

INFORMATION (continued)
- Politics
- Population
- Professional Associations
- Publications
- Public Facilities
- Public Office
- Race Relations (General)
- Schools (Anna Greene Smith)
- Schools (integration) - general
- Schools ([redacted] Integration) - status of
- Southern Regional Council
- "Tentative Analysis of Supreme Court Implementation Decision"
- Violence (Race riots, etc.)
- White Citizens Councils

Institute of African-American Relations
Institute of Social Order - Bernard, Father Raymond, S. J.
International Development Placement Association
Inter-University Labor Education Committee

"J"

General Correspondence J
Jewish Community Relations Council
General Correspondence JO
John Dewey Society
General Correspondence JU

"K"

KA-KK

General Correspondence KA
General Correspondence KE
General Correspondence KI
King of Clubs, Inc.

KL-KZ

General Correspondence KL
General Correspondence KO
General Correspondence KR
General Correspondence KU

"L"

LA-LD

General Correspondence LA

LABOR
- General Correspondence
- Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
- American Labor Education Services

A. F. of L.
- General Correspondence
- Connors, John D.
- Meany, George
- Jones, Jimmy

LABOR (continued)
Smith, Stanton
Arizona State Federation
Kentucky State Federation
International Ladies Garment Workers' Union

CIO

Christopher, Paul
Guernsey, George T.
General Correspondence
National Community Services Committee
Reuther, Walter P.
Textile Workers Union of America
United Auto Workers
United Packinghouse Workers of America
United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum. . . Workers of America
United Steelworkers of America

LE-LN

General Correspondence LE

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
Albermarle, Va.
Atlanta, Georgia
General Correspondence

Legal Aid Society - Atlanta, Ga.
General Correspondence LI

LISTS
Church Officials
Education Officials
General - 1954-55
Labor Unions
SRC Board Members, Officers, etc.

LO-LZ

General Correspondence LO
Louisiana Committee for UNESCO

General Correspondence LU
General Correspondence LY

"M"

MA-MB

General Correspondence MA
Map-making - correspondence re
Mason, Lucy Randolph

MC-MD

General Correspondence MC

ME-MN

General Correspondence ME

SRC Central Office Files -10

MEMBERSHIP
Membership Cultivation - 1954-55
Membership Memoranda

General Correspondence MI

MITCHELL, G. S.
Articles, 1954
Articles, 1955
Biographical Data and Pictures
Clifford Jenkins - corres. re
Correspondence re Father's Ms.
Personal General - 1955
Personal General - 1953-54
Re Bruce Hunt
Speeches and Statements - 1955
Speeches and Statements - 1953-54
Tenancy Article Project

MO-MZ

General Correspondence MO

"N"

General Correspondence NA

NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People - Atlanta, Ga.
" " " " " " " - Birmingham, Ala
" " " " " " "-Mobile, Ala.
" " " " " " "- New York City

National Association of Consumers
National Assoc. Intergroup Rels. Officials - Conference on Research in Intergroup Relations 12/28-30/53
" " " " " - 1955
" " " " " - 1954

National Better Business Bureau
National Child Labor Committee
National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools
National Citizens Commission on Immigration and Citizenship
National Civil Liberties Clearing House

NATIONAL COMMITTEES
National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
National Committee for Rural Schools

National Community Relations Advisory Council

NATIONAL CONFERENCES
National Conference of Editorial Writers
National Conference of Social Work

National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
National Consumers League for Fair Labor Standards

NATIONAL COUNCILS
National Council for the Panel of Americans
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women - General Correspondence
National Council of Negro Women - Maise, Naomah
National Council of Negro Women - Mrs. William Thomas Mason
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor - General Corres.
" " " " " " " - Elizabeth B. Herring

National Education Association
National Opinion Research Center
National Religion and Labor Foundation
National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
National School Boards Association

General Correspondence NE

NEWS RELEASES
"The Attack on Free Opinion" - October, 1955
Statement of M. A. Wright - May 31, 1955
Statement of Executive Committee - March 6, 1955

NEW SOUTH
Miscellaneous
Job Description - Editorial Assistant

New York Herald Tribune Forum
New York University - Center for Human Relations Studies

General Correspondence NI
General Correspondence NO
General Correspondence NU

"O"

General Correspondence O
Oak Ridge Town Council

"P"

PA-PH

General Correspondence PA
Palo Alto Fair Play Council - Alsberg, Elsa
Parrish, C. H. - "Problems Concerning Desegregation in the Public Schools"

General Correspondence PE
General Correspondence PF
General Correspondence PH
Phi Delta Kappa - Segregation Study

PI-PZ

General Correspondence PI

General Correspondence PL
General Correspondence PO
General Correspondence PR

President's Committee on Government Contracts

PROMOTION
Answers for Action
Changing Patterns
Questions and Answers

General Correspondence PU
Public Affairs Committee

"Q"

General Correspondence Q

"R"

RA-RN

General Correspondence RA
Raab, Maxwell - Re Conference of Southern Business Leadership

General Correspondence RE
Religion and Labor Fellowship

General Correspondence RI

RO-RZ

General Correspondence RO
General Correspondence RU
General Correspondence RY

"S"

SA-SB

General Correspondence SA

SC-SD

General Correspondence SC

SE-SJ

General Correspondence SE
General Correspondence SH
General Correspondence SI

SK-SS

General Correspondence SL
General Correspondence SM

General Correspondence SN
General Correspondence SO

Southern Conference Educational Fund
Southern Education Reporting Service
Southern Police Institute
Southern Regional Education Board
Southern Sociological Society

General Correspondence SP

ST-SZ

General Correspondence ST

STAFF
General Correspondence
Activities Reports
Alexander, G. S.
Alexander, Ruth
C Constable, John Jr.
Fleming, H. C.
Hamilton, G. T.
Hope, John
Irving, Florence B.
Job Descriptions
Office Manual
Osborne, Irene
Parrish, C. H.
Routh, Frederick B.
Smith, Esther*

*Never really a staff member, but was considered, and was approved for employment by Personnel Committee

Stein, Elizabeth
General Correspondence SU
General Correspondence SW

"T"

General Correspondence TA
Tax-Exemption - SRC

General Correspondence TE
General Correspondence TH
General Correspondence TI
General Correspondence TO
General Correspondence TR
General Correspondence TU

Tuskegee Institute - Alumni Association
Tuskegee Institute - Lewis Jones "New Tenancy Contracts"
Tuskegee Institute - Rural Life Council

General Correspondence TW
General Correspondence TY

"U" and "V"

General Correspondence U and V

United States Department of Labor
United States National Student Association
University of Georgia
University of Kentucky - Seminar in Intergroup Relations
University of Melbourne
University of Michigan Workshop ½ August, 1955

URBAN LEAGUE
- General Correspondence
- Atlanta, Georgia
- New York City

Via, Emory

VIOLENCE AND VANDALISM
- AJC Commission on Law and Social Action
- Birmingham Meeting - May 15, 1954

VISITORS
- Foreign - local coordination correspondence
- Foreign - General Correspondence 1955
- Foreign - General Correspondence 1954
- General Correspondence - 1955
- Project Managers Guide

"W"

WA-WD

General Correspondence WA

WE-WH

General Correspondence WE
General Correspondence WH

WI-WZ

General Correspondence WI

WILLIAMSBURG CONFERENCE - May 6-8, 1954
- General Correspondence
- Discussion Material
- Discussion Notes
- Summarized Proceedings (Mimeographed)
- Summarized Proceedings (Memo dtd 5/20/54)

General Correspondence WO
Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation - Norfolk, Va.
Workshop for Cultural Democracy
General Correspondence WR

WRIGHT, MARION A
- General Correspondence - 1955
- General Correspondence - 1954
- Proposed Memo to PFR - August, 1955
- Proposed Statement to be made by SRC Board - 2/17/55
- Speeches (File Copies Only)

MADE IN U.S.A.

"X" "Y" and "Z"

General Correspondence

YMCA
General Correspondence 1955
General Correspondence 1954

YWCA
General Correspondence 1955
General Correspondence 1954

NOTE: This is a listing of the folders which I have found helpful and necessary to finding things in my approximately year and a half's employment at SRC. I list them in this manner so that anyone who comes in will at least be able to tell what folders are available and, in due course, use them as an initial aid in some sort of standardization of the central office files.

EAB/
11/3/55

Select Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

7/27/56

FHR'S FILES

American Friends Service Committee - General
" - Osborne, Irene

American Jewish Committee

Anti-Defamation League

Board of Directors - SRC
Board of Directors - Executive Committee - SRC

Books and Films, Literature on; Correspondence regarding

Consultant Service Program - (Does not include John Hope II correspondence)
Consultant Service Program - Hope, John, II - Correspondence

Council of Southern Mountains

Decision Pamphlet - Replies

Employment, Discrimination in - (For New Orleans panel)

Encampment for Citizenship

Fisk Institute on Race Relations - General
" - Comments

Fund for the Republic - (Ford Foundation) - General Correspondence
" - Loescher, Frank - Correspondence

Future of SRC

Highlander Folk School

Human Relations Organizations - Cities; Colleges

Lists
" - Out-dated

National Civil Liberties Clearing House
" - Conference, New York, March 1956

National Conference of Christians and Jews

National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers

Newsletter - SRC
" - Items

Parrish, C. H. - Letters, memos, reports, etc.

Progress Report Card

Riots - Riots, Race Riots, Riot Prevention

SRC - ~~Central office files - List~~
- Descriptive Files - Central office, State, + FBR's - Lists
- Office Manual
- Program planning

Speeches - Miscellaneous - (Fred Routh's, Marion Wright's filed separately in respective folders)

U. S. President's Committees

Wright, Marion A.

NAIRO

- By-laws and membership rosters
- Correspondence, General
- Memos (General) - Reports, Speeches, Statements, and NAIRO Resolution
- Meetings, Correspondence regarding
- Minutes of meetings
- Newsletter and Executive Family Letter
- Reporter

FREDERICK B. ROUTH (Reports, Speeches, Personal Correspondence)

- Personal Correspondence - General
- " - University of Miami
- Reports - articles and such
- Speeches
- Future speaking engagements
- Past speaking engagements - 1955-56 - Miscellaneous
- Past speaking engagements - California, Washington, May 1956 - (ACLU - L. A., SFCCU, S. F., CUC - Seattle)
- Past speaking engagements - University of Oklahoma, June 1956 - (Southern Conference on Human Relations Education - A.D.L.)

MEMOS

- Interoffice
- GSM - To and from
- Johnson, Bob
- Copies of letters and memos sent out by other staff members

REPORTS (FBR's filed in his section)

- Earl D. C. Brewer
- Financial
- Grace T. Hamilton
- Miscellaneous
- Quarterly

STATE ORGANIZATIONS - General

State organizations - Board of Directors - I - (not to be removed from FBR file)
" - Board of Directors - II - (Mimeographed)
" - By-laws (policy)
" - Evaluation memos
" - General
" - Letters to State people (Does not include memos)
" - Maps
" - Memoranda to State people (Does not include letters)
" - Memoranda to State people - # 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
" - Review of State activities
" - Staff personnel

STATE ORGANIZATIONS - By State

Alabama
Arkansas
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
Louisiana
Mississippi
North Carolina
Oklahoma
South Carolina
Tennessee
" - Special
Texas
Virginia

INCOME

January 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957

GENERAL BUDGET

Balance on Hand - January 1, 1957		$1,141.00
Contributions:		
Foundations:		
New-Land Foundation	$2,500.00	
Field Foundation	3,000.00	
William C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	
New York Fund for Children	10,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	
Adele R. Levy Fund	2,500.00	
Marion R. Ascoli Fund	500.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	300.00	
Fund for the Republic	32,666.66	
New World Foundation (Overhead Allocation)	2,000.00	
		$63,866.66
Individuals	4,815.18	
Organizations	5,568.00	
Churches	4,095.00	
		14,478.18
Interest Income		2,862.97
Office Related Income:		
(1) Subscriptions, Sale of Literature, Honoraria, etc.		8,717.09
(2) Reimbursement from Consultant Service Program for Project Expenses Incurred 1956		2,455.32
Total Income, General Budget		$92,380.22

Consultant Service Program:

Balance, January 1, 1957	$ 7,538.33	
New World Foundation Grant	20,000.00	
Total Income for Project:		$27,538.33

Fact-Finding Program:

Balance, January 1, 1957 (Carried Over From 1956)	$19,810.50	

Fellowship of the Concerned (Women's Work):

John Hay Whitney Foundation Balance January 1, 1957	1,199.84	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	
Travel Refunds	79.18	
Total for Project:		$3,279.02

Total Income, General Budget and Projects $143,008.07

E X P E N S E S

January 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957

GENERAL BUDGET

Salaries	$66,942.65	
Consultant Fees	1,153.04	
Rent	1,722.00	
Fire and Bond Insurance	722.69	
New South, Printing and Postage	6,236.90	
Postage	1,068.91	
Printing	752.72	
Office Equipment	350.40	
Office Supplies	1,598.24	
Misc. Expense	160.68	
Georgia State Sales Tax	26.16	
Books and Subscriptions	336.42	
Executive Committee Meetings and Annual Meeting	2,112.62	
Legal and Accounting	205.00	
Social Security Tax Expense	1,033.16	
Bank Charges	.45	
Telephone and Telegraph	2,995.54	
Total Expenses, General Budget:		$87,417.58

Consultant Service Program:

Consultant Fees	7,456.86	
Travel	7,237.97	
Overhead to General Budget	2,000.00	
Project Expenses 1956 Incurred to General Budget	2,455.32	
General Budget for Intern Program	4,955.80	
Total Expenses for Project:		24,105.95

Fact-Finding Program:

Consultant Fees	6,084.95	
Travel	1,123.50	
Printing	2,328.11	
Overhead to General Budget	3,500.00	
Office Equipment	998.15	
Total Expenses for Project:		14,034.71

Fellowship of the Concerned (Women's Work):

Travel Expenses for Meetings		2,760.20
Total Expenses, General Budget and Projects:		$128,318.44

Expenses (Continued)

Total Income	$143,008.07
Less: Total Expenses	128,318.44
Balance, January 1, 1958	$ 14,689.63

(See attached schedule for income and disbursements to state organizations.)

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

January 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1957 ..... (Fund for Republic Grant for State Subsidies)	$66,042.61
Grants-in-Aid to States (1 Quarter) ..... (From General Funds for State Aid)	10,125.00
Special Project Grant (Arkansas) ..... (From Fund for the Republic)	1,500.00
Total Income:	$77,667.61

EXPENSE

Salaries	$60,184.38	
Consultant Fees and Travel	2,214.52	
Local Expenses for Mississippi, Tennessee and Virginia	1,418.68	
Liability Insurance	61.46	
Grants-in-Aid to States (1 Quarter)	9,500.00	
Reserved for Louisiana Effort (1 Quarter)	625.00	
Social Security Tax Expense	1,369.00	
Special Project Grant (Arkansas)	1,500.00	
Miscellaneous Expense	129.18	
Total Expense:		$77,002.22

Balance, January 1, 1958 ..... 665.39

SRC INCOME - MAJOR SOURCES - 1954-1957

SOURCE	1954	1955	1956	1957
I. Foundations:				
1. Marion R. Ascoli Fund	$ 300.00	$ 300.00		500.00
2. Rita H. Aroustorn Charitable and Educational Foundation		50.00		
3. Community Workshop Associates		100.00	100.00	100.00
4. Doris Duke Foundation		10,000.00	7,000.00	
5. Field Foundation		7,000.00	5,000.00	3,000.00
6. Ford Foundation	5,000.00			
7. Fund for the Republic	(See Below)*			(See Below)**
8. Sidney Hillman Foundation	1,500.00	200.00		
9. Lucius & Eva Eastman Fund	250.00			
10. Adele R. Levy Fund				2,500.00
11. Miller & Rhodes Foundation		200.00		
12. New Land Foundation				2,500.00
13. New World Foundation			17,000.00	20,000.00
14. New York Fund for Children				10,000.00
15. Phelps-Stokes Fund			2,000.00	2,000.00
16. Christopher Reynolds Foundation			5,000.00	5,000.00
17. Sigmund Silberman Foundation	300.00	300.00	400.00	400.00
18. Edgar B. Stern Family Fund	300.00	300.00	100.00	300.00
19. John Hay Whitney Foundation		1,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
20. William C. Whitney Foundation				5,000.00
21. Samuel & Augusta Rosenwald Foundation	200.00			
	$7,850.00	$19,450.00	$38,600.00	$53,300.00

*Since April 1, 1954 the Fund for the Republic has made grants to the SRC for the following amounts and purposes:

1. Direct Aid to State Groups	$345,000.00
2. Central Program of the SRC	155,000.00
3. Fact-Finding Program	50,000.00
4. Meeting of Selected Bi-racial Group of Southern Leaders	5,000.00
5. Special Publication Grant	1,000.00
	$556,000.00

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**The Fund for the Republic has made a grant of $200,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council for the 39-month period October 1, 1957-December 31, 1960. The grant is not earmarked, but our present planning provides for aid to state groups in an amount approximately 60% of the grant.

1 500
2 500
2 500
10 000
5 000
6 000
26,500

II. Churches:	1954	1955	1956	1957
The Board of Education of the Methodist Church	$ 300.00	$ 300.00	$ 300.00	$ 300.00
Division of Nat'l. Missions of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church	250.00	750.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church	1,200.00	1,200.00	1,200.00	1,200.00
The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Board of Nat'l. Missions of the Presbyterian Church USA	200.00	200.00	200.00	300.00
Board of Church Extension, the Presbyterian Church US	200.00	200.00		300.00
Michigan Annual Conference of the AME Zion Church		100.00		
Georgia Conference of the AME Zion Church		25.00	25.00	
Woman's Society of Christian Service in the South	154.00	125.00	25.00	50.00
Fisk Union Church		20.00	20.00	30.00
Disciples of Christ Peace Fellowship	15.00			
Women's Auxiliary, Diocese of Florida	15.00			
	$3,334.00	$3,920.00	$3,770.00	$4,180.00

	1954	1955	1956	1957
III. Labor Organizations:				
International Ladies Garment Workers' Union	500.00	500.00	500.00	500.00
United Rubber Workers of America	200.00	100.00		
United Auto Workers	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
United Steelworkers of America	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
AFL-CIO	2,000.00	1,750.00	2,375.00	3,000.00 +1
	$4,700.00	$4,350.00	$4,875.00	$5,500.00
IV. Contributions - Individuals:	$1,620.04	$3,694.00	$3,116.00	$4,434.77 +3

H.C.F.

File

INCOME

January 1, 1958 to April 30, 1958

Balance on Hand - January 1, 1958		$ 10,609.63
Contributions:		
Foundations:		
Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.	$ 5,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	
Anna H. and Elizabeth H. Chace Fund	5,000.00	
The Field Foundation, Inc.	10,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	100.00	25,500.00
Individuals	325.00	
Organizations	2,500.00	
Churches	675.00	3,500.00
Quarterly appropriation (FFR Grant, 1958)		9,400.00
Office Related Income:		
Subscriptions, Sale of Literature, Honoraria and SRC Members' Dues		1,848.34
Total Income		$ 50,857.97

EXPENSE

Salaries	22,755.42	
Social Security Tax Expense	384.80	
Travel	1,708.18	
New South Printing and Postage	2,618.56	
Rent	1,200.00	
Telephone and Telegraph	1,079.12	
Printing	1,137.09	
Postage	317.57	
Books and Subscriptions	122.24	
Accounting and Legal	75.00	
Office Repairs and Redecoration	1,319.94	
Office Supplies and Equipment	4,011.16	
Executive Committee Meeting	230.28	
Miscellaneous Expense	133.22	
Consultant Fees	87.50	
Total Expenses		37,180.08
Balance on Hand - May 1, 1958		$ 13,677.89

May 14, 1958

Submitted to Rockefeller Bros. fund 1/14/58

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS - 1958

Amount Budgeted		$207,598.00
Amount Carried Over From 1957:		
Cash Balance 1/1/58	$3,997.00	
Fact-finding Balance	5,775.00	
Consultant Program Balance	3,432.00	
Total:		$13,204.00
On Hand or Committed by Contributors:		
Fund for Republic Allocation	$76,800.00	
New York Fund for Children	7,500.00	
William C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	
Aaron E. Norman Fund	5,000.00	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	
The Methodist Church	1,500.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.	250.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	250.00	
United Steelworkers Union	1,000.00	
Interest on Investments	7,116.00	
Total:		$108,416.00
Income Expectable:		
New World Foundation	$20,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	
Edgar B. Stern Family Fund	300.00	
AFL-CIO	3,000.00	
ILGWU	500.00	
United Auto Workers	1,000.00	
The Protestant Episcopal Church	1,000.00	
Methodist Woman's Division	1,200.00	
Individual Contributions	2,000.00	
Office-Related Income (Subscriptions, sale of literature, honoraria, etc.)	8,500.00	
Total:		$ 42,900.00
		$164,520.00
Balance to be Raised	$43,078.00	
Less Reduction if request approved by Rockefeller Brothers Fund	9,000.00	
Remaining balance	$34,078.00	
Grant Requests Under Consideration:		
New York Foundation	$15,000.00	
Jacob R. Schiff Fund	15,000.00	
Benjamin E. Rosenthal Fund	5,000.00	
Total Requested:	$35,000.00	

Grant Requests in Preparation:

Prynce Hopkins Charities Fund	$ 5,000.00
*Marion R. Ascoli Fund	500.00
*New-Land Foundation	2,500.00
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust	5,000.00
Chace Fund	5,000.00
Total to be Requested:	$18,000.00

In addition, preliminary discussion or correspondence has been carried on with other foundations which will be applied to in coming months. (Field, Sunstein, Old Dominion, etc.)

*Contributed in 1957.

Mimeographed

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS

BUDGETS AND INCOME FORECAST

1 9 5 8

Page 1 Minimum Operating Budget

Page 2 Additional Needs for Program, Contingent on Available Funds

Page 3 Income Forecast

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

MINIMUM OPERATING BUDGET - January 1 - December 31, 1958*

Central Office - Program & Administration

Salaries	$ 70,368.00
Social Security Taxes	1,355.00
Travel	8,500.00
Printing & Postage, NEW SOUTH	7,150.00
Printing, Other	1,500.00
Rent	3,600.00
Telephone & Telegraph	4,880.00
Postage	1,400.00
Books and Subscriptions	750.00
Accounting & Legal Fees	600.00
Insurance	300.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	4,550.00
Office Repairs and Redecoration	1,750.00
Annual Meeting & Exec. Comm. Mtgs.	3,300.00
Miscellaneous	2,200.00
	$112,203.00

Consultant Service Program

Total Cost of Program	$20,000.00 (15,000)	
Apprentice Training Project	3,750.00	
		23,750.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Meetings and Material Distribution	5,500.00	
		5,500.00

Financial Aid to Independent State Councils of Human Relations	40,000.00	
		40,000.00

TOTAL: $ 181,453.00
(176,453)

*Approved by the Southern Regional Council at Annual Meeting, November 12, 1957, subject to review and revision by the Executive Committee.

ADDITIONAL NEEDS FOR PROGRAM, CONTINGENT ON AVAILABLE FUNDS

Central Office - Program & Administration

Salaries	$ 4,200.00	
Social Security Taxes ..	94.50	
Travel	1,500.00	
Printing	1,000.00	
Postage	400.00	
		$ 7,194.50

Fellowship of the Concerned

Salaries & Travel Expenses (One Churchwoman in each of five states)	5,000.00	
		5,000.00 (2,000 met)

Fact-Finding Program

Consultant Fees, Research and Publication of Findings	14,000.00	(2,000 met)
		14,000.00

Total: $ 26,194.50

Minimum Operating Budget	$ 181,453.00 (176,453)
Additional Needs for Program	26,194.50
TOTAL PROPOSED BUDGET:	$ 207,647.50* (202,647.50)

*Approved by the Executive Committee, January 29, 1958.

INCOME FORECAST

Funds Carried Over - January 1, 1958			$ 13,204.00
Income - Committed or Expectable			
Foundations:			
Fund for the Republic	$76,800.00		
New World Foundation	20,000.00	15,000 not acted on	
New York Fund for Children	7,500.00		
Aaron Norman Fund	5,000.00		
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00		
William C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00		
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00		
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00		
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	(100.00)	
Edgar B. Stern Family Fund	300.00		
		$124,000.00	$126,800
Organizations:			
AFL-CIO	3,000.00		
International Ladies' Garment Workers	500.00		
United Auto Workers	1,000.00	not acted on	
United Steelworkers	1,000.00		
		5,500.00	$2,500.00
Churches:			
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church	1,000.00	not acted on	
General Board of Education The Methodist Church	300.00	(150.00)	
Div. of Nat'l. Missions of the Board of Missions - The Methodist Church	1,000.00		
WDCS - The Methodist Church	1,200.00		
Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church in U.S.	250.00		
Board of Nat'l. Missions, Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.	250.00		
		4,000.00	$2,875.00
Estimated Individual Contributions:	2,000.00		
		2,000.00	$325.00
Estimated Office Related Income			
(New South subscriptions, sale of literature, honoraria, etc.)	8,500.00		$1,848.34
		8,500.00	
TOTAL:			$ 157,204.00

Plus:
New York 5M
Chase 5M
Cabot 2M
Field 10M
New Land 1M
Total 23M

Plus:
Halston Conf.
W.S.C.S. $25.00

Total funds raised: $147,552.34 + remaining income expectable: $25,327.00 = $172,879.34

BALANCE TO BE RAISED - 1958 $50,443.50

New balance to be raised: ~~$24,897.~~ $29,768.16

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM January 6, 1959

To: Members of the Board

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Re: NEW FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR SRC AND STATE COUNCILS.

As the New Year begins, I am glad to be able to report a substantial contribution to our work that was as unanticipated as it was generous. An individual donor who prefers to remain anonymous has contributed the following amounts for the purposes indicated:

$25,000 to be distributed among the State Councils on Human Relations associated with SRC. The specified division of these funds is generally proportionate to the allocations of SRC aid approved by the Annual Meeting. This amount, added to that budgeted by SRC from its general funds, totals $60,000 aid to state groups in 1959.

$50,000 toward support of SRC's research and information activities for two years (that is, $25,000 annually for 1959 and 1960).

$20,000 for support of SRC's Consultant Service Program during 1959.

This opportunity arose and had to be acted on very suddenly. However, the staff discussed this request by telephone with the President and other members of the Executive Committee who were immediately

available. Also, you will note that each of the activities assisted was a part of our planned program for 1959.

Since the donor is emphatic about the anonymity of this contribution, we are naturally treating the gift and its source as confidential.

All good wishes for the New Year.

- : -

See finance

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PROPOSED REVISED BUDGET
(To be submitted to Executive Committee on January 26, 1959)

Synopsis

General Operations	
Proposed Budget - 1959	$144,700.00
Income Expectable - 1959	106,500.00
Balance to be Raised	$ 38,200.00

Special Projects	
Proposed Budget - 1959	$137,500.00
Income Expectable - 1959	130,000.00
Balance to be Raised	$ 7,500.00

Gen'l. Operations Budget - 1959 Page 2
Income Expectable - Gen'l. Oper. Page 3
Special Projects - Budgets and Income Expectable Page 4

PROPOSED BUDGETS - JANUARY 1 - DECEMBER 31, 1959

I. General Operations

Minimum Operating Budget

Salaries	$ 69,150.00
Social Security Taxes	1,400.00
Travel	7,300.00
Printing & Postage, New South	8,500.00
Printing, Other	1,500.00
Rent	3,600.00
Telephone & Telegraph	4,550.00
Postage	1,800.00
Accounting & Legal Fees	600.00
Books & Subscriptions	350.00
Insurance	1,100.00
Office Equipment	1,300.00
Office Repairs & Maintenance	250.00
Sales Taxes & Other Sp. Chgs.	200.00
Bank Charges	200.00
Board & Exec. Comm. Mtgs.	3,300.00
Miscellaneous	1,000.00
Aid to State Councils	35,000.00
TOTAL, GENERAL OPERATIONS	$144,700.00

INCOME EXPECTABLE - 1959
(General Operations)

Foundations*

Fund for the Republic	$50,000.00	
N. Y. Fund for Children	5,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	
Wm. C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	
New World Foundation	15,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	
Edgar B. Stern Family Fund	100.00	
		$80,500.00

Organizations

AFL-CIO	$1,000.00	
United Auto Workers	1,000.00	
United Steelworkers	1,000.00	
ILGWU	500.00	
Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights	2,000.00	
		$ 5,500.00

Churches

Nat'l. Council, Protestant Episcopal Church	$1,000.00	
Women's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church	1,200.00	
Div. of Nat'l. Missions, Bd. of Missions, Methodist Church	1,000.00	
Gen'l. Bd. of Education, The Methodist Church	300.00	
Presbyterian Church, U. S.	250.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	250.00	
		$ 4,000.00

Other

Individual Contributions	$3,000.00	
Office Related Income	7,500.00	
Overhead from Project Funds	6,000.00	
		$ 16,500.00

TOTAL, GENERAL OPERATIONS: $106,500.00

*Contributions totaling $12,500.00 were received during 1958 for the first time from The Chace Fund, Hopkins Charitable Trust and the New York Foundation. Though further grants will be requested, there is no basis in experience for predicting renewed support.

II. Special Projects

Operating Budgets

Southern Leadership Project	$40,000.00	
Consultant Service Program	20,000.00	
Special Aid to State Councils	25,000.00	
SRC Research Department	25,000.00	
Contingency Fund	10,000.00	
Fellowship of the Concerned	7,500.00	
Fact-Finding (Voter Survey)	5,000.00	
Interagency Coordination	5,000.00	
TOTAL:		$137,500.00

Income Expectable

Southern Leadership Project (Rockefeller Brothers Fund)		$40,000.00	
Consultant Service Program (Individual Donor)		20,000.00	
Special Aid to State Councils (Individual Donor)		25,000.00	
SRC Research Department (Individual Donor)		25,000.00	
Contingency Fund (New World Foundation)		10,000.00	
Fellowship of the Concerned			
John Hay Whitney Foundation	$2,000.00		
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00		
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust	1,000.00		
		5,000.00	
Fact-Finding (Voter Survey)		5,000.00	
TOTAL:			$130,000.00
BALANCE TO BE RAISED:			$7,500.00

Submitted to Carver Francis

INCOME AND EXPENSES - SPECIAL PROJECTS

January 1 - September 30, 1959

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1959 (Individual Donor)		$50,000.00*
Travel refunds	$ 91.32	
Books and Subscriptions refund	1.00	92.32
Total Income		$50,092.32

EXPENSES

Salaries	$ 10,661.07	
Travel and Communication	1,133.10	
Printing	1,397.68	
Books and Subscriptions	359.38	
Program Materials	1,000.00	
Equipment	716.37	
Office Supplies	230.41	
Consultant Fees	850.00	
Consultant Travel	73.60	
Postage	30.00	
Total Expenses		$16,451.61
Balance, September 30, 1959		$33,640.71

*$25,000. allocated for 1960

* * * * * * * *

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1959:		
Carry over - New World Foundation, 1958	$ 7,831.48	
Individual Donor, 1958 for 1959	20,000.00	
Total Income		$27,831.48

EXPENSES

Consultants' Fees	$ 3,710.00	
Travel and Communication	3,156.34	
Program Materials	769.25	
Overhead	2,000.00	
Total Expenses		$ 9,635.59
Balance, September 30, 1959		$18,195.89

SPECIAL AID TO STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1959 (Individual Donor)	$25,000.00	
Total Income		$25,000.00

EXPENSES

Alabama Council on Human Relations	$ 3,500.00	
Arkansas Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
Florida Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
Georgia Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
Kentucky Council on Human Relations	1,000.00	
North Carolina Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
South Carolina Council on Human Relations	3,000.00	
Tennessee Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
Virginia Council on Human Relations	3,000.00	
Staff work in Mississippi and Louisiana	2,000.00	
Total Expenses		$25,000.00

Balance, September 30, 1959 -0-

INCOME AND EXPENSES - GENERAL OPERATIONS

January 1 - September 30, 1959

INCOME:

Foundations			
Fund for the Republic (received 1957)		$53,280.00	
The Field Foundation		20,000.00	
The New York Fund for Children		5,000.00	
New York Foundation		3,750.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation		2,000.00	
William C. Whitney Foundation		2,500.00	$ 86,530.00
Organizations - Labor			
United Steelworkers of America		1,000.00	
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union		500.00	
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations		1,000.00	2,500.00
Churches			
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions, Methodist Church		1,200.00	
Board of National Missions of the Methodist Church		750.00	
Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, USA		250.00	
Board of Education of the Methodist Church		225.00	
Woman's Societies of Christian Service:			
Florida Conference	25.00		
North Carolina Conference	25.00	50.00	2,475.00
Office Related Income			
Individuals		800.00	
NEW SOUTH Subscriptions		4,068.71	
Sale of Literature		517.62	
Dividends on Securities		2,223.90	
Interest Income		3,495.61	
Honoraria		135.00	
Associate Members		31.00	
Overhead from Project Grants		6,000.00	17,271.84
Total Income			$108,776.84

INCOME AND EXPENSES - GENERAL OPERATIONS

January 1 - September 30, 1959

EXPENSES:

Salaries	$49,389.48	
Social Security Taxes	1,339.20	
Travel	4,225.57	
Telephone and Telegraph	2,154.46	
Executive Committee Meetings	884.21	
Consultant Fees for General Operations	875.00	
Books and Subscriptions	631.27	
Office Supplies	1,367.93	
NEW SOUTH Postage	1,287.02	
Postage - Other	1,449.73	
NEW SOUTH Printing	4,187.26	
Printing - Other	1,669.95	
Liability Insurance	67.46	
Rent	2,700.00	
Legal and Accounting	225.00	
Georgia Sales Tax	13.65	
Miscellaneous	560.10	
Grants-in-aid to State Councils	24,450.00	
Group Hospitalization Insurance	240.42	
Group Term Life Insurance	247.61	
Total Expenses		$ 98,235.74

Total Income	$108,776.84
Less, Total Expenses	98,235.74
Balance, September 30, 1959	$ 10,541.10

INCOME AND EXPENSES - SPECIAL PROJECTS

January 1 - September 30, 1959

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1959 (Individual Donor)		$50,000.00*
Travel refunds	$ 91.32	
Books and Subscriptions refund	1.00	92.32
Total Income		$50,092.32

EXPENSES

Salaries	$ 10,661.07	
Travel and Communication	1,133.10	
Printing	1,397.68	
Books and Subscriptions	359.38	
Program Materials	1,000.00	
Equipment	716.37	
Office Supplies	230.41	
Consultant Fees	850.00	
Consultant Travel	73.60	
Postage	30.00	
Total Expenses		$16,451.61
Balance, September 30, 1959		$33,640.71

*$25,000. allocated for 1960

* * * * * * * *

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1959:		
Carry over - New World Foundation, 1958	$ 7,831.48	
Individual Donor, 1958 for 1959	20,000.00	
Total Income		$27,831.48

EXPENSES

Consultants' Fees	$ 3,710.00	
Travel and Communication	3,156.34	
Program Materials	769.25	
Overhead	2,000.00	
Total Expenses		$ 9,635.59
Balance, September 30, 1959		$18,195.89

INCOME AND EXPENSES - SPECIAL PROJECTS

January 1 - September 30, 1959

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT
(Project fiscal year ends May 31, 1960)

INCOME

Balance, Janaury 1, 1959 (Rockefeller Brothers Fund)		$37,240.02

EXPENSES

Salaries	$ 2,400.00	
Travel and Communication	1,919.96	
Office Expense	972.86	
Program Materials	770.80	
Consultant Fees	425.40	
Printing and Distribution	1,282.19	
Overhead	4,000.00	
Total Expenses		$11,771.21
Balance, September 30, 1959		$25,468.81

* * * * * * * *

CONTINGENCY FUND

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1959 (New World Foundation)		$ 9,400.00

EXPENSES

Georgia Council on Human Relations	$ 1,020.00	
United Liberal Church	1,000.00	
Delta Foundation	425.00	
Georgia Council of Churches	20.00	
Unitarian Church of Norfolk, Virginia	500.00	
Virginia Council on Human Relations	150.00	
Printing	196.52	
Community Educational Service - Emory University	186.95	
Total Expenses		$ 3,498.47
Balance, September 30, 1959		$ 5,901.53

INCOME AND EXPENSES - SPECIAL PROJECTS

January 1 - September 30, 1959

NEGRO REGISTRATION AND VOTING

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1959 (The Field Foundation)		$ 7,933.21

EXPENSES

Salaries	$ 947.50	
Consultants' Fees	1,022.50	
Travel and Communication	841.21	
Printing - Project Report	3,193.00	
Total Expenses		$ 6,004.21
Balance, September 30, 1959		$ 1,929.00

* * * * * * * * *

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1959		$ 2,594.55
Phelps-Stokes Fund	$ 2,000.00	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	
Winston-Salem Y.W.C.A.	50.00	
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority	57.65	
Honoraria	30.00	4,137.65
Total Income		$ 6,732.20

EXPENSES

Local Meetings	$ 272.66	
Travel expenses for other meetings	398.32	
Program Materials	65.29	
Total Expenses		$ 736.27
Balance, September 30, 1959		$ 5,995.93

File "SRC Finances"

November 17, 1959

FROM THE BY-LAWS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.:

Section 8. Treasurer:

The treasurer shall have charge of and be responsible for all funds, securities, receipts and disbursements of the corporation, and shall deposit, or cause to be deposited, in the name of the corporation, all monies or other valuable effects in such banks, trust companies, or other depositories as shall, from time to time, be selected by the Council; he shall render to the president and to the Council annually, and at other times whenever requested, an account of the financial condition of the corporation; and, in general, shall perform all duties incident to the office of a treasurer of a corporation, and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 8A. Secretary-Treasurer:

All or some of the duties contained in Sections 7 and 8 may be assigned to one person. This person will be designated Secretary-Treasurer.

Atlanta, Georgia
November 17, 1959

I hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of an excerpt from the By-Laws of the Southern Regional Council referring to the duties of the Secretary-Treasurer and the powers incident thereto.

/s/ Harold C. Fleming

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

BUDGET WORK SHEET

I. GENERAL OPERATIONS — 1959

Salaries	$ 82,750.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,465.00	
Travel	8,500.00	
Printing & Postage, NEW SOUTH	8,500.00	
Printing, Other	1,500.00	
Rent	3,600.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,800.00	
Postage	1,800.00	
Accounting & Legal Fees	600.00	
Insurance	500.00	
Office Equipment	2,300.00	
Office Supplies	3,600.00	
Office Repairs & Maintenance	750.00	
Sales Taxes & Other Special Charges	200.00	
Bank Charges	200.00	
Commercial Clerical Services	200.00	
Board & Exec. Committee Mtgs.	3,300.00	
Staff Ins. Benefits	600.00	
Miscellaneous	900.00	
Aid to Independent State Councils on Human Relations	3,500.00	
Total:		$161,065.00

II. SPECIAL PROJECTS

Southern Leadership Project	$ 40,000.00	
Consultant Service Program	20,000.00	
Fellowship of Concerned	9,500.00	
Fact-Finding (Voting Survey)	5,000.00	
Interagency Cooperation	5,000.00	
Total:		$ 79,500.00
GRAND TOTAL:		$240,565.00

File Copy

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PROPOSED BUDGETS AND INCOME EXPECTABLE - 1959

Synopsis

General Operations	
Proposed Budget - 1959	$161,865.00
Income Expectable - 1959	109,000.00
Balance to be Raised	$ 52,865.00

Special Projects	
Proposed Budget - 1959	$ 79,500.00
Income Expectable - 1959	76,000.00
Balance to be Raised	$ 3,500.00

Total Proposed Budget	$241,365.00
Total Income Expectable	185,000.00
BALANCE TO BE RAISED	$ 56,365.00

Proposed Budgets - 1959
General Operations Page 2
Special Projects Page 2

Income Expectable - 1959
General Operations Page 3
Special Projects Page 4

PROPOSED BUDGETS - 1959

I. General Operations

Salaries	$ 83,450.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,665.00	
Travel	8,500.00	
Printing & Postage, NEW SOUTH	8,500.00	
Printing, Other	1,500.00	
Rent	3,600.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,800.00	
Postage	1,800.00	
Accounting & Legal Fees	600.00	
Insurance	1,100.00	
Office Equipment	2,300.00	
Office Supplies	3,600.00	
Office Repairs & Maintenance	750.00	
Sales Taxes & Other Special Charges	200.00	
Bank Charges	200.00	
Board & Exec. Comm. Mtgs.	3,300.00	
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	
Aid to State Councils on Human Relations	35,000.00	$161,865.00

II. Special Projects

Southern Leadership Project	$ 40,000.00	
Consultant Service Program	20,000.00	
Fellowship of Concerned	9,500.00	
Fact-Finding (Voter Survey)	5,000.00	
Interagency Cooperation	5,000.00	$ 79,500.00

TOTAL: $ 241,365.00

INCOME EXPECTABLE - 1959

I. General Operations

Foundations*		
Fund for the Republic	$ 60,000.00	
N. Y. Fund for Children	5,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	
Wm. C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	
Edgar B. Stern Family Fund	100.00	$ 75,000.00
Labor		
AFL-CIO	2,000.00	
United Auto Workers	1,000.00	
United Steelworkers	1,000.00	
ILGWU	500.00	
Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties & Rights	2,000.00	$ 5,500.00
Churches		
Nat'l. Council, Protestant Episcopal Church	$ 1,000.00	
Women's Division of Christian Serv., Methodist Church	1,200.00	
Div. of Nat'l. Missions, Bd. of Missions, Methodist Church	1,000.00	
Gen'l. Bd. of Education, the Methodist Church	300.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.	250.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	250.00	$ 4,000.00
Other		
Individual Contributions	$ 3,000.00	
Office Related Income	7,500.00	
Overhead from Project Funds	14,500.00	$ 25,000.00
TOTAL, GENERAL OPERATIONS:		$109,500.00

*Contributions totaling $12,500 were received during 1958 for the first time from The Chace Fund, Hopkins Charitable Trust and the New York Foundation. Though further grants will be requested, there is no basis in experience for predicting renewed support.

Income Expectable - 1959 (continued)

II. Special Projects

Rockefeller Brothers Fund (Leadership Project)	$40,000.00	
New World Foundation (Consultant Ser. Program)	20,000.00	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust Fund (Work with Church Women)	2,000.00	
Field Foundation - budgeted for '58 grant (Voting Survey)	5,000.00	
Norman Fund (Interagency Coordination)	5,000.00	
TOTAL, SPECIAL PROJECTS		$76,000.00

Draft - Sent to Garrison

I.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

GENERAL OPERATIONS BUDGET
Actual 1958 and Estimated Minimum 1959

	Actual 1958	Estimated 1959
Salaries	$70,368.00	$77,600.00
Social Security Taxes	1,355.00	1,750.00
Travel	8,500.00	8,500.00
Printing & Postage, NEW SOUTH	7,150.00	8,850.00
Printing, Other	1,500.00	1,500.00
Rent	3,600.00	3,600.00
Telephone & Telegraph	4,880.00	4,880.00
Postage	1,400.00	1,800.00
Accounting & Legal Fees	600.00	600.00
Insurance	300.00	500.00
Office Equipment)	4,550.00	(1,800.00
Office Supplies)		(3,600.00
Office Repairs & Maintenance	1,750.00	750.00
Sales Taxes & Other Special Charges	--	200.00
Bank Charges	--	200.00
Commercial Clerical Services	--	750.00
Board and Executive Committee Meetings	3,300.00	3,300.00
Miscellaneous	2,200.00	900.00
Aid to Independent State Councils On Human Relations	40,500.00	40,000.00
Total, General Operations	$152,703.00	$161,080.00

General Operations	
Estimated Minimum Needs, 1959	$161,080.00
Income Expectable, 1959 (See Page II)	104,000.00
BALANCE TO BE RAISED:	$ 57,080.00

II.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

GENERAL OPERATIONS INCOME
Actual 1958 and Expectable 1959

	Actual 1958	Expectable 1959	Totals 1959
Foundations			
Fund for the Republic	$ 74,600.00	$ 60,000.00	
N. Y. Fund for Children	7,500.00	5,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	5,000.00	
Wm. C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	5,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	400.00	
Edgar B. Stern Family Fund	100.00	100.00	
The Chace Fund	5,000.00	-- *	
Hopkins Charitable Trust	2,500.00	-- *	
New York Foundation	5,000.00	-- *	
New Land Foundation	1,000.00	--	
	($106,100.00)		$75,500.00
Labor			
AFL-CIO	1,000.00	1,000.00	
United Auto Workers	--	1,000.00	
United Steelworkers	1,000.00	1,000.00	
ILGWU	500.00	500.00	
	($ 2,500.00)		3,500.00
Churches			
Nat'l. Council, Protestant Episcopal Church	--	1,000.00	
Women's Div. of Christian Ser., The Methodist Church	1,200.00	1,200.00	
Div. of Nat'l. Missions, Bd. of Missions, The Methodist Church	1,000.00	1,000.00	
Gen'l. Bd. of Education, The Methodist Church	300.00	300.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.	250.00	250.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	250.00	250.00	
	($ 3,000.00)		4,000.00
Other			
Individual Contributions	2,000.00	3,000.00	
Office Related Income	6,500.00	7,500.00	
Overhead from Project Funds	10,500.00	10,500.00	
	($ 19,000.00)		21,000.00
1959 TOTAL, GENERAL OPERATIONS:			$104,000.00

*Contributed for first time in 1958. Though further grants will be requested, there is no basis in experience for predicting renewed support.

III.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SPECIAL PROJECTS BUDGETS AND INCOME
Actual 1958 and Expectable 1959

BUDGETS

	Actual 1958	Estimated 1959	
Southern Leadership Project	$40,000.00	$40,000.00	
Consultant Service Program	15,000.00	20,000.00	
Labor Consultant	7,000.00	8,000.00	
Fellowship of the Concerned (Work with Church Women)	6,000.00	9,500.00	
Fact-Finding (Voting Survey)	10,000.00	--	
Interagency Coordination	5,000.00	5,000.00	
TOTAL FOR PROJECTS, 1959	($83,000.00)		$82,500.00

INCOME

Rockefeller Brothers Fund (Leadership Project)	40,000.00	40,000.00	
New World Foundation (Consultant Ser. Program)	15,000.00	20,000.00	
Trade Union Program on Civil Rights and Liberties (Labor Consultant)	7,000.00	8,000.00	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	2,000.00	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	2,000.00	
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust Fund (Work with Church Women)	2,000.00	2,000.00	
Field Foundation (Voting Survey)	10,000.00	--	
Norman Fund (Interagency Coordination)	5,000.00	5,000.00	
TOTAL FOR PROJECTS, 1959			$79,000.00
BALANCE TO BE RAISED			$ 3,500.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SPECIAL PROJECTS BUDGETS AND INCOME
Actual 1958 and Expectable 1959

BUDGETS

	Actual 1958	Estimated 1959
Southern Leadership Project	$40,000.00	$40,000.00
Consultant Service Program	15,000.00	20,000.00
Labor Consultant	7,000.00	8,000.00
Fellowship of the Concerned (Work with Church Women)	6,000.00	9,500.00
Fact-Finding (Voting Survey)	10,000.00	—
Interagency Coordination	5,000.00	5,000.00

TOTAL FOR PROJECTS, 1959 ($83,000.00) $82,500.00

INCOME

Rockefeller Brothers Fund (Leadership Project)	40,000.00	40,000.00
New World Foundation (Consultant Ser. Program)	15,000.00	20,000.00
Trade Union Program on Civil Rights and Liberties (Labor Consultant)	7,000.00	8,000.00
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	2,000.00
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	2,000.00
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust Fund (Work with Church Women)	2,000.00	2,000.00
Field Foundation (Voting Survey)	10,000.00	—
Norman Fund (Interagency Coordination)	5,000.00	5,000.00

TOTAL FOR PROJECTS, 1959 $79,000.00

BALANCE TO BE RAISED $ 3,500.00

III.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SPECIAL PROJECTS BUDGETS AND INCOME
Actual 1958 and Expectable 1959

BUDGETS

	Actual 1958	Estimated 1959	
Southern Leadership Project	$40,000.00	$40,000.00	
Consultant Service Program	15,000.00	20,000.00	
Labor Consultant	7,000.00	8,000.00	
Fellowship of the Concerned (Work with Church Women)	6,000.00	9,500.00	
Fact-Finding (Voting Survey)	10,000.00	--	
Interagency Coordination	5,000.00	5,000.00	
TOTAL FOR PROJECTS, 1959	($83,000.00)		$82,500.00

INCOME

Rockefeller Brothers Fund (Leadership Project)	40,000.00	40,000.00	
New World Foundation (Consultant Ser. Program)	15,000.00	20,000.00	
Trade Union Program on Civil Rights and Liberties (Labor Consultant)	7,000.00	8,000.00	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	2,000.00	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	2,000.00	
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust Fund (Work with Church Women)	2,000.00	2,000.00	
Field Foundation (Voting Survey)	10,000.00	--	
Norman Fund (Interagency Coordination)	5,000.00	5,000.00	
TOTAL FOR PROJECTS, 1959			$79,000.00
BALANCE TO BE RAISED			$ 3,500.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

SOURCES OF INCOME FOR 1959: General Operations

Foundations:

Fund for the Republic*	$53,280.00	
The Field Foundation	20,000.00	
The New World Foundation	20,000.00	
New York Fund for Children	5,000.00	
New York Foundation	5,000.00	
Wm. C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	2,000.00	
Ottinger Foundation	1,500.00	$111,780.00

Organizations:

United Steelworkers of America	1,000.00	
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union	500.00	
AFL - CIO	1,000.00	2,500.00

Churches:

Woman's Division of Christian Service-Methodist Church	1,200.00	
Board of Nat'l. Missions of theMethodist Church	1,000.00	
Board of Nat'l. Missions of the Presbyterian Church, USA	250.00	
Board of Education of the Methodist Church	225.00	2,675.00

Office Related Income:

Individual Contributions, subscriptions, sale of literature, interest, honoraria, overhead from project grants, etc.	$17,271.84	17,271.84
Funds on Hand, Jan. 1, 1959		12,919.07
Total, General Operations		$147,145.91

*Allocation for 1959 from terminal grant made in 1957.

SOURCES OF INCOME FOR 1959: Special Projects

Southern Leadership Project			
Rockefeller Brothers Fund		$40,000.00	
Research Project			
Individual Donor		25,000.00	
Consultant Service Program			
Individual Donor		20,000.00	
Special Aid to State Councils			
Individual Donor		25,000.00	
Contingency Fund (Not available for SRC programs)			
New World Foundation		10,000.00	
Survey of Registration & Voting			
The Field Foundation		7,933.21	
Fellowship of the Concerned			
Phelps-Stokes Fund	$2,000.00		
John Hay Whitney Fd.	2,000.00	4,000.00	
Total, Special Projects:			$131,933.21

MERRILL LYNCH, PIERCE, FENNER & SMITH
INCORPORATED
23 PRYOR STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA 1, GA.
JACKSON 2-6066

January 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Due to additional responsibilities, your present account executive, Mr. Lamar Wise, has had to relinguish a portion of the accounts he regularly handles. He has asked me to service your account, and with your approval, I shall endeavor to help you in any way you desire.

I shall be looking forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Yours very truly,

William F. Gow, Jr.

William F. Gow, Jr.

WFGjr:mmj

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

BALANCE SHEET
October 31, 1960

ASSETS

Funds toward future obligations, 1960-61:			
Cash in Banks - Checking		$ 37,767.05	
Investment in Securities (Market Value 6/30/60)		109,640.25	
Total Assets			$147,407.30

LIABILITIES

Due to Special Projects, 1960-61:			
Research Department		$ 4,582.58	
Consultant Service Program		8,738.37	
Voting Survey		1,552.91	
Fellowship of the Concerned		4,960.47	
Southern Leadership Project		35,626.05	
Contingency Fund		9,460.63	
New Orleans Project		506.04	
Special Grants-in-Aid to State Councils on Human Relations		38,500.00	$103,927.05
General Operations, 1961	$ 25,000.00		
Reserve Fund	18,480.25		43,480.25
Total Liabilities			$147,407.30

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - SPECIAL PROJECTS
January 1, 1960 to October 31, 1960

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1960		$ 28,821.54
Travel Refunds		345.23
Total Receipts		$ 29,166.77

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 15,138.01	
Travel and Communication	730.38	
Printing	4,993.27	
Books and Subscriptions	1,058.33	
Office Supplies	918.23	
Consultants' Fees	928.00	
Consultants' Travel	817.97	
Total Disbursements		24,584.19
Balance, October 31, 1960		$ 4,582.58

* * * * * * * * * *

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1960		$ 15,653.15
Travel Refunds		232.17
Total Receipts		$ 15,885.32

DISBURSEMENTS

Consultants' Fees	$ 3,476.10	
Travel and Communication	3,663.85	
Program Materials	7.00	
Total Disbursements		7,146.95
Balance, October 31, 1960		$ 8,738.37

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - SPECIAL PROJECTS
January 1, 1960 to October 31, 1960

VOTING SURVEY

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1960		$ 1,802.13

DISBURSEMENTS

Consultants' Fees	$ 180.00	
Travel and Communication	51.45	
Supplies	17.77	
Total Disbursements		249.22
Balance, October 31, 1960		$ 1,552.91

* * * * * * * * * *

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1960		$ 1,149.37
John Hay Whitney Foundation	$ 2,000.00	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	
Mrs. Katharine Cole	10.00	4,010.00
Total Receipts		$ 5,159.37

DISBURSEMENTS

Travel for State Meetings	$ 134.74	
Program Materials	64.16	
Total Disbursements		198.90
Balance, October 31, 1960		$ 4,960.47

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - SPECIAL PROJECTS
January 1, 1960 to October 31, 1960

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1960	$ 21,121.91
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	40,000.00
Total Receipts	$ 61,121.91

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 6,210.10	
Travel and Communication	2,984.87	
Office Expense	1,478.86	
Printing and Distribution	5,407.20	
Consultants' Fees	3,609.00	
Consultants' Travel	1,805.83	
Overhead	4,000.00	
Total Disbursements		25,495.86
Balance, October 31, 1960		$ 35,626.05

* * * * * * * * * *

CONTINGENCY FUND

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1960	$ 5,701.53
New World Foundation	5,000.00
Total Receipts	$ 10,701.53

DISBURSEMENTS

Travel	$ 122.76	
Oberlin College	50.00	
Printing - United Church Women	37.60	
Printing - ACCA Pamphlet	400.00	
Reprinting - The Agony of the Southern Minister	234.12	
Printing - Nashville Community Relations Conference	267.67	
Reprinting - A Southern Point of View	128.75	
Total Disbursements		1,240.90
Balance, October 31, 1960		$ 9,460.63

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - SPECIAL PROJECTS
August 1, 1960 to October 31, 1960

NEW ORLEANS PROJECT

RECEIPTS

Edgar Stern Family Fund		$10,000.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Printing, Promotion, Mailing, etc.	$ 8,477.75	
Travel and Communication	1,016.21	
Total Disbursements		9,493.96
Balance, October 31, 1960		$ 506.04

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES - GENERAL OPERATIONS
January 1, 1960 to October 31, 1960

INCOME

Contributions:		
Foundations	$64,750.00	
Organizations	3,510.00	
Churches	3,400.00	
Individuals	14,127.63	
Bequest, Cash	23,600.00	$109,387.63
Interest Income	1,528.54	
Dividends on Securities	2,293.23	
NEW SOUTH Subscriptions	4,476.50	
Sale of Literature	833.00	
Associate Members' Dues	60.00	
Sale of Securities	20,000.00	
Overhead	4,000.00	33,191.27
Total Income		$142,578.90

EXPENSES

Salaries	$58,554.64	
Social Security Taxes	1,899.22	
Travel	7,408.05	
Telephone and Telegraph	2,999.62	
Executive Committee and Annual Meeting	1,654.38	
Consultant Fees	1,060.00	
Books and Subscriptions	192.97	
Office Supplies	1,114.59	
NEW SOUTH Postage	1,331.99	
NEW SOUTH Printing	4,358.88	
Postage	1,065.23	
Printing	2,941.13	
Insurance	702.32	
Rent	3,900.00	
Accounting	400.00	
Georgia Sales Tax	10.36	
Miscellaneous	1,022.87	
Grants-in-Aid to State Councils	32,595.23	
Group Hospitalization Insurance	327.84	
Group Term Life Insurance	436.92	
Retirement Insurance	649.54	
Office Equipment	635.04	
Office Repairs, Maintenance and Moving Expense	6,360.36	
Total Expenses		131,621.18
Excess of Income over Expenses		$ 10,957.72

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
AID TO INDEPENDENT STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS
January 1, 1960 to October 31, 1960

RECEIPTS

Allocation from General Operating Funds	$ 32,595.23	
Field Foundation, Inc. - 1960-61	25,000.00	
Individual Donor (received 1959 for 1960)	25,000.00	
Taconic Foundation - 1961	25,000.00	
Rockefeller Brothers Fund (for Arkansas)	8,000.00	
Individual Contributions	1,499.62	
Total Receipts		$117,094.85

DISBURSEMENTS

Grants-in-Aid from General Operating Fund:		
Alabama Council on Human Relations	$ 4,200.00	
Arkansas Council on Human Relations	3,500.00	
Florida Council on Human Relations	3,900.00	
Georgia Council on Human Relations	3,500.00	
Kentucky Council on Human Relations	1,125.00	
North Carolina Council on Human Relations	3,900.00	
South Carolina Council on Human Relations	3,900.00	
Tennessee Council on Human Relations	3,500.00	
Virginia Council on Human Relations	3,900.00	
State Aid Discretionary Fund	1,170.23	32,595.23
Individual Donor:		
Alabama Council on Human Relations	$ 3,000.00	
Arkansas Council on Human Relations	1,000.00	
Florida Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
Georgia Council on Human Relations	3,000.00	
Kentucky Council on Human Relations	500.00	
North Carolina Council on Human Relations	3,000.00	
South Carolina Council on Human Relations	3,000.00	
Tennessee Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
Virginia Council on Human Relations	3,000.00	
Field Services Rendered - General Operations	2,500.00	24,000.00
Field Foundation:		
Alabama Council on Human Relations	$ 2,000.00	
Arkansas Council on Human Relations	1,300.00	
Florida Council on Human Relations	1,300.00	
Georgia Council on Human Relations	1,300.00	
Kentucky Council on Human Relations	500.00	
North Carolina Council on Human Relations	1,400.00	
South Carolina Council on Human Relations	1,400.00	
Tennessee Council on Human Relations	1,300.00	
Virginia Council on Human Relations	1,500.00	
Delta Foundation - Mississippi Field Work	500.00	12,500.00
Arkansas Council on Human Relations - Rockefeller Brothers Fund		8,000.00
Individual Contributions:		
Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia and North Carolina		1,499.62
Total Disbursements		$ 78,594.85
Balance, October 31, 1960	$38,500.00	

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

PROPOSED BUDGETS - GENERAL OPERATIONS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS - 1960

I. General Operations

Minimum Operating Budget:

Salaries	$71,250.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,475.00	
Travel	7,250.00	
Printing & Postage, New South	8,500.00	
Printing, Other	1,500.00	
Rent	3,600.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,500.00	
Postage	1,800.00	
Accounting & ~~Legal~~ Other Fees	600.00	
Books & Subscriptions	150.00	
Insurance	1,100.00	
Office Supplies	1,200.00	
Office Equipment	800.00	
Office Repairs & Maintenance	250.00	
Board & Executive Comm. Meetings	3,500.00	
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	
Aid to State Councils on Human Rel.	33,000.00	
Total	$141,475.00	$141,475.00

~~Income Present~~

Income Forecast - Certain & Expectable:

Certain:

Fund for the Republic	$50,000.00
New World Foundation	20,000.00
Rockefeller Brothers Fund (overhead)	4,000.00
	$74,000.00

Expectable:

Churches	$ 3,850.00
Organizations	2,500.00
Individuals & Office Related	8,500.00
	$14,850.00

Total - Certain & Expectable	$88,850.00
Balance to be raised	$52,625.00

(continued)

General Operations - (continued)

Funds to be requested

~~Additional Sources of Funds -- to be approached~~

	1959 grants
William C. Whitney Foundation	$5,000.00
New York Foundation	5,000.00
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	2,000.00
Field Foundation	20,000.00
Ottinger Foundation	1,500.00
Taconic Foundation	1,500.00

II. Special Projects:

Proposed ~~Budgets:~~ Expenditures

Southern Leadership Project	$40,000.00
Research Department	25,000.00
Fellowship of the Concerned	7,500.00
Consultant Service Program*	14,000.00
Contingency Fund *	5,000.00
~~Survey of Registration & Voting *~~	
	$91,500.00

Income Forecast:

Southern Leadership Project		
Rockefeller Brothers Fund		$40,000.00
Research Department		
Individual Donor		25,000.00
Fellowship of the Concerned		
Phelps Stokes Fund	$2,000	
John Hay Whitney Fd.	2,000	4,000.00
Consultant Service Program *		14,000.00
Contingency Fund *		5,000.00
~~Survey of Registration & Voting. *~~		
		$88,000.00
Balance to be raised		$3,500.00

~~*Estimated~~ funds on hand, January, 1960

Sept 30

CSP — 18,195 89

Cartwrg — 5,901 53

Voting — 1,929 50

PROPOSED ALLOCATIONS TO STATE ORGANIZATIONS, 1960

State	Special Grant 1959*	Regular Allocation 1959	Suggested Allocation 1960
Alabama	$3,500	$4,200	$4,200
Arkansas	2,500	3,600	3,500
Florida	2,500	3,500	3,900
Georgia	2,500	3,800	3,500
Kentucky	1,000	2,000	1,500
Louisiana	0	600	0
North Carolina	2,500	4,000	3,900
South Carolina	3,000	3,800	3,900
Tennessee	2,500	3,500	3,500
Texas	0	2,000	0
Virginia	3,000	4,000	3,900
State Aid Discretionary Fund			1,200
Total	$23,000	$35,000	$33,000

* from anonymous donation

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

PROPOSED BUDGETS - GENERAL OPERATIONS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS - 1960

Synopsis

General Operations	
Proposed Budget - 1960	$145,125.00
Income Expectable - 1960	88,850.00
	$ 56,275.00

Special Projects	
Proposed Budget - 1960	$ 91,500.00
Income Expectable - 1960	88,000.00
	$ 3,500.00

Total Proposed Budget	$236,625.00
Total Income Expectable	176,850.00
BALANCE TO BE RAISED	$ 59,775.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

PROPOSED BUDGETS - GENERAL OPERATIONS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS - 1960

I. General Operations

Minimum Operating Budget:

Salaries	$ 72,650.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,475.00	
Travel	8,000.00	
Printing & Postage, NEW SOUTH	8,500.00	
Printing, Other	3,000.00	
Rent	3,600.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,500.00	
Postage	1,300.00	
Accounting & Other Fees	600.00	
Books & Subscriptions	150.00	
Insurance	1,100.00	
Office Supplies	1,200.00	
Office Repairs & Maintenance	250.00	
Board & Executive Committee Mtgs.	3,500.00	
Aid to State Councils on Human Relations	33,000.00	
Total:	$145,125.00	$145,125.00

Income Forecast

Foundations:		
Fund for the Republic	$ 50,000.00	
New World Foundation	20,000.00	
Rockefeller Brothers Fund (Overhead)	4,000.00	
	$ 74,000.00	74,000.00
Churches		3,850.00
Organizations		2,500.00
Individuals & Office Related		8,500.00
Total:		$ 88,850.00
Balance to be raised:		$ 56,275.00

II. Special Projects

Income Forecast:

Southern Leadership Project Rockefeller Brothers Fund		$40,000.00
Research Department Individual Donor		25,000.00
Fellowship of the Concerned		
Phelps-Stokes Fund	$2,000.00	
John Hay Whitney Fd	2,000.00	4,000.00
Consultant Service Prog.		14,000.00
Contingency Fund		5,000.00
		$88,000.00

Balance to be raised: $3,500.00

Proposed Expenditures:

Southern Leadership Project	$40,000.00
Research Department	25,000.00
Fellowship of the Concerned	7,500.00
Consultant Service Program	14,000.00
Contingency Fund	5,000.00
	$91,500.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

PROPOSED BUDGETS - GENERAL OPERATIONS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS - 1960

I. General Operations

Minimum Operating Budget:

Salaries	$ 72,650.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,475.00	
Travel	8,000.00	
Printing & Postage, NEW SOUTH	8,500.00	
Printing, Other	3,000.00	
Rent	3,600.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,500.00	
Postage	1,800.00	
Accounting & Other Fees	600.00	
Books & Subscriptions	150.00	
Insurance	1,100.00	
Office Supplies	1,200.00	
Office Repairs & Maintenance	250.00	
Board & Executive Committee Meetings	3,500.00	
Aid to State Councils on Human Relations	33,000.00	
Total:	$145,125.00	$145,125.00

Income Forecast

Foundations:		
Fund for the Republic	$ 50,000.00	
New World Foundation	20,000.00	
Rockefeller Brothers Fund (Overhead)	4,000.00	
	$ 74,000.00	74,000.00
Churches		3,850.00
Organizations		2,500.00
Individuals & Office Related		8,500.00
Total:		$88,850.00

Balance to be raised: $56,275.00

II. Special Projects

Income Forecast:

Southern Leadership Project			
Rockefeller Bros. Fund		$40,000.00	
ResearchDepartment			
Individual Donor		25,000.00	
Fellowship of the Concerned			
Phelps-Stokes Fund	$2,000.00		
John Hay Whitney Fd.	2,000.00	4,000.00	
Consultant Service Prog.		14,000.00	
Contingency Fund		5,000.00	
		$88,000.00	
	Balance to be raised:		$3,500.00

Proposed Expenditures:

Southern Leadership Project	$40,000.00
Research Department	25,000.00
Fellowship of the Concerned	7,500.00
Consultant Service Prog.	14,000.00
Contingency Fund	5,000.00
	$91,500.00

DRAFT

file SRC finances

SRC'S GENERAL OPERATIONS SUPPORT AND EFFORTS
TO BROADEN THAT SUPPORT

Since the mid-fifties the Council has depended on a very small number of foundations for its central and on-going operation. The Field and New World Foundations have the longest record of consistent support and both continue an interest in the Council. In the late fifties Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Currier began contributing support which has been continued through the Taconic Foundation. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund has been a contributor for approximately ten years to projects and a contributor to general support for the pasttwo years. Beginning in 1960 the Rockefeller Foundation made a grant of $50,000 per year for five years. That support after considerable deliberation and concern on the part of the Foundation was renewed this year. The requested amount of $250,000 over a five year period was approved but altered for a six year period with a rather firm indication that such support would not be continued thereafter.

It is important to note here that the overwhelming majority of national foundations have been unwilling to support programs in race relations and civil rights. Most foundations have tended to limit their support related to these interests to Negro education. While there are now some indications of change, this remains essentially the case. The primary reason for a small number of foundations who support SRC is related to this fact and, of course, to the tendency for exclusive interest in projects.

In the past it has been out of the question that SRC could look for substantial support fromwithin the region. We had hoped this year for some change in that. That hope was encourage by a grant made by the Stern Family Fund last November. At that time we asked Stern for a grant of $20,000 for general operations. The

Fund responded by making a grant of $10,000 contingent on these funds being matched in grants of $1,000 or more from any source from within the region. We had hoped to use these conditions as a means of encouraging southern foundation support. To date we have approached the three foundations where there was some indication a change of policy might be in the making. Two of these were in Atlanta,=one in North Carolina. The only results of a rather thorough effort has been that one foundation had invited us to become acquainted with their new executive in September with the hope that something might be forthcoming in the future. Since November the Executive Director of the Council has invested a substantial amount of time in attempting to raise these matching funds. His effort has been assisted by that of a Development Committee headed by a very vigorous chairman. The results to date are that we have raised three $1,000 contributions from individuals. (All of them members of the Council.) Approximately $2,000 in smaller contributions have resulted from this effort but do not fit the conditions of the grant. One corporation headquartered in South Carolina has made a contribution of $500 as a result of this. We are at this point very discouraged about the prospects of substantial support from southern sources. If possible, we are even more concerned about the renewed evidence of both the reluctance of southern philanthropy to engage in this sort of work and their interest in influencing policy and determining individuals who make policy.

(A comment should be made here, perhaps, about the possibility of relatively small contributions from a number of individuals. We have worked very hard to avoid getting into the area of individual solicitations. It is, of course, on operations like ours extremely time consuming and an expensive process. More importantly there have been a very limited number of individuals within the region

who would or could contribute to this area of interest. We have felt it essential to leave such sources of support to the state Councils on Human Relations and to the predominantly Negro civil rights organizations. In fact, during the past ten years we have worked directly with the councils on Human Relations and indirectly with the other major organizations in increasing their support from these circumstances. This has had an incidental but extremely important benefit for the Council. It has removed us from competition and we feel it is essential that we keep it so.)

During the past six months the new Executive Director has given priority to finding new sources of support. Some of this attention has been directed still to national foundations and as a result of our regional efforts have still not come in. This has been more and more the case. He has found a cordial reception on the part of a number of foundations who have at least a pheripheral interest in our program. Such a foundatinn would be, for instance, the Carnegie Corporation. In each of these instances, we have, however, been generally stymied by the project orientation. In fact, the efforts to raise funds for general support have led to several contributions in the area of approximately $25,000 each for special projects which are welcomed but which still do not relieve the general operations needs. In several other instances we have been invited to return with another application.project oriented and more in keeping with the interests of the foundation concern. There is among the foundations we have approached a particular interest in the field of education, in its traditional sense, and we have had to resist some pressure to go into a more traditional educational area. We have done this because we feel others have an experience of a tradition in those areas and are the logical groups to carry out this work and because we feel the Council has experience and interest that is unique that should be preserved.

The five foundations listed at the beginning of this report are understandably reluctant to continue indefinitely and exclusively to support the Council. They, too, want to place more of their funds with special identifiable projects if they continue to support the Council. We have every sympathy with this and I am certain would be of exactly the same position if we served on the Boards of those foundations. It remains critical, therefore, that we continue to see the interests of national foundations and while we shall continue to invest considerable time in cultivating southern sources we have no reason to be optimistic about the results.

51 persons excluding 7.7R.
Rec'd Mike Wallace Interview with J. M. Dobbs 10/13/54

LIST

FOUNDATIONS:

William C. Whitney Foundation
20 Broad Street
New York 5, New York

Milton C. Rose, Secretary

Also: Michael Straight
c/o The New Republic
1224 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Roger Baldwin
c/o The American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

John Hay Whitney Foundation
630 Fifth Avenue
New York 20, New York

Miss Georgene B. Lovecky

Edgar B. Stern Family Fund
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana
Mr. Edgar B. Stern
Mr. Leo M. Coogan, Secretary

Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1900 - 44 North Paulina Street
Chicago 22, Illinois
Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr., Secretary

Jacob R. Schiff Fund
533 West 116th Street
New York 27, New York

Dr. Grayson Kirk, President
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Dr. Buell G. Gallaher, President
City College of New York
Convent Avenue at 139th Street
New York 31, New York

Mr. Edwin Wolf, 2nd
Curator, Pennsylvania Library
Ridgeway Library
Broad and Christian Streets
Philadelphia 47, Pennsylvania

List - cont'd.

Foundations

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York
Mr. Montgomery Bradley
Mr. Dana Creel
Mr. York Allen

Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York
Mr. Jack Clareman, Secretary

Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York
Dr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Mr. Wilton S. Dillon

The Benjamin R. Rosenthal Foundation
(THE ROSENTHAL FUND)
600 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York
Mr. Edmund A. Rosenthal

The Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.
405 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York
Mr. Frank A. Weil, Treasurer

Marion R. Ascoli Fund
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York
Marion R. Ascoli, President
Home address:

Mrs. Max Ascoli
20 Gramercy Park, South
New York 3, New York

Carnegie Corp. of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York
Mr. Stephen H. Stackpole, Exec. Associate
Mr. Alan Pifer, Exec. Associate

Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
Mr. Harold Evans, Chrm.
Miss Sarah R. Benson, Secretary

Foundations

The Ella Lyman Cabot Trust, Inc.
53 State Street
Boston 9, Massachusetts

Dr. Gordon W. Allport, Exec. Secretary
Emerson Hall
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Professor Richard Hocking
1146 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Community Service Foundation
(COMMUNITY WORKSHOP ASSOCIATES_
125 Harbor Bluff Drive
Largo, Florida
Mr. Willis T. Spivey, Director

Doris Duke Foundation
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York
Mrs. May E. McFarland

The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York
Mr. Maxwell Hahn, Executive Vice-President
(Maxine Semmel - Assistant to Hahn)

New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York
Mr. Sol Markoff, Director
Mr. D. John Heyman, Secretary
Mr. David M. Heyman, President

New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Room 1865
Chicago 3, Illinois
Mr. Vernon A. Eagle, Executive Director

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison
3556 Macomb Street, N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Miss Katharine Taylor
4 41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

List - cont'd.

Foundations

New York Fund for Children
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York
Mrs. Marie K. Driggs, Exec. Secretary

(Also: Mrs. Marion R. Ascoli and Adele R. Levy)

New-Land Foundation
579 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York
Mr. Solomon I. Sklar, President

Mr. Ben Herzberg
579 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York
Mr. Adele R. Levy, President

Home Address: Mrs. David Levy
993 Fifth Avenue
New York 28, New York

Hopkins Charities Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California
Dr. Prynce Hopkins, Chairman'

Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York,
Mr. W. H. Ferry, Vice-President
Mr. Hallock Hoffman, Secretary and Treasurer
Mr. Joseph Lyford, Public Information Officer

FOUNDATIONS - POTENTIAL NEW SOURCES

The Farfield Foundation, Inc.
37 W. 57th Street
Suite 1206
New York, New York
Mr. John Thompson

Ittleson Family Foundation
1 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York
Miss Nina Ridenour, Secretary

Foundations - Potential New Sources

The San Francisco Foundation
Balfour Building
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California
Mr. John R. May, Executive Director

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

AFL - CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
Mr. George Meany, President
Mr. Wm. F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer
Mr. Boris Shiskin, Dept. of Civil Rights
Mr. George L. P. Weaver

ILGWU
1710 Broadway
New York 19, New York
Mr. David Dubinsky, President

U. A. W.
8000 East Jefferson Street
Detroit 14, Michigan
Mr. Walter Reuther, President
Mr. Wm. Oliver

United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania
Mr. David J. McDonald, President
Mr. Francis C. Shane, Executive Secretary

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 25th Street, Room 301
New York 27, New York
Mr. A. Philip Randolph

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church
Church Missions House
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York
Rev. William G. Wright, Director

General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
1001 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Leon M. Adkins, Exec. Secretary

List - cont'd.

Religious Organizations

Division of National Missions
Board of Missions
The Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York
Mr. W. Vernon Middleton, Exec. Secretary
(Who may be at: 1701 Arch Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania)

Woman's Division of Christian Service
Board of Missions
The Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York
Miss Marguerite Hawkins, Asst. Treasurer (Home Dept.)
Miss Thelma Stevens, Exec. Dir.

Board of Church Extension
Division of Christian Relations
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia
Mr. Malcolm Calhoun, Secretary

The Board of National Missions
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York
Mr. Alexander E. Sharp.

9TH-above Dec. '54

ANALYSIS AND PROPOSALS FOR SRC INCOME (CENTRAL OFFICE) FOR 1955

I. Ford - Fund for the Republic	$43,350	(9 mos. @ $4,150)	$37,350	
		(3 mos. @ 2,000)	6,000	
			43,350	
II. Other Sources	42,420	(9 mos. @ 2,222)	19,998	
		(3 mos. @ 4,508)	13,524	
			33,522	$76,872

PROPOSED BREAKDOWN OF FINANCIAL SOURCES

				Total	1954 - 9 mos. Actual Contr.
II. (1)	Foundations (other than Fund for the Republic)				
	Field	7,000			7,850.
	Duke		10,000		
	Ford		10,000		
	Other		15,000		
		7,000	35,000	42,000	
(2)	Organizations				
	A. Labor	3,000		3,000	3,750.
	Other				148.26
(3)	Churches	3,000		3,000	2,139.
(4)	Sales of Literature				
	A. New South	6,000		6,000	434.38
	B. Other	3,000		3,000	2,754.
(5)	Contributions				
	Individuals	3,000		3,000	1,490.
	SRC - Bd. Ex-Of.	740		740	
				60,740	18,565
			Fund for the Republic	43,350	
				104,090	

$60,740
33,522
$27,218 (Estimate of possible income above requirements of grant for 1955)

EXPLANATION OF ESTIMATES

II (1) Foundations. (Other than Fund for the Republic) $42,000

$7,000 from the Field Fund is assured for 1955.

The request to the Doris Duke Foundation for $20,000 is unanswered presently. It would seem reasonable to budget on the expectation of $10,000 from this source.

A request has gone to the Ford Foundation for a $10,000 grant to assist in the development of the central office's responsibility for foreign visitors.

It would seem possible with the assistance of the Treasurer and a Finance Committee to secure $15,000 from other Funds ($5,000 each estimated from smaller Foundations).

Thus, of the total of $42,000 from these sources, $35,000 would be regarded as a working objective.

(2) Organizations. $3,000

A. Labor (9-month actual contribution in 1954 - $2,750)

An effort should be made to build on the confidence of groups who have contributed in the past and to increase contributions from these sources by $250. $3,000 from these sources would seem to be a conservative estimate.

(3) Churches. $3,000 (9-month actual contribution in 1954 - $2,139)

See (2) above.

An effort should be made to increase contributions from these sources by $861 making the total objective from church sources $3,000.

(4) Sales of Literature. $9,000

A. New South $6,000

New South subscriptions (9-month actual contribution in 1954 - $434.38)

Although a large increase is estimated here it does not seem unreasonable if state organizations fulfill their obligation to obtain a subscription to New South from each member of state organizations. On an estimated basis of 300 subscriptions from each of ten states, the amount budgeted should be realized. Responsibility for promotion of New South is at present diffused. If promotion becomes the specific responsibility of particular staff it would seem possible to increase circulation of New South beyond this estimated amount. An increase of $6,000 based on a circulation of 3,000 therefore appears conservative. (This estimate is based upon New South in its present form.)

B. Other Literature $3,000 (9-month actual contributions in 1954 - $2,754)

Sales during 1954 have not been completely analyzed, but probably came from Questions and Answers and Answers for Action. The amount from sales of Answers for Action can probably be increased by $246. Sales of other SRC publications will probably add to this estimate. A $3,000 income from this source would seem reasonable, provided staff members of state organizations promote the sale of SRC pamphlets in their program, and if other salable pamphlets are produced.

(5) Individual Contributions. $3,000 (9-month actual contribution in 1954 - $1,490)

This figure does not include SRC memberships which during 1955 would revert to state organizations. It is proposed that the amount from this source be raised as follows:

A. It should be possible to secure a $10 contribution from each member of the corporation -- regular, ex-officio and officers. This would come to $740.

B. It is proposed that a special effort be made to secure $10 contributions from supporters of the SRC now living outside the region and from an especially developed list of "friends of the SRC," who do not become members of state organizations. It is thought that one-third (100) of these potential contributors would come from outside the region and that two-thirds (200) could be found in the Atlanta area, vice versa.

In order for this possibility to be realized it would have to become the designated responsibility of a member of the staff to develop. This effort, and that of promoting circulation of New South needs the particular attention of a staff member with public relations skills, and the assistance of an organized committee.

- - - - - - - - - -

On the basis of the above proposals it seems reasonable to think that the $33,522 which must be raised in order to fulfill the commitment implicit in the grant, can be exceeded by $20,218 (the $7,000 grant from Field is assured), or that it is possible with planning to raise from these sources during 1955, $60,740.

On this basis, it should be possible to proceed with plans for program development, on the basis of an expected income of $104,090. However, the realization of this objective requires an understanding on the part of the members of the Council of their share in the responsibility foreseen; and a definition of staff responsibility particularly as it relates to promotion and sale of New South and other literature produced by the SRC. The development of plans for the cultivation of potential $10 contributors -- both outside and in the region -- is also necessary to produce the indicated amount from this source. Unless plans are made and followed through it would be necessary to limit operational costs to approximately $68,000. This latter figure would need to be reduced, if there is a deficit at the end of 1954, as a result of less than estimated funds being raised during this period.

Grace T. Hamilton
November 8, 1954

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Mike Silverstein
Jos Wolkin & Self
in 1000
Clem Warner
Lena Jack Jordan
Wilson Clayton
Young
Young
now

Inland Harvester
Johnson & Johnson
General Cable Corporation
Sears Roebuck
Sylvania
Starting plant in the
So
Pepsi-Cola, the Rutgers
Towns Football

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Wires - solicited

copies in our

500 less in So.

ask for off to prove

slow

So all sent out

also some relations

people

Big Dept Stores

Indian

Neg. fear of more of

people that [illegible]

She would get more

Rifles will work to

Dorchester ask to be

put in cost budget

95M slow sellers Rifles

Packingtons tanks

Adopt to Industrial Union

Machinists Chemical Paper

95M sales Union

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

GSM to work on
Lutherans
National Baptists
So Baptists talk to C C Mullen
Border +

Slick Brochure
Pos workers
Pitch to prime situation.
Give an simple
budget. Rural element.
100 ways to Rural element.
JW has the local (all)
profile wells
Price in Greensboro
Offer pass to the S Gals
(of Golden years).

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Especially Southern
N Y & Wash

Life Ins Co.
find the ex-Southern
who are big (Northern)
Cork executives.

Send Lucius Clay
my W C F's contacts.
He could tell us
who cd give, &
make give, thru his
own Co Carlinwal
Car.

Ma W's contacts

Atlanta area Comm
should be Southern
Committee

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Holding Carlos +
the Carlos

Miss in S East.

Build 3 committees
3 sections of the committee
one finance

Give each one a quota
of 10.000 (all aim for 21.000).

Each should have
chairman.

Miss says total goal
is 64.000

Send a brochure
look in HCF
Mrs Mr Navara

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Mr Weiss to dig up
list of corps in SC, &
Phil Hamm will
help.

Project Jones

Break it down by
industries,
types of jobs from
paper mills
other non-
Mr Weiss could help
w/ pulp, pulp
paper.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

STroud – mr

2524 Old Oaks Dr
Waco, Tex.
Refer to Clement
secretary.

300

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

U.S. State Dept
Rep

George at U-NC
pamphlet

Milton Vigo

See Mrs Stern

Scene to answer

Who was the original

FBI in NO

Who does it belong

Am Slavic Rates Assn
in Bom
Oct 1975
Wilson
Arlin Rowe
Wesley (rite george
b 1980

Author UCCS found
[illegible]

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Twomey
2 sets

1 by

Grass Roots Leagues
Box 551
Charleston, S.C.
Research Bull No 2
Oct 1, 1954

see letter SRC

" " No 1

Coercion
techniques

Soon
Cf fooled

Mar 18, 1954
Citizens Grass Roots
Crusade of S.C.

Name change.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

State nature of articles
(declared state?).

ap. 21?

FILE COPY

March 3, 1955

Dictated March 2

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Pursuant to your letter of February 22nd to Morris Abram about Finance Committee matters, I went over this morning and saw Morris.

We agree that any and all the following persons presently on the Board are suitable for service on a Finance Committee:

Morris Abram
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Ulysses S. Bond
Madison, Arkansas

Hodding Carter
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Miss.

A. J. Clement
Station A, Box 36
Charleston, S. C.

R. E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Herbert M. Davidson
Daytona Beach News Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Philip Hammer
Glenn Building
Atlanta, Georgia

B. E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

L. D. Milton
Citizens Trust Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor
3207 Groveland Lane
Houston, Texas

Dr. J. M. Richards
Columbia Theological Seminary
Decatur, Georgia

Charles A. Shaw
Watchtower Life Insurance Co.
2206 Dowling Street
Houston, Texas

Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

John H. Wheeler
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

J. Edwin Smith
505 Scanlan Building
Houston, Texas

Miss Josephine Wilkins
387 Milledge Avenue
Athens, Georgia

Morton Weiss
182 Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

We further agreed that it would be well if there were at least three Finance Committees, or if the Finance Committee operated in three divisions: Atlanta area; Southwest; upper South.

For an Atlanta area committee we thought that the following would be suitable:

Board Members	Non-Board Members
Morris Abram	Edward M. Vinson (Businessman)
Rufus Clement	1974 Chelsea Circle
Leonard Haas	Atlanta, Georgia
Philip Hammer	
B. E. Mays	George E. Goodwin (former newspaper man and civic leader)
L. D. Milton	930 Dean Drive, N. W.
J. M. Richards	Atlanta, Georgia
Morton Weiss	
Josephine Wilkins	

Morris Abram undertook to ask Ed Vinson to serve as Chairman of an Atlanta area Finance Committee, notwithstanding Vinson's unwillingness to be Treasurer of SRC.

Abram and I thought that the Atlanta area Finance Committee should be asked to meet with some regularity so as to build up an increasing understanding of the need and of the methods of raising funds. I will be responsible for trying to arrange such meetings after you get the membership of the Atlanta area Finance Committee to agree to be members of it.

Morris called Morton Weiss and asked Weiss to serve as Treasurer of SRC and Weiss said he would. In the course of the conversation, Morris indicated that the Treasurer of SRC would not have to be chairman of a Finance Committee, but the Treasurer would write letters in his own name and would assist the money-raising efforts. My recollection is that the choice of a

Treasurer is in the hands of the Executive Committee, which is likely to be guided by advice given it by a subcommittee of Morris Abram, Josephine Wilkins, and Philip Hammer. I will be responsible for getting this subcommittee to make a recommendation to the next meeting of the Executive Committee in re Morton Weiss. It would have to be agreed that Morton Weiss could serve as Treasurer retroactive to March 2nd.

I don't know a great deal about Morton Weiss. He is vice-president, I believe, of Montag and Company, which is a large paper manufacturing concern here. He is a charming person and would make us an admirable Treasurer.

As a step toward activating a Southwestern area group, Morris proposed that he converse by phone with both Harry Ashmore and Hodding Carter, and ask each of those gentlemen to undertake to telephone or write to some scores of persons, asking those persons to contribute substantially -- say $100 -- to SRC. Subsequently, Abram talked by phone with Ashmore and with Carter. Each agreed to serve in this way.

As to Ashmore, the commitment is that he, Ashmore, must be supplied with lists of appropriate persons in Arkansas, northern Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma, and then he will be in touch with those on the lists. Some he will call and some he will write to. I asked Abram, in his conversation with Ashmore, to make an arrangement under which the telephone calls, if they appeared not to be rewarding, would desist at an early stage. (Ashmore being somewhat famous for originating lengthy long distance calls.)

Hodding Carter said that the situation in Mississippi is so agitated that nothing could be usefully done in that state, but that he, Carter would be happy to be in touch by phone or by letter with persons in Louisiana or in Tennessee.

The Ashmore-Carter enterprise will make us look at a problem we have. How do we relate person to person money-raising efforts of this kind to the efforts that our state people will be making, sometimes currently? I talked by telephone on this matter with Vigo in New Orleans, who adventitiously will be able today to talk personally with Sutherland from Texas. I asked them to confer and advise me tomorrow. My guess is that they will come out with a rule that persons thus asked to contribute will be told that half of what they give will go to their own state group and the other half will come to us centrally. But in any case, I think we cannot reach out over the heads of our state people with their full knowledge and approval. I would greatly value your view on this matter.

You are now, please, to write to each person that Abram and I agreed should be members of the Atlanta area Finance Committee, and ask those persons to serve on that Committee. The addresses of persons to be so invited are as given above.

I owe this morning's work entirely to Morris Abram's energy and warmth. I think you should write him especially.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Morris Abram
Miss Josephine Wilkins

Copy for: 1. Finance Committee Files
2. Marion A. Wright Files

ATLANTA AREA FINANCE COMMITTEE

May 3, 1955

Invited	Accepted	Reminded
Morton Weiss	4/15/55	today
J. McDowell Richards	declined	"
Rufus E. Clement	4/14/55	out of town
Benjamin E. Mays	4/13/55	today
L. D. Milton	4/13/55	today
Josephine Wilkins	5/2/55	
Edward Vinson	March	today
Morris Abram		today
George Goodwin		today
Philip Hammer		today
Leonard Haas		today

TEXAS COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

Affiliated With

The Southern Regional Council

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Thomas S. Sutherland
309 West 21st St.
Austin 5, Texas
Telephone 7-8819

DIRECTORS

Mrs. John Hanna
3307 Drexel
Dallas, Texas

Mr. Charles Sherer
Texas Christian Univ.
Fort Worth, Texas

Dr. Blake Smith
University Baptist Church
Austin, Texas

Mrs. B. J. Covington
2219 Dowling
Houston, Texas

Dr. Daniel Russell
College Station, Texas

Dr. Thomas Currie
Oak Cliff Presbyterian Church
Dallas, Texas

Mrs. A. E. S. Johnson
317 Bennet
Marlin, Texas

Dr. F. Rivers Barnwell
1328 Louisiana
Fort Worth, Texas

Mrs. C. H. Christian
1211 E. 11th Street
Austin, Texas

Miss Laura Edwards
3019 Homan Avenue
Waco, Texas

Mrs. Pauline Campbell
Tex. Southern University
Houston 4, Texas

Mrs. Tommie Stroud
2524 Old Oaks Dr.
Waco, Texas

Mrs. Nanie Belle Aycox
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Mr. Eugene Jud
Waco, Texas

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
2206 Dowling
Houston, Texas

Mrs. P. D. Johnson
Box 664
Marshall, Texas

Mr. T. W. Pratt
2121 Leonard
Dallas, Texas

Mrs. W. H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee
Houston, Texas

Mr. I. Q. Hurdle
1101 E. Crockett St.
San Antonio, Texas

Mrs. E. E. Crowder
2933 May St.
Fort Worth, Texas

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT
Mrs. Jas. S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 19, Texas

VICE PRESIDENTS
Dr. W. R. Banks
Prairie View College
Prairie View, Texas

Dr. J. L. Clark
1421 14th Street
Huntsville, Texas

SECRETARY
Mr. O. A. Rowe
Jasper, Texas

TREASURER
Mrs. Eugene Jud
2304 Herring Street
Waco, Texas

HISTORIAN
Mr. J. D. McLeod
805 19½ Street
Huntsville, Texas

April 30, 1955

MAY 3 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear George: CONFIDENTIAL

Attached is the list of persons to be contacted by Harry Ashmore for $100 contributions in Texas. Will send you other names to add if this project is approved.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas Sutherland

L

SUGGESTED LIST OF PERSONS FOR $100 APPEAL

Here are 31 names off the top of my mind. This list can be expanded indefinitely. We will be gathering names.

Note: In making all calls, it would be wise, because of Harry's being in the newspaper business, to begin with publishers and ask each person in turn for his advice whether there is anyone else in town whom you should call. If certain community leaders, such as Jesse Jones or Bob Smith in Houston, Carter in Ft. Worth, Crossman or Hoblitzelle in Dallas, can be sold and will let their names be used, the local-merchant-type donor will fall in line.

Houston

John T. Jones, Publisher Houston Chronicle Houston, Texas Tel: Preston 2211	The young nephew of Jesse Jones; was in a concentration camp during the war. While he represents a very conservative empire in Houston, I believe he would be a natural for an appeal from the editor of the Arkansas Gazette and would come through. If he does this, you will have your appeal much stronger by mentioning his name to the other business men whom you call.
Jesse Jones	The banker and real estate tycoon of Houston. He has made large gifts to Negro scholarships. (If Uncle Jesse chips in, you only have to mention the fact to fill up the hat.)
R. E. (Bob) Smith Gulf Building Houston, Texas Tel: Capitol - 7258	One of the richest oil men in Texas, a Methodist and a Democrat who voted for Eisenhower. A good, liberal, democratic, individual who has a history of yeoman work in race relations. He sounds belligerent on the telephone but don't pay any attention to that. It means nothing.
Percy S. Strauss, Jr. Bankers Mortgage Building Houston, Texas Tel: Charter 4528	Mr. Strauss is a youngish heir of the Macy fortune in New York. He is a liberal Democrat, Jewish and a somewhat eccentric sportsman and explorer type interested in Houston art museum. He is an Adlai Stevenson man.
John H. Blaffer Commerce Building Houston, Texas Tel: Capitol 9885	A young heir to an oil fortune with an Eastern education and international background.

Mrs. Kenneth D. (Jane) Owen 300 Pinewolde Houston, Texas Tel: Monroe 57838	Jane Owen is the sister of John Blaffer, the victim of the finishing school, European travel and is a vulture for culture but she has a heart of gold and is sympathetic with race relations problem.
W. A. (Bill) Smith San Jacinto Building Houston, Texas Tel: Fairfax 721	He is from some place like Ohio and has made a fortune in construction business in Houston and gives away a lot of money. I don't know how he feels about race relations but he's a good-hearted fellow and it is worth a try.
Bill Williams 6515 Main Street Houston, Texas Tel: Justin 5296	The same type as Bill Smith except he made it in the restaurant business.
Felix Tijerina 904 Westheimer Houston, Texas	The same type as Bill Williams. The owner of a Mexican restaurant, a Mexican himself and with considerable interest in race relations.
Frank and George Frank Commerce Building Houston, Texas Tel: Preston 5234	Oil producers who contributed to liberal Democrats. Talk to both of them.
Bruno Bagnoli European Import Company 910 Preston Houston, Texas Tel: Preston 3191	An Italian importer married to a Syrian. Both of them hard-working. Both interested in race relations and all civic activities in Houston. Talk to Mrs. Bagnoli if you don't get Mr. Bagnoli. Also, tell them as in every other case some of the people in Houston who have contributed, such as Jesse Jones and/or Bob Smith.
George Kelley 910 Texas Houston, Texas Tel: Central 9346	A very wealthy, Greek restaurant owner who speaks broken English but who has a heart of gold. Will give to nearly anything, particularly if others are contributing.
George Strake Gulf Building Houston, Texas Tel: Preston 6294	A very wealthy oilman and a very big Catholic. He understands the importance of race relations. The question is whether he has confidence in the organization asking for money.
Mr. Sakowitz, pres. of Sakowitz Brothers 1111 Main Houston, Texas Tel: Blackstone 6441	A Jewish merchant and civic leader.

Fred or Maurice Lazarus Foley Brothers Houston, Texas Atwood 3652	Same as Sakowitz. Appointed to an Eisenhower Committee on Government Contracts.
Hobart Taylor Houston, Texas	A wealthy Negro owner of a taxicab company and a liberal Democrat.
Martin Burns (or Jim Smith) Steelworkers Union Union National Bank Building Houston, Texas	A burly, labor leader who will probably make the request to the Union.
Herman Brown Brown & Root, Inc. Houston, Texas	A conservative, individualistic construction man who has made a fortune and fights organized labor but gives generously to Negro causes though possibly would balk at social equality.
Will Clayton Houston, Texas	Cotton magnate and former Undersecretary of State. Loyal Democrat.
Mrs. Frankie Randolph Houston, Texas	Loyal Democrat. A power in liberal politics in Texas, and one of the heirs of the Kirby lumber fortune. Freely ask her advice about other persons to call.

Dallas

Jerome Crossman Republic Nat'l Bank Building Dallas, Texas Tel: Riverside 4901	A powerful, wealthy attorney; Eisenhower Democrat; sincere and effective in organizing Dallas "Main Street" behind better race relations. Can open up Dallas for you. You can speak freely with him.
Ross Forney Forney Engineering Company Dallas, Texas Tel: Dixon 9734	A young business leader.
Karl Hoblitzelle Majestic Theatre Building Dallas, Texas Tel: Prospect 8401	Owner of Interstate Theatres; for some unfathomed reason admirer of McCarthy and likewise of Negro people.

Austin

E. W. Jackson, Sr. Steck Company Austin, Texas Tel: 7-4411	President of Steck Publishing Company. Enlightened on race relations.
Fagan Dixon Littlefield Building Austin, Texas Tel: 60653	A liberal Democrat and attorney, married rich.
Mrs. W. St. John Garwood 2213 Windsor Road Austin, Texas Tel: 6-4465	Will Clayton's daughter and wife of an outstanding liberal judge.

Others

Amon Carter, Publisher Fort Worth, Texas Tel: Fortune 3201	Runs Fort Worth, owns Fort Worth Star Telegram, a mighty man of mighty impulses. He will open the door to Fort Worth if he takes a notion. Trouble is he might take a notion to shut it.
Mrs. H. E. Butt HEB Stores Corpus Christi, Texas	A good woman and former English teacher, married to scion of grocery empire. She gives generously to Mexican and other down-trodden. Harry couldn't miss here, if he will quote Wordsworth.
Tom Slick San Antonio, Texas	A young Yale man and Foundation man. Very enlightened; conservative politically. Has concentrated on philanthropy to science.
Dudley Dougherty Beeville, Texas	A young heir of oil fortune. A former legislator, candidate for Senate - not very liberal nor sane, they say, but enlightened in some respects. I'm not sure how he feels about race relations.

Sources

Business firms

Small family foundations

Other major foundations

Other churches

Other labor organizations

Individuals

Prepared for Finance Committee Meeting,
May 3, 1955

TWELVE MONTHS FROM OCTOBER 1, 1955
THROUGH SEPTEMBER 30, 1956

Central Office Only

We currently spend about $7,000 per month Twelve months @ $7,000	$84,000
Allowance for special programs, Fellowship of the Concerned, Annual Meeting, etc.	4,000
TOTAL NEEDED, 12 MONTHS	$88,000
Toward raising this, we may conservatively expect to get from normal, non-foundation sources (see note 1 below)	$23,000
From foundations which frequently help us or may quite probably help us (note 2 below)	20,000
From Fund for the Republic (conditional upon our raising at least $55,000)	24,000
TOTAL	$67,000
Subtract this expectation from $88,000, and the shortfall is, which sum should be the goal of the Finance Committee	$21,000

Note 1. expectation from SNC normal sources

Individuals	$1,000
Board Members	3,000
Labor organizations	4,000
Churches	3,500
Associates' dues	750
New South	6,000
Sale of Literature	3,500
Honoraria	1,500
TOTAL	$23,350 or 23,000

Note 2.

Marshall Field	$5,000
Doris Duke	5,000
Ford Foundation	5,000
Small Family Fndtns	1,200
~~Wm. C.~~ Whitney Fndtn	1,500
Phelps-Stokes	2,000
TOTAL	$19,700 or 20,000

Parenthesis on Commitment to Fund for the Republic

They will pay 24,000 if we raise $55,000
Toward this $55,000 we can expect

Normal SHC	$23,000
Foundations	20,000
	$ 43,000

So that merely to meet the Fund for the Republic's condition, this committee must raise $12,000

And to keep SHC going much as is, a total of $21,000.

MEMORANDUM April 26, 1955

TO: G.S. Mitchell
FROM: G.T. Hamilton

PROPOSED WORK SHEET FOR FINANCE COMMITTEE -- SRC

SRC Obligations under FFR Grant:

Year	To Raise	FFR Support
1954-55	$ 40,000	$ 74,700 (18 months)
1955-56	55,000	24,000 (12 months)
1956-57	67,000	12,400 (12 months)

Raised - April 1954-1955

Sources:	Individuals	$ 1,790	
	Labor Organizations	3,600	
	Churches	3,915	
	Dues	1,110	
	New South	1,395)	5,620.
	Sales of Literature	4,225)	
	Honoraria	1,715	
	Other Organizations	73	(contributions)
	Sub-Total	17,825	
	Foundations	19,660	(other than FFR)
		$ 37,485	

Goal for 1955-1956 (?)

To meet grant obligation $ 55,000

Sources: New South and Sales of Literature

Honoraria - - - - - - - -

Churches - - - - - - - - -

Labor Organizations - - -

Individuals - - - - - - -

Foundations - - - - - - -

Other - - - - - - - - - -

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF ATLANTA

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

GEORGE GOODWIN
VICE PRESIDENT

May 3, 1955

MAY 4 1955

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am sorry I could not get free to meet this afternoon with you, Mort Weiss and the others. I am afraid, however, I would have had to tell you that I do not quite see how I can serve as a member of the council's finance committee at this time. Despite the fact that I should be paying strict attention to learning what banking is all about, I have recently taken on a responsibility for the Chamber of Commerce that is going to take a lot of time and thought.

Perhaps during the campaign I can be of informal value. If so, I will surely try to help when I can.

Sincerely yours,

Geo

George Goodwin

GG ehg

1865 NINETY YEARS AND ONLY THE BEGINNING 90 1955

AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS INFORMATION SERVICE

860 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

ALGONQUIN 4-9980

WILMER SHIELDS RICH, *Director*

May 24, 1955

MAY 26 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In response to your inquiry regarding the Seventh Edition of AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS AND THEIR FIELDS, may we say that an unprecedented number of responses from the foundations has caused the book to be delayed.

A small number of foundations have requested that we omit them. To them we have had to explain that we are omitting no information we obtained during our nationwide research.

But hundreds of foundations have sent information in addition to that which resulted from our study. For your benefit all these valuable facts are being incorporated into the foundation descriptions, even when the reply is so late as to necessitate a change in galley proof.

I hope you will bear with us in this paradoxical situation of rejoicing over the great increase in cooperation from foundations, and at the same time regretting the delay which results.

Sincerely yours,

Wilmer Shields Rich

P.S. we are enclosing a leaflet which describes the book and an order card indicating prepublication discounts still available.

Sponsored by
RAYMOND RICH ASSOCIATES with the collaboration of MARTS & LUNDY, INC.
Firms specializing in surveys, public relations and fund raising for philanthropic organizations

As a Service to Philanthropy:

American Foundations Information Service announces the forthcoming publication of

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AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS AND THEIR FIELDS

7th Edition—1955

Since 1931, the standard reference source giving periodically the latest data on foundations and trusts . . . now in a greatly expanded edition

LIMITED EDITION NOW GOING TO PRESS

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

8/8/55

TO: FBR
CHP
RA

First rough draft of a budget request for 1955-56 to the Fund for the Republic.

Please review and advise.

I hope Ruth Alexander will satisfy herself that any and all figures used are accurate.

Fred: 1st thing in morning on this CHP

Congress of Industrial Organizations

718 Jackson Place, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

OFFICE OF
JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Cable Address "CIOLABOR"

EXECUTIVE 3-5581

29 August 1955

AUG 31 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of recent date requesting an additional contribution of this organization.

Please be advised that your request has been referred to the CIO Contributions Committee for its consideration. I shall be happy to notify you of any further action taken by this Committee.

With our very best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

James B. Carey
James B. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

liu 1695 cio
k

PRELIMINARY BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR - October 1, 1955 -- September 30, 1956;
and comparison with actual expenditures for 12 months period
September 1, 1954 - August 31, 1955

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY

ADMINISTRATION AND OVERHEAD	Actual '54-'55	Proposed '55-'56
Salary, Executive Director	$ 10,000.00	$10,000.00
Salary, Secretary to Executive Director	3,000.00	3,100.00
Salary, Secretary-Treasurer	4,958.28	4,500.00
1/3 salary, clerk	1,000.00	1,000.00
Social Security for Staff	760.57	700.00
Annual Meeting and Executive Committee Meetings	2,080.06	2,000.00
Travel	6,703.82	
Rent	1,335.00	1,260.00
Telephone & Telegraph	1,813.01	4,500.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	4,500.00	4,000.00
Postage (Not Including New South)	1,354.17	3,500.00
Printing (Other than New South)	6,335.48	2,000.00
Audit Fees	285.00	500.00
Miscellaneous Expense	127.29	300.00
Insurance	43.22	
Salary, Executive Assistant		5,000.00 *
	44,295. 90	42,360.00
INFORMATION SERVICE AND NEW SOUTH		
Salary, Asst. Director for Information	$ 6,833.48	$ 7,000.00
Salary, Editorial Assistant	1,791.52	4,000.00
Salary, Research Assistant	2,483.49	4,000.00
2/3 Salary, Clerk (Circulation)	2,000.00	2,000.00
¼ Salary of Clerk (Steno)	494.27	750.00
Salary, Office Boy	328.50	300.00
New South, Printing and Postage	3,770.58	6,500.00
Envelopes, Addressograph Plates, etc.	307.58	400.00
Books and Materials	705.99	300.00
	18,715.41	25,250.00
PROMOTION--STATE ORGANIZATIONS		
Salary, Asst. Director for State Organizations	$ 6,083.31	~~$ 7,000.00~~
Salary, " " " " "	3,289.30	See A
¼ Salary, Stenographer	494.27	~~750.00~~
	9,866.88	
PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT		
		See B
Salary, Asst. for Program Development	$ 7,750.00	~~$ 8,750.00~~
¼ Salary, Clerk	494.27	~~750.00~~
Program Materials	200.00	~~8,200.00~~
	8,444.27	
WOMEN'S WORK		
Salary, Director of Women's Work	$ 5,000.00	$ 5,250.00
¼ Salary, Clerk	494.25	750.00
Travel, Director	241.33	500.00
Meetings, travel of participants, etc.	893.37	2,000.00
	6,628.95	8,500.00
SPECIAL PROJECTS		
Manuscript on Cotton Tenancy	$ 150.00	

(OVER)

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Upper South
Finance Committee

J. W. Wheeler, N.C.
Paul Wilson, Va.
[illegible] N.C.
W. B. Atwood, Kentucky
? Tennessee

PRELIMINARY BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR - October 1, 1955 -- September 30, 1956; and comparison with actual expenditures for 12 months period September 1, 1954 - August 31, 1955

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY

ADMINISTRATION AND OVERHEAD	Actual '54-'55	Proposed '55-'56
Salary, Executive Director	$ 10,000.00	$ 10,000.00
Salary, Secretary to Executive Director	3,000.00	3,100.00
Salary, Secretary-Treasurer	4,958.28	4,500.00
1/3 salary, clerk	1,000.00	1,000.00
Social Security for all Central Office Personnel	760.57	800.00
Annual Meeting and Executive Committee Meetings	2,080.06	2,000.00
Travel	6,703.82	7,000.00
Rent	1,335.00	1,260.00
Telephone and Telegraph	1,813.01	4,500.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	4,500.00	4,000.00
Postage (not including NEW SOUTH)	1,354.17	3,500.00
Printing (other than NEW SOUTH)	6,335.48	2,000.00
Audit Fees	285.00	900.00
Miscellaneous Expense	127.29	300.00
Insurance	43.22	
Salary, Executive Assistant		5,000.00*
Sub-totals	$44,295.90	$ 49,460.00
INFORMATION SERVICE AND NEW SOUTH		
Salary, Asst. Director for Information	$ 6,833.48	$ 7,000.00
Salary, Editorial Assistant	1,791.52	4,000.00
Salary, Research Assistant	2,483.49	4,000.00
2/3 Salary, Clerk (Circulation)	2,000.00	2,000.00
1/4 Salary, Clerk (Steno)	494.27	750.00
Salary, Office Boy	328.50	300.00
NEW SOUTH Printing and Postage	3,770.58	6,500.00
Envelopes, Addressograph Plates, etc.	307.58	400.00
Books and Materials	705.99	300.00
Sub-totals	$18,715.41	$ 25,250.00**
PROMOTION-STATE ORGANIZATIONS		
Salary, Asst. Director for State Organizations	$ 6,083.31	$ 7,000.00
Salary, Asst. Director for State Organizations	3,289.30	2,000.00
1/4 Salary, Stenographer	494.27	750.00
Sub-totals	$ 9,866.88	$ 9,750.00
PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT		
Salary, Asst. for Program Development	$ 7,750.00	
1/4 Salary, Clerk	494.27	To be provided for under state Training Program
Program Materials	200.00	
Sub-totals	$ 8,444.27	

WOMEN'S WORK	Actual '54-'55	Proposed '55-'56
Salary, Director of Women's Work	$ 5,000.00	$ 5,250.00
1/4 Salary, Clerk	494.25	750.00
Travel, Director	241.33	500.00
Meetings, travel of participants, etc.	893.37	2,000.00
Sub-totals	$ 6,628.95	$ 8,500.00
Two clerks - July and August, 1955	910.00	
SPECIAL PROJECTS		
Manuscript on Cotton Tenancy	150.00	
GRAND TOTALS	$89,011.61	$93,160.00

*Possibly to be financed under Training Program

**Toward this amount approximately $8,350 will be available as unexpended balance in the Marshall Field and Doris Duke grants.

Executive Asst.

Fred Routh

Memphis

Bob Thompson

Girl at Att. Sch Soc. Work.

Miss Irving

Christopher Mercer

Mississippi NAACP ~~Lead~~ Sec.

Harvey L Wright

Milton Vigs

Pulsboard

Memphis — write him for news

Parrish

Graybeal

Jack Warren

John Hope - Exec asst?

Brown

Staff - 1955-56

GSM
HCF
FR
CHP (whole or part)
Sec-Treas

Clerical - etc.

D.T.

Training group with head. Free? Preferably Negro.

Osborne

3 consultants.

Space

o Get from WA salary list

Get F for R commitment on funds for next year.

o How are the States doing?, on their money-raising.
Correspondence re. use of "State" money.

Funds fairly safe

A F of L	1000	✓
Milk	3000	✓
Epis	1000	✓
Poultry	500	
Steel	1000	✓
Auto	1000	✓
Kentucky	500	✓
Other	500	
Small fellows	700	✓
Carlisle	500	
Board	1000	✓
	10,700	
~~F for R~~	~~25,000~~	
New So.	8,000	
Lid	2,000	
Associates	1,000	
	46,700	= 46,000
Duke		3,000
Field		4,000
		53,000
Contingency		2,000
		55,000
Overplus from 1954-5		3,000
		58,000

8,000
25,000
33,000

GSM —

I would point out to you an interesting item:

Irene Osborne's travel allotment is $4,000 — This is a special "one shot" service.

The travel allotment for the Assist. Dir for State Organization — a "regular" service is, as I remember $2,500 —

Yet the necessity of the latter service is paramount.

I wonder whether we have give sufficient consideration to what is important in Council work

FBR

WSD

GSM

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

State

Savings in Dallas Nat'l 60,000

Checking acct balance,
(Aug 1) Allegan 7,169

COST ANALYSIS OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL CENTRAL OFFICE

ADMINISTRATION AND OVERHEAD

Salary, Executive Director		$ 10,000.00	
Salary, secretary to Executive Director		3,000.00	
Salary, Secretary-Treasurer		4,500.00	
1/3 salary, clerk		1,000.00	
Social Security for staff		700.00	
Annual meeting and Executive Committee meetings		2,000.00	
Travel, Executive Director		700.00	
Rent		1,260.00	
Telephone & Telegraph		5,000.00	
Office supplies & equipment		4,500.00	
Postage (not including NEW SOUTH)		4,000.00	
Printing (other than NEW SOUTH)		2,000.00	
Audit fees		300.00	
Miscellaneous expense		300.00	$ 39,260.00

INFORMATION SERVICE AND NEW SOUTH

Salary, Asst. Director for Information		$ 7,000.00	
Salary, Editorial Assistant		4,000.00	
Salary, Research Assistant		4,000.00	
2/3 salary, clerk (circulation)		2,000.00	
¼ salary of clerk (steno)		750.00	
½ salary, office boy		300.00	
NEW SOUTH printing and postage		6,000.00	
Envelopes, addressograph plates, etc.		340.00	
Books and materials		300.00	24,650.00

PROMOTION--STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Salary, Asst. Director for State Organizations		$ 7,000.00	
Salary, Consultant		2,285.00	
Travel, ADSO -	$1,605.65		
Travel, consultant	2,373.66		
Travel, other	537.42	4,516.73	
¼ salary, stenographer		750.00	14,551.73

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Salary, Asst. for program development		$ 7,750.00	
¼ salary, clerk		750.00	
Program materials		200.00	8,700.00

WOMEN'S WORK

Salary, Director of Women's Work		$ 5,000.00	
¼ salary, clerk		750.00	
Travel, Director		241.33	
Meetings, travel of participants, etc.		893.37	6,884.70
			$ 94,046.43

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Menefee -

Salary	$ 1,000.00
Travel	733.20
	$ 1,733.20

Brewer -

Salary	$ 600.00
Travel	124.85
	$ 724.85

Manuscript on Cotton Tenancy	$ 150.00

PROPOSAL RE MEETINGS FOR MRS. TILLY OF CHURCH WOMEN IN VARIOUS STATES

LOUISIANA		
Travel, Mrs. Tilly (1 trip)	$ 90.00	
Travel, 10 women @ $25.00	250.00	
Materials	20.00	$ 360.00
FLORIDA		
Travel, Mrs. Tilly (2 trips)	$ 100.00	
Travel, 20 women @ $35.00	700.00	
Materials	20.00	820.00
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Travel, Mrs. Tilly (2 trips)	$ 80.00	
Travel, 20 women @ $25.00	500.00	
Materials	20.00	$ 600.00
TENNESSEE		
Travel, Mrs. Tilly (2 trips)	$ 75.00	
Travel, 20 women @ $30.00	600.00	
Materials	25.00	$ 700.00
MISSISSIPPI		
Travel, Mrs. Tilly (2 trips)	$ 100.00	
Travel, 20 women @ $25.00	500.00	
Materials	20.00	$ 620.00
NORTH CAROLINA		
Travel, Mrs. Tilly (2 trips)	$ 75.00	
Travel, 20 women @ $30.00	600.00	
Materials	25.00	$ 700.00
		3800.00
Follow-up - Findings, materials, travel to gather information as to what is done, etc.		700.00
		$ 4500.00

For Edna Common.
Oct 28-29

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

We should discuss these in advance

1. Budget
2. Job descriptions
3. Organization chart
4. Sept 30 Quarterly Report.
5. Audit, as of Sept 30.

Next year + Finance Committee

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

This year we spend 7.000 a month.

12 mos — 84.000
Prospects 4.000
way
88,000

Toward which

Normal income	23.000
Fnd'tn income	20,000
F. for R.	24.000
	67.000

88.000
— 67.000
21.000

But next year, we can effect economies of 4000. making its shortfall 17.000.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

---

3 Area Committees

Southeast

M. Weiss - Atlanta
Ed. Vinson - "
M. Abram - "
Rufus Clement - "
B.E. Mays - "
L.D. Milton - "
Jos. Williams - "
Phil Hammer - "
L. Haas - "

GSM suggests H. Davidson Florida
~~N. Carolina~~
~~J. H. Wheeler~~
Some one from Alabama
" " S. Carolina
Hodding Carter Mississippi

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Upper South

J. H. Wheeler, N. Carolina
Paul Williams. Virginia
M. H. Wright. N. Carolina
Alfred Mynders - Tennessee
Person from Kentucky
Others?

Southwest

U.S. Bond - Arkansas
~~Grant~~ - Louisiana
AW Dent - arkansas
Harry Arkmore - Texas (Houston).
Chas A Shaw, Texas.
J. Edwin Smith.

Others?

Each a chairman
Each a quota. - 6,000 ?

Thurs April 17.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Atlanta area committee

Finance

Marion Smith. Treas.
E. W. Vinson
Geo. E Goodwin
M. Abrams.
B. E. Evans
L. D. Milton.
L. Haas, Counsel.

Robt Thum
J. M. Roberts
Rufus Clark.
Jos. Wilkins

Upper South.
Wm. Winn, Treas.
John W. Rohrer.
Paul D. Williams
E. Thompson.
J. M. Higgs

Southwest. Chairman.
Wm. Winn
Hodding Carter
Charles A Shaw.
Wm. J. N. Ranger

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Freeman

had to raise 40,000 - 18 mos
shall have raised 49.000

2nd 9 month period

States 125,433 } SRC
Central ~~4~~ 22.847.50 } forecast

F for R forecast 150,000

Want for next yr.

The 25,000
Plus training program
50,000?
35,000?
less 10,000 States this period unallocated

25,000 or 40,000

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is the request from the Southern Regional Council for renewal of aid from the Fund for the Republic for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955.

The letter of grant dated April 2, 1954, in referring to periods after the first eighteen months, reads:

> "The Fund will give consideration to requests for a grant in 1955-56 of not to exceed $150,000 and a grant in 1956-57 of not to exceed $110,000. There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957.

Our letter of March 15, 1954 envisioned a total sum available from the Fund for the Republic for the twelve months October 1, 1955-September 30, 1956 of $22,847.50 for the central office of SRC and $125,433 for aid to the state programs. We would hope that these figures, particularly the $22,847.50, will be rounded upward.

As to the financing of the state programs, we are content with the amount just set out. For the typical state, that means aid from the second year's grant of about $10,500 with about $3,500 to be raised by each state organization. The longer organized state groups should be able to raise the needed amount without too great strain. The newer ones, staffed within the last few months, will find it harder, but the Fund for the Republic has materially eased the task for them by the terms of your letter of May 25, 1955, enabling the carry-over to the state programs, under given restrictions, of some of the 1954-55 allocations for state programs unused (by reason of late starts with staff) in the current fiscal period. We feel satisfied that the twelve state organizations we have going will be able to continue as planned in the fiscal year 1955-56.

On the central office, we foresee problems, and ask for some further help, over and above that forecast in the original letter of grant.

The Southern Regional Council originally requested help from the Ford Foundation in May, 1951, after, of course, many months of careful preparation of the proposal. There seemed then to be time enough before any crisis-period would be upon the South to organize in advance twelve state movements, and get them in condition to carry corrective program when the anticipated strain of desegregation, in various forms, would be upon the South. Generous as was the grant from the Fund for the Republic, its actual date was April 1954, and the crucial decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on the matter of the public schools came in the next month. The grant perforce had to be trimmed to what seemed the smallest possible amount for getting state organizations going. Specifically, in an effort to flow into the states the maximum of funds for their needs, we agreed to a minimal central office, deemed by us, and I suppose by your own staff, but barely enough to let us go out and organize twelve state movements and give them safe administrative supervision from a central office in Atlanta. Proceeding in the terms of the 1951 request, we were hoping that such a minimal supervisory office would be enough.

In actual fact, history has telescoped the need for supervision of field organization and the need for rapid training of the field staffs in program looking toward desegregation. The two needs have run concurrently, and will do so for the second grant period, and to some degree probably for the third. Yet we in the central office have only sufficient funds for a routine administrative program, and cannot, under present circumstances, pay for the leadership, detailed insturction, and implementing guidance which the state orgaizations urgently need.

An obvious answer would be "if you need more, go out and raise it". We are committed already to raising by our own efforts, independent of the Fund for the Republic, $55,000 in the second grant period and that is quite as much as we can realistically undertake.

1

Dear Mr. Freeman,

This is the request from the Southern Regional Council for renewal of aid from the Fund for the Republic for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955.

~~The language of the letter of grant dated April 2, 1954~~

The letter of grant dated April 2 1954, in referring to periods after the first eighteen months, reads:

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TRA To check

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We do not burden this letter with an account of our stewardship for the first grant period now ~~xxx~~ coming to an end. We have reported ~~quarterly~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in detail for each quarter, and your staff is familiar, from its own travel, with our successes and our shortcomings. In addition, full audit reports have been filed for each quarter, and ~~an additional such~~ another and report, with an eighteen months summary for the first grant period, will be filed shortly after ~~the~~ September 30, 1955.

GSM Note

Sincerely,

~~President~~

~~Chairman, Executive Committee~~

Executive Director

Mr. David Freeman,

mThe accompanying grant request for the fiscal year October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956, has been drafted with our detailed knowledge and approval, and we subscribe to it on behalf of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

President

Chairman of the
Executive Committee

date

WWA - Dollard of Carnegie + a
Somebody to do my
research manipulation for.
Tie w. Bob Lester of
Ch. Hist. - ex-Carnegie.

March '54 WWA and individuals, if
TVM will let WWA
show research
manipulation would
work.

Mary Childers, Houston, died in the
mental woman.

WWA takes on teaching w. Rockefellers.

Idea of a Commission of 3 to do w.
F for R help. a manual on
human relations in the So.

MacNeill Poteat.
Asp Ch in Rel.

Hardy Dillard. U Va Law School.
very upright man. WWI.

Head of Coca Cola in Charleville is a
disciple of Ashby Jones.

H. W. Miller free-lancing
could do articles on SRC in
Washington or N.Y. Times.

Television on parental attitudes.

*

Jas A Beirne
1808 Adams Mill Rd N.W.
Ward 9. (opc)
CWA - 1000 - Class Sickness

Write Warner about Wasty.

for David Freeman.
Who went to Roosevelt Hdq.
in Nashville.

Cleon Swaggy - JSH's ex neighbor
in Ward is friend of Coombs
in F for AOE. S. works on
for Exit idea.

Houston Claim No. 229-20-3767 A.
~~HE W. 106 U. 7th 3-6616~~
~~Civilian Military & Texas Mile from~~ file.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND APPROPRIATION: 1946

Regular Account

February 22, 1946

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the audit of our regular account for the year 1945. You will note that a bank balance of $9,476.53 was brought forward on January 1, 1946. This was made possible because of the legacy of $9,375.46 which we received from the Estate of Esther Morton Smith during the year 1945 but held in reserve for 1946. Following the custom established by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, on the basis of long experience, the Council has endeavored to carry over sufficient funds to cover expenses for the first month or two of the year, inasmuch as payments on appropriations usually are not received until later.

I am enclosing, also, a copy of the financial statement on our regular account for the month of January, showing a bank balance of $4,863.15 on February 1. This will take care of our needs for February, but there will be a very small balance at the close of the month. We shall greatly appreciate it, therefore, it we may have a payment on the Fund's appropriation toward our regular expenses for the current year.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

Copy to Dr. Alexander

Copy to PBJ

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Statement of Finances - Regular Account
January 1946

Receipts

Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church, U. S.	$ 25.00	
SRC: Dues	83.00	
Contributions	34.00	
New South	12.00	
Mailing List	20.00	
Miscellaneous-Literature	123.88	
	297.88	
Balance in Postage Account - January 1, 1946	7.89	
Balance in Bank - January 1, 1946 (Including Legacy from Estate of Esther Morton Smith - $9,375.46 - Reserve for 1946)	9,476.53	
TOTAL RECEIPTS		$ 9,782.30

Expenditures

Salaries	$ 3,330.94	
Special Services	100.00	
Travel	342.06	
Rent	130.00	
Telephone-Telegraph	35.83	
Supplies-Equipment	120.31	
Printing-Literature	199.05	
Subscriptions	21.25	
Miscellaneous-General Expense	9.19	
Postage-Express	100.22	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES		4,388.85
		5,393.45
Less: Balance in Postage Account- February 1	$ 105.30	
Balance in Air Script Account	425.00	530.30
BALANCE IN BANK FEBRUARY 1, 1946		**$ 4,863.15**

February 27, 1946

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

When I finally got around to looking up the old records, in order to prepare a statement showing the expenditures made from the balance held by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation on December 31, 1943, I discovered that we did not send you a copy of the final audit of that account for the period from January 1 to July 21, 1944. I am, therefore, enclosing a copy now. As stated in the letter from the auditor, all remaining assets and liabilities were transferred to the Southern Regional Council by a resolution passed at the last meeting of the Commission on February 16, 1944. In the audit you will find a detailed report of the expenditures.

I am very sorry that a copy of the audit was not mailed to you as soon as it was completed, and I regret, also, that there has been so much delay in replying to your letter requesting a statement of the expenditures.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

Enclosure

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1946
Southern Regional Council

January 30, 1946

Dear Miss Clay: Sometime when you have a spare minute, I would appreciate it if you would mail me a brief statement showing the expenditures made from the balance held by the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation on December 31, 1943. The audit report as of that date showed various cash and accounts receivable on hand amounting to $2,284.88. I assume that the furniture and fixtures, valued in this report at $1,640.70, were turned over to the Southern Regional Council.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:LCM

Miss Emily H. Clay
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 2, 1946

Dr. Edwin R. Embree, President
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

This letter is a brief report on the activities and plans of the Southern Regional Council and a request for the renewal of the Julius Rosenwald Fund's appropriation to the Council.

Under separate cover I am sending some publications of the Council. I shall refer to some of these in the succeeding paragraphs.

At our Charter Meeting in February, 1944, the Council absorbed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and set out to promote a broader and more vigorous program in behalf of human progress in the South. On account of the war, suitable personnel was exceedingly hard to find. Our small staff faced numerous demands on its services and was greatly overworked throughout the year. We inherited certain activities and good will from the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and we felt obliged to carry on as far as possible the worthwhile activities which we inherited. However, in spite of our various difficulties, we made considerable progress during 1944. For details of our activities during that year, let me refer you to Report of The Executive Directors 1944.

In the summer of 1945 our personnel situation began to improve considerably. A grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund enabled us to employ Dr. George S. Mitchell to direct a special project in behalf of Negro veterans. We were also able to secure a very capable public relations man, Mr. Ray Warwick, who had had considerable experience in editorial and publicity work. Furthermore, we added two research assistants, one white and one colored, two field representatives on a part-time basis, and an office manager. We had felt increasingly the need of a full-time Associate Executive Director. Dr. Ira De A. Reid, who had given splendid service on a part-time basis since the formation of the Council, was unable to come with us full-time and suggested that we find a full-time person for this position. We finally obtained Dr. H. L. Trigg, who was President of Elizabeth City Teachers College in North Carolina. He began his duties as Associate Executive Director on January 1, 1946.

During 1945 our activities expanded considerably in spite of the small staff which we had during the first half of the year. Briefly, the major Council projects were as follows:

(1) Revitalizing the state interracial groups in the South. Ten of our thirteen states have interracial councils or committees. We felt that they had a function to perform, particularly as we approached the postwar period, and we have given them as much assistance as possible in conferences, advice and literature. Most of these groups have adopted formal affiliation agreements with SRC and some of them are in process of merging with SRC to become state divisions. This process will help tremendously in bringing our program down to state and local levels.

(2) Cooperation with numerous agencies working in the South. A detailed list of these agencies would be quite extensive. It includes, in addition to state and local interracial committees, such organizations as the Women's Division of the Methodist Church, the Urban League, the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.C.A., the Boy Scouts of America, the U.S.O., the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the American Association of University Women, etc. Let me add that when the Governor of Kentucky established a Commission for the Study of Negro Affairs, we were asked by the Chairman to advise the Commission in setting up its work. The Commission made its report several months ago, and its recommendations represent a new departure for Commissions of this sort in the South. Here let me refer you to the tear sheet from the Louisville Courier-Journal, summarizing the report of the Governor's Commission. The Chairman of the Governor's Commission is Chairman of our affiliate, the Kentucky Council on Interracial Cooperation, and he is vigorously pushing the legislative program recommended by the Governor's Commission.

(3) Conference on the South's Postwar Economy. The Council sponsored this conference in Atlanta on April 11-12, 1945. A group of experts presented various phases of the South's postwar problems and prospects. We feel that the conference helped to focus the attention of the South upon its postwar outlook. In this connection, please see our publication, The South - America's Opportunity Number One.

(4) Survey of Reconversion Problems. This brief survey was based on a sampling of families in twenty southern communities, including large cities, small cities, and rural areas. It covered such topics as migration, employment, acquisition of new skills, changes in the family situation, and plans of the interviewees for the reconversion period. The processing of the statistical data has been slow due to inadequate funds, but the results of the study will shortly be ready for release.

(5) Survey of Segregated Transportation in Atlanta. During the summer and fall of 1945 the Council made a spot study of transportation in Atlanta under the direction of Dr. Ira De A. Reid. The study included an examination of the laws and ordinances relating to

separation in transportation and through observations on facilities, services and practices with respect to railways, railway terminals, interurban busses, street cars, city busses, taxicabs, and the municipal airport. Some very significant material was developed. The report has recently been completed and we are now at the point of attempting to get remedial action on the basis of the findings.

(6) Promotion of the use of Negro police in southern cities. We have continued this project which was begun by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. We have had numerous occasions to advise officials and private citizens who are interested in extending the use of Negro police. We are making special efforts to promote the idea in Atlanta. In recent months, Norfolk, Virginia, Tampa, Florida, and Asheville, North Carolina, have instituted the use of Negro police. In every instance the informational material which we had circulated was a helpful factor.

(7) Veterans Service Project. Since Dr. George S. Mitchell has recently sent you a brief summary of this work, I shall not attempt to say anything further about it here except to say that it is a splendid project which is already making itself felt in the administration of veteran's services with respect to Negroes. It is, of course, being financed by a special grant, and, therefore, is not a part of the general budget of SRC.

(8) Informational services. Requests for information have reached such proportions that we really need a full-time person to handle them. Although the majority of the requests relate to factual information about the Negro or race relations, many of them deal with other matters. Apparently we are gradually becoming a clearing house for all sorts of informational material concerning the South.

(9) Publications. In response to popular demand, we have continued such Commission pamphlets as <u>America's Tenth Man</u> and <u>Understanding our Neighbors</u>. We have also printed or reprinted timely articles and leaflets for taking care of the numerous requests which we get for free material, particularly on the subject of race relations. <u>The Southern Frontier</u> has been replaced by <u>New South</u>, which is being published monthly. Once each quarter <u>New South</u> will be enlarged to give a larger coverage on some special problem. At the annual meeting of the Council in November, 1945, the Council adopted the policy of placing more emphasis upon literature suitable for mass distribution and broadening the coverage beyond the problem of race relations. For a brief report on the actions taken at the 1945 annual meeting of SRC, please see the December 1945 issue of <u>The Southern Frontier.</u>

During the present year we are continuing the above activities with the exception of (3), (4), and (5). In addition, our program includes the following projects:

(1) Survey of the Negro Community in Jacksonville, Florida. Several months ago a bi-racial committee at Jacksonville invited us to

plan and supervise a survey there. During the past two months we have given considerable time to this work because we feel it has great possibilities for setting a pattern of self-examination by other communities. The Jacksonville Community Chest is financing the survey and most of the work is being done by local people under our supervision. The survey has the backing of prominent citizens of both races, including some of the City and County officials. Our recommendations will be very forthright and we have every reason to believe that the City and County will make an honest effort to act upon them. If this project is successful, as we believe it will be, we expect to be asked to repeat it in other communities. This means that we shall need more staff and more funds than we have had in the past.

(2) Expansion of SRC membership. We are committed to the development of a mass membership in the Council. At present, we have 1,000 members. We have just launched a promotional campaign which we hope will bring in some 3,000 to 5,000 members by the end of the year. This will not only give us more effectiveness in promoting our program, but will mean that members and contributors assume an increasing share in the financial support of the Council.

(3) Establishment of State Divisions of SRC. Two State Interracial Councils, Florida and Mississippi, have already voted to merge with SRC. State units will also be established during 1946 in Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee, and perhaps one or two other states. More and more these state groups are seeing the advantage of being an integral part of SRC, and it goes without saying that such an arrangement will enable us to promote our work more effectively on the state and local levels.

(4) Police administration. As soon as possible we want to get a qualified person to make a brief survey of police systems in selected southern cities with particular reference to the quality of police personnel and its relation to the treatment of Negroes. This is a vital work which we would have undertaken long ago if we had had the personnel and money to support it.

(5) Work with public officials. This is closely related to Number (4). Here, however, we had in mind the establishment of closer working contacts with the Conference of Southern Governors, the various Associations of Peace Officers, and with individual public officials such as Mayors and Police Chiefs. The general idea is to try to bring these people to a better understanding of the causes of racial tension and to help them work out techniques for preventing tensions and for handling outbreaks in the wisest possible way. In this connection, let me add that we have already made an investigation of the riot at Columbia, Tennessee, and we are exploring ways of bringing certain lessons from that experience to the attention of public officials in the South.

We have now reached the point where we see more clearly than ever the great opportunity for the Council in education, coordination and stimulation

of progressive action in the South. We believe that we can take pride in the beginning that we have made in the past two years, but we are by no means satisfied with what we have done. We have reached the crucial point where we either stand still more or less or expand our activities in such a way as to exploit the opportunity which faces us. Our greatest need now is for additional funds which will enable us to employ the personnel which we need so badly. We can anticipate a substantial increase perhaps as much as $10,000 to $15,000 in the amount given by members and contributors during 1946, provided we can put a suitable man in the field to build up our financial support in the South. We are negotiating with a man who qualifies splendidly, but we shall not be able to employ him unless our general budget situation has first improved, therefore, we must rely for a while yet upon foundation support so that we can not only carry on what we have begun, but expand it to the point that the South itself is convinced that it should support the work of the Council.

To this end, I want to request that the Julius Rosenwald Fund grant to the Southern Regional Council at least $32,500, which is the amount contributed by the Fund during 1945, and that the Fund increase this amount if possible to a total of $50,000. The larger appropriation, together with the anticipated increase in income from our members will enable us to do some of the new things that we feel must be done. I am sure that this request has enthusiastic support of our President, Mr. Paul D. Williams, our past President, Dr. Howard W. Odum, our Finance Committee Chairman, Dr. Will W. Alexander, and our Executive Committee Chairman, Dr. Charles S. Johnson.

Miss Clay is sending Miss Elvidge the finance statement which she requested. As you will see from the financial statement, the Council will need approximately $50,000 from new funds in order to carry on the activities projected for 1946.

With appreciation for the assistance of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and for your continuing personal interest in our work, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

March 2, 1946

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

In accordance with your letter of February 25 and our telephone conversation of the following day, I am sending you herewith a statement showing (1) our anticipated income for 1946, (2) our operating expenses on the basis of the present staff, and (3) the estimated needs for the enlarged program for the year 1946. As you will see, it will be necessary for us to find approximately $30,000 in new funds if we are to carry out the program which has been planned for this year.

By this same mail Dr. Guy Johnson is sending to Mr. Embree a letter in which he is reviewing past activities of the Council and outlining plans for 1946.

We hope that our request for continued support from the Julius Rosenwald Fund will receive early and favorable action.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

General Budget for 1946

INCOME

Assured	
Esther Morton Smith Legacy (Reserve from 1945)	$ 9,375.46
General Education Board	10,000.00
Phelps-Stokes Fund	300.00
Board of Missions and Church Extension, The Methodist Church	1,000.00
Board of Missions, Woman's Work, The Methodist Church	1,000.00
American Missionary Association Division, Board of Congregational and Christian Churches	1,000.00
Non-member Contributions	1,000.00
SRC Dues	5,000.00
Contributions	1,500.00
New South (Subscriptions)	1,000.00
Mailing List Service (Subscriptions)	500.00
Miscellaneous-Literature	1,500.00
	$ 33,175.46
Additional Anticipated Income	
Julius Rosenwald Fund	32,500.00
Church Boards - Miscellaneous	2,000.00
TOTAL	$ 67,675.46

OPERATING EXPENSES
as of January 1, 1946

Salaries	$ 40,760.00
Travel-Entertainment (Including Board of Directors and Executive Committee Meetings)	6,000.00
Rent	1,560.00
Telephone-Telegraph	650.00
Supplies-Equipment	2,500.00
Printing-Literature	5,000.00
Research-Special Services	2,500.00
Conference of Council Fellows	1,000.00
Miscellaneous	700.00
Postage-Express	1,800.00
	$ 62,470.00
Reserve	2,500.00
TOTAL	$ 64,970.00

ESTIMATED NEEDS FOR ENLARGED PROGRAM - 1946

Salaries (Present Staff, plus Administrative Assistant, 2 Full-time Field Secretaries, 1 Stenographer)	$ 59,160.00
Travel-Entertainment (Including Board of Directors and Executive Committee Meetings)	7,500.00
Rent	1,560.00
Telephone-Telegraph	750.00
Supplies-Equipment	2,500.00
Printing-Literature	5,000.00
Research-Special Services	4,000.00
Conference of Council Fellows	1,000.00
Miscellaneous	700.00
Postage-Express	2,000.00
State Committee Promotion	5,000.00
Police Survey and Institutes	2,000.00
	$ 91,170.00
Reserve	2,500.00
TOTAL	$ 93,670.00

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1946
Southern Regional Council

February 25, 1946

Dear Miss Clay: Thank you for your letter of February 22 to which was attached a copy of the audit report of the Southern Regional Council for the calendar year 1945.

I note your request for a first payment for 1946. No funds have been approved by our Trustees for this calendar year. All of the appropriations made to the general budget of the Southern Regional Council have been paid in full. As you know, Mr. Embree has been away on the West Coast all of the past month and I have not had an opportunity to discuss with him the various appropriation requests which will be included in our docket for the Spring meeting of our Board of Trustees. If the Southern Regional Council will be one of them, it might be well for you to send me promptly a statement of your estimated expenditures for 1946 and what funds have been received or pledged toward these expenses.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:LCM

Miss Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 15, 1946

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 11, enclosing the check for $5,000.

The action of the Executive Committee in appropriating this amount in advance of the Spring Meeting of the Trustees of the Fund is greatly appreciated.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1946
Southern Regional Council

March 11, 1946

Dear Mr. Johnson: Mr. Embree prefers to wait until the Spring Meeting of our Trustees to present the request of the Southern Regional Council for a contribution to the budget for 1946. In the interim, however, the following resolution has been approved by our Executive Committee:

RESOLVED That the sum of Five thousand dollars ($5,000) be and it is hereby appropriated to the Southern Regional Council toward its work for the calendar year, 1946.

There is enclosed our check for $5,000 paying in full the above grant.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:LCM

Mr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 27, 1946

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

Thank you for your letter of May 24 informing us that the Julius Rosenwald Fund has appropriated the sum of $20,000 to the Southern Regional Council toward its budget for the calendar year 1946.

Let me acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your check for $7,500 which completes payment of one-half of the grants for the current year.

We deeply appreciate the continuing interest and support of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
MAY 27 1946
Southern Regional Council

May 24, 1946

Dear Mr. Johnson: I take pleasure in reporting that, at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Julius Rosenwald Fund held May 18, 1946, the following resolution was approved:

RESOLVED That the sum of Twenty thousand dollars ($20,000) be and it is hereby appropriated to the Southern Regional Council toward its budget for the calendar year, 1946.

This appropriation plus the one for $5,000 made by our Executive Committee in March makes a total grant from the Fund to the Council for the year 1946 of $25,000, of which $5,000 has been paid. I am enclosing our check for $7,500 which will complete payment of one half of the grants. The balance will be paid in two quarterly installments of $6,250 each on July 1 and October 1.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:LCM

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SPECIAL APPROPRIATION:
Student Work

June 12, 1946

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

Your letter of June 7, with the check for $500 for special work among students, was received Monday. I was glad to handle this in accordance with Dr. Alexander's request, and the full amount has been passed on to the student group through Mr. Weisiger.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1946
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

June 7, 1946

Dear Miss Clay: I believe Doctor Alexander talked with you by telephone today concerning the allocation of $500 for special work among students. A check paying in full that allocation is enclosed.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:LCM

Miss Emily Clay
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 14, 1946

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

Dr. Johnson has asked me to send you a statement of funds advanced from our general budget for expenses in connection with the recent Chicago conference. The total amount, as shown on the attached sheet, is $430.94. We shall appreciate receiving a check at your convenience.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Enclosure

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

CHICAGO MEETING -- AUGUST 8, 1946

GUY B. JOHNSON		
Atlanta to Chicago and return - Delta Air Lines	$68.66	
Ground transportation	5.80	
Taxicabs - Chicago	1.10	
Sherry Hotel - Chicago	1.10	
Meals - Chicago	4.70	
Porters	.40	
		$ 81.76
HAROLD L. TRIGG		
Atlanta to Chicago and return - by rail	$60.09	
Taxicabs - Chicago and Atlanta	4.25	
Meals - Chicago and en route	10.20	
		74.54
MRS. M. E. TILLY		
Atlanta to Chicago and return - Delta Air Lines	68.66	
A. T. WALDEN		
Atlanta to Chicago and return - Delta Air Lines	68.66	
L. D. MILTON		
Atlanta to Chicago and return - Delta Air Lines	68.66	
BISHOP W. Y. BELL		
Atlanta to Chicago and return - Delta Air Lines	68.66	
		274.64
TOTAL ADVANCED		$430.94

Emily H. Clay, Secretary-Treasurer

November 18, 1946

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Will:

Thank you for your letter of November 6, containing your advice concerning our financial situation. We appreciate your suggestions very much.

I am terribly sorry that your engagement at Grand Rapids, Michigan, prevented your being with us on the occasion of our annual meeting. The meeting was by far the best we have ever had and I am sure it would have done your heart good. Still better perhaps was the two-day conference of Council Fellows. They are a swell bunch of Fellows and all of us profited a great deal by this opportunity to get together and discuss our problems. It would be a shame not to repeat the conference next year, so we are hoping that the General Education Board will be willing to renew the special grant which made this conference possible.

Aren't you coming to Atlanta sometime soon on business? If so, why not spend a day with us here at the Council? Our Finance Committee needs some new blood and needs to have a good meeting. Paul Williams was authorized to get the committee going again so it may be that we could hold a special meeting the next time you are here.

It does not seem the same here without Miss Clay. Friday was her last day and we sent her off with a little surprise party here at headquarters. I envy her the peaceful life she is going to have in Florida but it is going to be hard to get used to doing without her here at the Council.

Greetings and best wishes from all of us.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Charles S. Johnson
Joseph D. Lohman
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

November 6, 1946

My dear Guy: I held your letter of October 28 until I could have a chance to think about it. I think it would be inadvisable to ask the Rosenwald Fund Trustees to make up a deficit. They have already given generously to the budget for the year and have been the major support of the Council. I have the following suggestions:

(1) Cut your expenses to the end of the year to the bone.

(2) Raise everything you can raise from new sources and

(3) Ask the General Education Board to advance what you require to meet your deficit between now and the first of the year. Make that request when you know what the deficit will be.

I do not think it would be wise to approach the Carnegie Corporation to help with the deficit. I am sure they would not do it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

W. W. A.

WWA:SO

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 18, 1946

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Will:

Thank you for your letter which arrived day before yesterday. I am terribly sorry that an apparent uncertainty concerning the future leadership here has caused certain complications.

Here is the picture in a nutshell -- a rather large nutshell, perhaps. When Dr. Odum asked me late in August if I could return to the University of North Carolina on January 1, I told him that I was ready to say that I wanted to return but that January 1 was not suitable to me because I had just leased my house again in Chapel Hill for another year. We discussed the matter again a little later. I preferred September, but he was pressing me, for various reasons, to come earlier than that. On November 8 I told him that I would try to come in the spring term if I could work out the matter of housing. I was trying to get my new renter to say that he would release my house before his lease expired in August, but he delayed in replying. With the annual meeting only a few days off, I was in a real quandary. Remembering the inconveniences to me and my family in 1944 when it took eight months for me to obtain a house in Atlanta, I did not want to get into a similar situation on returning to Chapel Hill. At the same time, I realized that various rumors were afloat concerning my impending departure from the Council, so it seemed only fair that I lay the matter before the Executive Committee. On November 11 I told the administrative staff about it, and they agreed that it would be wise to tell the Executive Committee about the status of my plans. This I did on the following day. I told the Committee that I knew that I would not leave before the first of March and that I was trying to work out a later date with the University for personal reasons. They could take this as a resignation, with the effective date to be given shortly, or as notice that a resignation would be submitted as soon as my plans were completed. The Committee voted to receive it as information which would be passed on to the Board and to the members and to recommend my reelection as Executive Director, with the understanding that my resignation would be received later.

Shortly afterward I learned from my new lessee that he was not willing to give up my house until next August. I have recently talked further with Dr. Odum and with Dr. Gordon Blackwell, Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, and early this week it was agreed that I would return to the University in September. A formal exchange of letters will take place between Chancellor House and myself within a few days, and I shall shortly notify the President and Executive Committee of SRC of my formal resignation, effective as of September 1, 1947.

Thus, while there has been a bit of uncertainty, due to my desire to avoid getting myself into a housing difficulty at Chapel Hill, it has now been cleared up. Furthermore, the Council is fully cognizant of the situation and has approved the recommendations of the Executive Committee. In other words, I have been reelected as Executive Director and will serve until my resignation becomes effective in September. I hope that this clears up the questions that were in your mind.

Needless to say, I shall carry on without any let-up until the day I leave the Council. With plenty of time in which to consider the matter of my successor, the Executive Committee should be able to find a Director who will be suitable in every way. Under the Council by-laws, the Executive Committee is empowered to select the Director, on recommendation of a special committee appointed to study the matter.

With highest regards and with best wishes for a happy and restful Christmas season,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
DEC 21 1946

December 18, 1946

Dear Mr. Johnson: I have your letters of December 12 and 16. I can understand the considerations that lead to your return to the University of North Carolina. I assume that you will continue your active interest in the Southern Regional Council. The University of North Carolina is so strong a center that you will doubtless find yourself continuing many of the same interests you have had on the Council, even though your daily activities may be more concerned with research and teaching than with the action phases of the program.

In view of the pending changes in the administration of the Council, I imagine the Fund and other potential donors may wish to delay action on their further gifts until this is determined. At any rate, you can count on our continued deep interest. I presume Dr. Alexander and Dr. Johnson will be in immediate touch with developments and they, in turn, can keep us informed.

My best wishes to you whatever the base of your work and my greetings at this Christmas Season.

Very truly yours,

Edwin R Embree

ERE:RC

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 16, 1946

Dr. Edwin R. Embree, President
The Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

In my letter the other day I neglected to tell you that I am planning to give up my position with the Southern Regional Council. At the meetings of our Board of Directors and of our members on November 12-13 I made the following announcement, in substance:

> I have decided that I shall return to the University of North Carolina sometime during 1947. The final decision is so recent that certain details remain to be worked out, but I have discussed this matter with our Executive Committee and they agree that it is only fair that you know about it now. As soon as the details are arranged, I shall submit a formal resignation.
>
> I realize that it may take some time to line up another Executive Director and I shall try to arrange with the University of North Carolina a certain amount of flexibility in the time of my leaving the Council, so that there will be no lack of continuity in the executive work.

Our Executive Committee will shortly take up the matter of choosing my successor. I am sure that a suitable person will be found and that the work of the Council will go on with renewed vigor and without serious interruption on account of the change.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
DEC 16 1946
Southern Regional Council

Charles S. Johnson
Joseph D. Lohman
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

December 13, 1946

My dear Guy: In a recent talk with Odum, he indicated that he expected you to return to Chapel Hill in January. My last talk with him was during the Thanksgiving holidays.

Soon after this, I saw Paul Williams and concluded from my talk with him that as far as he knew, the matter was still in a state of indecision. He said that there was a prospect of your going back to Chapel Hill at some time but did not seem clear as to when.

As you know, the appropriation of the Rosenwald Fund for the Southern Regional Council covered a three-year period which expires at the end of this month. It would not be wise for me to go to the Trustees for an appropriation covering an additional period of years with the leadership of the Council in a state of uncertainty. Nor would it be possible to ask them to make an appropriation covering a short period, or an indefinite period, pending the final settlement of the future leadership of the Council. I am, therefore, not taking up with the Trustees the matter of further appropriations and shall not do so until the question indicated above is settled. I am sure that under the circumstances our Trustees would not act favorably. I thought you and the others ought to know this. I am sending a copy of this letter to both Mr. Williams and Doctor Odum. I shall be glad to have word when definite decisions have been reached.

Sincerely,

Will W. Alexander

WWA:SO

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc Dr. Odum
cc Mr. Paul Williams

December 12, 1946

Dr. Edwin R. Embree, President
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

The Southern Regional Council is closing another successful year of operation. The meetings of our Board of Directors, our members, and our Honorary Fellows, which were held on November 12, 13, 14 and 15, were characterized by unity and enthusiasm. Reports on the year's work are being published in the December issue of New South, which will be off the press in about two weeks. Shortly after January 1 we shall send you a financial report for the calendar year 1946.

During the present year we have expanded our work as much as our resources could permit. Our total expenditures for the year, exclusive of the veterans project, will be about $62,000. We shall have a deficit of $1,000 to $1,200. Dr. Will Alexander, Chairman of our Finance Committee, will be in Atlanta next week and will go over our financial situation with us. We shall probably borrow the amount needed to take care of our December 31 payroll.

We trust that the Julius Rosenwald Fund will continue its appropriation to the Council in 1947 and we hope that a portion of the grant can be made available early in January.

In order to expand our program for 1947, with special emphasis on the improvement of police methods and the prevention of lynching in the South, we have set up a proposed budget of $92,000, which is an increase of $30,000 over the 1946 budget. We believe that we can count on an increase of $10,000 in our income from members and other non-foundation sources, and we are hopeful that the Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board will be willing to increase their grants sufficiently to make up the remainder of our expanded budget.

I am glad to record that the amount of our income from non-foundation sources has steadily increased. In 1944 such income was about 5% of the total. This year it is more than 25% of the total.

With deep appreciation for the support of the Julius Rosenwald Fund which has helped to make our work possible, and with all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

December 26, 1946

Dr. Edwin R. Embree, President
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

Thank you for your letter of December 18. I trust that you have had as restful and peaceful a Christmas Season as I have.

As I wrote Dr. Alexander last week, the University of North Carolina has agreed to a date for my return which I preferred all along, namely, September 1, 1947. Consequently I shall be here as Executive Director for the better part of 1947 and our Executive Committee will have ample time to choose a suitable person to succeed me. The Committee will go into this matter next month. If by any chance the right person is not available by September 1, I shall ask the University to release me and shall stay here until satisfactory arrangements have been made.

I hope that this will clear up any uncertainty concerning the administrative leadership of the Council for the coming year, at least. I should hate terribly to see the financial support of the Council jeopardized.

The decision to return to Chapel Hill was a tough one for me. I love the Council, and I am proud to have had a part in developing it into an effective and respected organization, but I have always felt that someone else could be found who could do the job so much better that it would not be fair for me to hold on here indefinitely. On the selfish side, I think I'll live longer at Chapel Hill and perhaps make a better contribution through teaching and research. Wherever I am, the work of the Council will lie close to my heart and will always have my cooperation.

I am enclosing a copy of our proposed budget for 1947 and a copy of an audit which was made on October 31, 1946. In January I shall send a copy of our auditor's report for the entire year, 1946.

With highest regards and with greetings for the New Year,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD L. TRIGG
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. INEZ B. TILLISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 19, 1947

MEMORANDUM TO: Mrs. Inez B. Tillison

FROM : George S. Mitchell

I received today check number 806 on the Citizens Trust Company from the Atlanta University School of Social Work in the sum of $200.00 as payment for teaching done by me at Atlanta University during the period October 30-January 22, 1946-47.

All of this teaching was done within the office day of SRC.

I paid $80.00 to Joseph Shabsees who taught the class for me four times. I paid $20.00 to Charles Mathias who taught it for me once. My own expenses in getting to and from classes were approximately $2.25. From the balance of $100.00 after payment of Shabses and Mathias, I deducted my expense leaving the sum of $97.75.

This I consider as due the Council, Veterans Services Division. Herewith, check in that amount.

Secretary's Ledger

GSM/lg

ck # 97.75
Fulton Nat Bank

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO 15

To

Southern Regional Council

c/o D. Elvidge

Payment Voucher No. 3536

Date March 7, 1947

The check enclosed herewith is tendered in full payment of the following:

First payment on appropriation of $25,000 for calendar year, 1947 -	$12,500.00
First payment on special appropriation of $10,000 - - - -	5,000.00
	$17,500.00

2653.90

Letter follows Monday

RECEIVED MAR 10 1947 Southern Regional Council

5000
2,700 Vets. Serv.
2300

Ck. #36593

No acknowledgment required. The cancelled check will be regarded as a receipt.

June 2, 1947

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 27th informing us of the action of the Julius Rosenwald Fund in appropriating the sum of $50,000 to the Southern Regional Council toward its budget for the calendar years 1848 and 1949.

We are deeply grateful for the continuing interest and support of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
Executive Director

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Charles S. Johnson
Joseph D. Lohman
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1947
Southern Regional Council

May 27, 1947

Dear Doctor Mitchell: I take pleasure in reporting that, at a meeting of the Trustees of the Julius Rosenwald Fund held May 24, 1947, the following resolution was approved:

RESOLVED That the sum of Fifty thousand dollars ($50,000) be and it is hereby appropriated to the Southern Regional Council, it being understood that $25,000 shall be paid for each of the calendar years, 1948 and 1949.

It is customary for us to make payment on appropriations of this kind in quarterly installments, and I shall see that the first quarterly payment for 1948 is mailed early in January.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:LCM

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
JUL 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

July 10, 1947

Dear Mrs. McKoy: Thank you for sending me the list of Southern Regional Council Fellows. This will be very useful.

Sincerely yours,

Hilde Reitzes
For the Committee
on Fellowships

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 8, 1947

Miss Hilda Reitges
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Reitges:

Please accept my apologies for the delay in sending you the list of Southern Regional Council Fellows, hereto attached. In Dr. Mitchell's absence from the city I am forwarding this list on to you.

If we can be of further service to you at any time, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Charles S. Johnson
Joseph D. Lohman
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

J une 23, 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchell: Since the Fund is closing its work next June, this is the last year that Rosenwald Fellowships will be available. We want to do as thorough a publicity job as we possibly can, and are therefore enlisting your help. May we have from your office the names and addresses of all Southern Regional Council Fellows?

Sincerely yours,

Hilde Reitzes

For the Committee on Fellowships

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUN 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mrs McKoy

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

June 4, 1948

Dear Mrs. McKoy: I am sorry that what may be my final letter to the Southern Regional Council has to start off with an apology. In my letter of April 14, I said that we had sent you a payment of $3,500 for the veterans service division in February. Unfortunately, I looked at the wrong place on the voucher. It was an appropriation of $3,500, but the payment on it was $1,500. I am sorry I put you to the trouble of checking through your records for a mythical $2,000.

Thanks so much for forwarding the copy of your audit report for December 31, 1947. Since our files will be stored away soon after the first of July, this will be the last report which we shall need from you.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:lm

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
1948
Southern Regional Council

May 24, 1948

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

We are very happy, at long last, to be able to forward to you for your files a copy of our official 1947 audit. This audit is as complete as we, and the auditor, knew how to make it, reflecting every aspect of the Council's fiscal operations and its actual financial condition at the close of the year.

In regard to the question in your letter of April 14th about the extra $2,000 for the Veteran's Service Division, we are all greatly puzzled over this and have made a diligent search of our books and other records to see if we can clear it up. For whatever light they may throw, I am listing below all receipts from the Julius Rosenwald Fund for both the Southern Regional Council and the Veteran's Service Division as they appear in our daily cash book through May 1947.

Southern Regional Council:

March 4,	$ 1,000	(Special Fund-Josephine Wilkins, Treasurer)
March 10	$17,500	($12,500 on regular $25,000 appropriation; $5,000 on special $10,000 appropriation)
April 7	$ 1,000	(Special Fund- Josephine Wilkins, Treasurer)
May 29	$ 1,000	(Special Fund-Josephine Wilkins, Treasurer)

Veterans Service Division:

January 27,	$ 2,000
February 17	$ 1,500

Since we can find no extra payemnt of $2,000 to the Veteran's Service Division in 1947, we are wondering whether the March 4th and April 7th payments of $1,000 each to the Special Fund, of which Josephine Wilkins was treasurer, may not be the ones you had in mind? This possibility would seem to be borne out by your letter of February 17th, 1947, addressed to Dr. Mitchell, in which you say: "The enclosed check for $1,500 represents final payment on our appropriation of $3,500 for work in connection with returning veterans."

Please let us hear from you further if the information I have given does not clear this matter up. We shall be glad to send you copies of correspondence, bank deposit slips, or anything else you may need, if they will help.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure
1 of 5 signed copies of Mr. Campbell's audit enclosed.

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

April 14, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell: I have before me your letter of March 12 to which was attached statements for 1947 which will be replaced later when minor changes have been made in this audit report. I have one question to raise in connection with the figures as submitted. The schedule of receipts and disbursements of the Veterans Service Division for the period from January 1 to May 9, 1947 shows contributions from this Fund of $3,500. According to our records, we sent you a total of $5,500 during that period, $2,000 in January and $3,500 in February. Would you check with your auditor to see what has happened to that first $2,000 payment.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:lm

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
APR 16 1948
Southern Regional Council

DEPOSITED WITH

CITIZENS TRUST COMPANY

ATLANTA, GA.

FOR ACCOUNT OF

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

March 10 19 47

IN RECEIVING ITEMS FOR DEPOSIT OR COLLECTION, THIS BANK ACTS ONLY AS DEPOSITOR'S COLLECTING AGENT AND ASSUMES NO RESPONSIBILITY BEYOND THE EXERCISE OF DUE CARE. ALL ITEMS ARE CREDITED SUBJECT TO FINAL PAYMENT IN CASH OR SOLVENT CREDITS. THIS BANK WILL NOT BE LIABLE FOR DEFAULT OR NEGLIGENCE OF ITS DULY SELECTED CORRESPONDENTS NOR FOR LOSSES IN TRANSIT, AND EACH CORRESPONDENT SO SELECTED SHALL NOT BE LIABLE EXCEPT FOR ITS OWN NEGLIGENCE. THIS BANK OR ITS CORRESPONDENTS MAY SEND ITEMS, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, TO ANY BANK INCLUDING THE PAYOR, AND ACCEPT ITS DRAFT OR CREDIT AS CONDITIONAL PAYMENT IN LIEU OF CASH; IT MAY CHARGE BACK ANY ITEM AT ANY TIME BEFORE FINAL PAYMENT, WHETHER RETURNED OR NOT, ALSO ANY ITEM DRAWN ON THIS BANK NOT GOOD AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS ON DAY DEPOSITED.

PLEASE LIST EACH CHECK SEPARATELY

	DOLLARS	CTS.
CURRENCY		
SILVER		
CHECKS		
Sou. Regional Council	2700	00
TOTAL $		

TELLER NO. 2

DUPLICATE

MAR 10 1947

SEE THAT ALL CHECKS AND DRAFTS ARE ENDORSED

DEPOSITED WITH

CITIZENS TRUST COMPANY

ATLANTA, GA.

FOR ACCOUNT OF

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

FEBRUARY 17 1947

IN RECEIVING ITEMS FOR DEPOSIT OR COLLECTION, THIS BANK ACTS ONLY AS DEPOSITOR'S COLLECTING AGENT AND ASSUMES NO RESPONSIBILITY BEYOND THE EXERCISE OF DUE CARE. ALL ITEMS ARE CREDITED SUBJECT TO FINAL PAYMENT IN CASH OR SOLVENT CREDITS. THIS BANK WILL NOT BE LIABLE FOR DEFAULT OR NEGLIGENCE OF ITS DULY SELECTED CORRESPONDENTS NOR FOR LOSSES IN TRANSIT, AND EACH CORRESPONDENT SO SELECTED SHALL NOT BE LIABLE EXCEPT FOR ITS OWN NEGLIGENCE. THIS BANK OR ITS CORRESPONDENTS MAY SEND ITEMS, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, TO ANY BANK INCLUDING THE PAYOR, AND ACCEPT ITS DRAFT OR CREDIT AS CONDITIONAL PAYMENT IN LIEU OF CASH; IT MAY CHARGE BACK ANY ITEM AT ANY TIME BEFORE FINAL PAYMENT, WHETHER RETURNED OR NOT. ALSO ANY ITEM DRAWN ON THIS BANK NOT GOOD AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS ON DAY DEPOSITED.

PLEASE LIST EACH CHECK SEPARATELY

	DOLLARS	CTS.
CURRENCY		
SILVER		
CHECKS	1500	00 ✓
Final appr. from R Amt		
DUPLICATE		
FEB 17 1947		
TOTAL $	1500	00

SEE THAT ALL CHECKS AND DRAFTS ARE ENDORSED

Reg	Vet S.
25000	~~10000~~
4500	5500
29500	
5500 V.S.	
35000	

DEPOSITED WITH

CITIZENS TRUST COMPANY

ATLANTA, GA.

FOR ACCOUNT OF

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Feb. 14, 1947

IN RECEIVING ITEMS FOR DEPOSIT OR COLLECTION, THIS BANK ACTS ONLY AS DEPOSITOR'S COLLECTING AGENT AND ASSUMES NO RESPONSIBILITY BEYOND THE EXERCISE OF DUE CARE. ALL ITEMS ARE CREDITED SUBJECT TO FINAL PAYMENT IN CASH OR SOLVENT CREDITS. THIS BANK WILL NOT BE LIABLE FOR DEFAULT OR NEGLIGENCE OF ITS DULY SELECTED CORRESPONDENTS NOR FOR LOSSES IN TRANSIT, AND EACH CORRESPONDENT SO SELECTED SHALL NOT BE LIABLE EXCEPT FOR ITS OWN NEGLIGENCE. THIS BANK OR ITS CORRESPONDENTS MAY SEND ITEMS, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, TO ANY BANK INCLUDING THE PAYOR, AND ACCEPT ITS DRAFT OR CREDIT AS CONDITIONAL PAYMENT IN LIEU OF CASH; IT MAY CHARGE BACK ANY ITEM AT ANY TIME BEFORE FINAL PAYMENT, WHETHER RETURNED OR NOT. ALSO ANY ITEM DRAWN ON THIS BANK NOT GOOD AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS ON DAY DEPOSITED.

PLEASE LIST EACH CHECK SEPARATELY

	DOLLARS	CTS.
CURRENCY	33	
SILVER		09 ✓
CHECKS		
TOTAL $	33	09

DUPLICATE

TELLER

TELLER NUMBER 1

SEE THAT ALL CHECKS AND DRAFTS ARE ENDORSED

DEPOSITED WITH

CITIZENS TRUST COMPANY

ATLANTA, GA.

FOR ACCOUNT OF

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

February 3, 1947

IN RECEIVING ITEMS FOR DEPOSIT OR COLLECTION, THIS BANK ACTS ONLY AS DEPOSITOR'S COLLECTING AGENT AND ASSUMES NO RESPONSIBILITY BEYOND THE EXERCISE OF DUE CARE. ALL ITEMS ARE CREDITED SUBJECT TO FINAL PAYMENT IN CASH OR SOLVENT CREDITS. THIS BANK WILL NOT BE LIABLE FOR DEFAULT OR NEGLIGENCE OF ITS DULY SELECTED CORRESPONDENTS NOR FOR LOSSES IN TRANSIT, AND EACH CORRESPONDENT SO SELECTED SHALL NOT BE LIABLE EXCEPT FOR ITS OWN NEGLIGENCE. THIS BANK OR ITS CORRESPONDENTS MAY SEND ITEMS, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, TO ANY BANK INCLUDING THE PAYOR, AND ACCEPT ITS DRAFT OR CREDIT AS CONDITIONAL PAYMENT IN LIEU OF CASH; IT MAY CHARGE BACK ANY ITEM AT ANY TIME BEFORE FINAL PAYMENT, WHETHER RETURNED OR NOT. ALSO ANY ITEM DRAWN ON THIS BANK NOT GOOD AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS ON DAY DEPOSITED.

PLEASE LIST EACH CHECK SEPARATELY

	DOLLARS	CTS.
CURRENCY		
SILVER		
CHECKS		
	10	08
TOTAL $	10	08

TELLER NUMBER 2

FEB 8 1947

SEE THAT ALL CHECKS AND DRAFTS ARE ENDORSED

DEPOSITED WITH

CITIZENS TRUST COMPANY

ATLANTA, GA.

FOR ACCOUNT OF

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

January 27, 1947

IN RECEIVING ITEMS FOR DEPOSIT OR COLLECTION, THIS BANK ACTS ONLY AS DEPOSITOR'S COLLECTING AGENT AND ASSUMES NO RESPONSIBILITY BEYOND THE EXERCISE OF DUE CARE. ALL ITEMS ARE CREDITED SUBJECT TO FINAL PAYMENT IN CASH OR SOLVENT CREDITS. THIS BANK WILL NOT BE LIABLE FOR DEFAULT OR NEGLIGENCE OF ITS DULY SELECTED CORRESPONDENTS NOR FOR LOSSES IN TRANSIT, AND EACH CORRESPONDENT SO SELECTED SHALL NOT BE LIABLE EXCEPT FOR ITS OWN NEGLIGENCE. THIS BANK OR ITS CORRESPONDENTS MAY SEND ITEMS, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, TO ANY BANK INCLUDING THE PAYOR, AND ACCEPT ITS DRAFT OR CREDIT AS CONDITIONAL PAYMENT IN LIEU OF CASH; IT MAY CHARGE BACK ANY ITEM AT ANY TIME BEFORE FINAL PAYMENT, WHETHER RETURNED OR NOT, ALSO ANY ITEM DRAWN ON THIS BANK NOT GOOD AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS ON DAY DEPOSITED.

PLEASE LIST EACH CHECK SEPARATELY

	DOLLARS	CTS.
CURRENCY		
SILVER		
CHECKS		
	$2 0 0 0	00
TOTAL $	2 0 0 0	00

DUPLICATE

SEE THAT ALL CHECKS AND DRAFTS ARE ENDORSED

June 23, 1948

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

We had battened down the hatches and were preparing to get along as best we could until maybe July 14, when your large check would be expected.

You helped us greatly by sending it thus early.

I suppose we will tie up the greater part of it in building and loan associations covered by FDIC.

The end of the Fund has been so unusual an occasion, with no one allowed to be sorry. All the same, I am. I do hope that, in whatever the next incarnations of both of us are, we can still work together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Dictated but not signed

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
JUN 17 1948
Southern Regional Council

June 15, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell: Enclosed you will find our check for $37,500 made up of $12,500 representing the balance due on our appropriation of $25,000 for 1948, and full payment of the $25,000 appropriated for 1949. As you know, this payment is being made in advance because of our closing this month.

Our association during all these past years has been a very pleasant one to me, and I want you to know that I appreciate your cooperation in always furnishing promptly the statements that I have requested from time to time.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:lm
Enc.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SRC - Fleming pamphlet

September 11, 1947

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

Attached hereto is a tentative draft of a release which has been prepared in response to your recommendations for a new, popularized statement covering the origin, aims, and activities of the Southern Regional Council.

Please read it over carefully and then tell us whether you feel it meets the needs for which you proposed it; tell us, too, of any ways in which you think it could be improved, whether by extension, clarifaction, or deletion. Your comments will receive our most careful consideration in making up the final draft.

An early reply will be appreciated. Meanwhile, with all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:EB

SRC - Fleming pamphlet

R. B. MONTGOMERY
President

MRS. FRANCES R. CRAWFORD
Vice-President

F. D. GOODWIN
Vice-President

W. W. PEELE
Vice-President

J. A. BOSSERMAN
Treasurer

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

OFFICES AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA

ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON
Department Chairman

THOS. C. ALLEN
Department Director

Department of Interracial Cooperation

1444 East Main Street, Room 215
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

HENRY LEE ROBISON, JR.
Executive Secretary

MINOR C. MILLER
Associate Executive Secretary

September 17, 1947.

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I have just received your letter and the copy of the material for the pamphlet on the SRC. I have read it throughly very carefully and think it is quite good. In fact I do not believe that I have a suggestion to improve it.

I trust that it will be possible to have a goodly number of these printed for distribution. I can use several hundred.

I would like to inquire about the text of the police manual that Dr. Johnson referred to during the June meeting. I would like to have some copies just as soon as it is ready for use. I could use a memo copy now if you have one.

Very sincerely yours,

Thos C Allen

Thos. C. Allen.

September 18, 1947

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The state representatives at their recent conference requested that we furnish them a new account of the Council's origin and purpose, to be used for the cultivation of members and other similar purposes.

The enclosed manuscript represents the first step in our effort to prepare a pamphlet that will meet this need. It is largely made up of excerpts from what has already been written about the Council, with such new material as is necessary to bring the account up to date.

We should greatly appreciate your looking over this manuscript and sending us any corrections or comments that may occur to you. We hope to make the new publication an accurate statement of the Council's meaning, and any suggestions based on your intimate knowledge of the Council will be of much help to us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Public Relations Director

#1 - Reform

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
MANSIR TYDINGS, CHAIRMAN
R. B. ATWOOD, VICE CHAIRMAN
DR. O. T. BINKLEY, 2ND. VICE CHAIRMAN
MRS. HORTENSE YOUNG, SECRETARY
LEWIS D. COLE, TREASURER

DIRECTORS
MRS. E. F. HORINE
FRANK L. STANLEY
MRS. ANNA H. SETTLE
MRS. LUCY HARTH SMITH
CHARLES G. TACHAU
WHITNEY M. YOUNG

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

KENTUCKY DIVISION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

A Council to attain through research and action the ideas and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

ADVISORY DIRECTORS
MISS JULIA F. ALLEN
PHILIP ARDERY
REV. W. H. BALLEW
DR. HOWARD W. BEERS
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REV. DANIEL HUGHLETT
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DR. C. H. PARRISH
W. H. PERRY, JR.
VICTOR PORTMANN
MISS JULIET J. POYNTER
DR. WARREN S. REHM
MRS. PATSIE SLOAN
CHARLES T. STEELE
O. M. TRAVIS

September 23, 1947

RECEIVED
SEP 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

In reply to your letter of September 12, I have read with interest your tentative draft for a revised, popularized statement of the aims, origins, and activities of the Southern Regional Council. A great deal will depend on the form in which this material will be printed. Mr. Warwick is an expert at this.

My one recommendation would be that it be made more brief.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Tydings
Chairman

JMT:mb

Sir Hamilton

September 23, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We are very appreciative of your letter of September 18 with its comments concerning the tentative draft for a revised popularized statement on the Council. Mr. Fleming, who is writing this revised draft, is making the most careful note of all such constructive comments. He will embody the ideas they contain in the final copy.

We missed you at the meeting of the Executive Committee on Wednesday, but shall hope to see you in November.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:EE

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1947
Southern Regional Council

September 18, 1947

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I have read over the tentative draft for a revised popularized statement on the Council. The statement is direct and factual and, as such, quite satisfactory. However, since your letter indicates that the revision attempts to popularize somewhat the statement of the aims, origins, and activities, it seems to me that it is still too formal for a popularized statement. It could carry more intimate instances and description of activities in a range that the average person not only could understand, but feel. This is not always the easiest thing to do, but I have observed that some of the most successful statements about the work of organizations achieve this end and become quite effective.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/rldw

September 26, 1947

Mr. Carter Wesley
Freedman's Publishing Company
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

We are very appreciative of your letter of September 20, and of the thoughtful evaluation which you have made of our proposed new pamphlet on the SRCC Your letter has been passed on to Mr. Fleming who will give it most carefulconsideration in making his revision.

Our Annual Meeting falls on November 12, of which you will soon receive a formal notice. We do hope that you will be present. I am looking forward to meeting all of our Board Members at that time.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:EE

The FREEDMEN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY Newspapers

P. O. BOX 3086 • HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

FAIRFAX 8347

The Market:
- 2,800,000 People
- Plenty Money
- Willing to Buy
- Awaiting Invitation

The Means:
- THE INFORMER
- THE DALLAS EXPRESS
- SAN ANTONIO INFORMER
- NEW ORLEANS INFORMER

September 20, 1947

RECEIVED SEP 22 1947 Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I have yours of September 12, inclosing a copy of the proposed draft of the aims of the Southern Regional Council, inviting comment and suggestions.

Generally it is a good statement, and I have no serious quarrel with it. I think that the statement will be improved and will be brought closer to logic and fact, if you delete the first sentence under Section II on Page 2 entirely. The Southern Regional Council was not in existence 25 years ago, and really what is being said is that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation began back there, and that the Southern Regional Council is a combination of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Durham Conference impetus. So if you delete the first sentence and go on with the story, it will both make better sense and be more accurate.

Then somewhere toward the end of Section II, I think the statement should be made that the Southern Regional Council is therefore an embodiment of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Durham Conference, and such independent and added thinking as the members of the Bi-Racial Committee injected into the program at the time of the merger and the organization of the Southern Regional Council.

I have always been conscious of the fact that our Council at present does not do much on the action side of our program. Therefore, I think that in Section IV the beginning statement should be modified to say that presently the Council's functions may be summarized as primarily the following.

Then at the end of that first paragraph I think there should be inserted that as fast as the job of educating and coordinating thinking and understanding takes place, the emphasis on action will be increased.

One of the criticisms of our Council has been that it was not an action

group, to do anything about the problems, but merely a research group to write about them. We have threshed this problem out in our organization and decided that the best thing to do is what we have done, but I think that we ought to keep in our own minds, as well as in the minds of the people, that the action will come as our organization is united and ready for action, and as we feel that action is appropriate and will be effective in our total gain in the South.

These are just thoughts that occur to me with a view to trying to strengthen our statement, and I offer them for the consideration of the committee which has the matter in charge. The offer is made in the same spirit as the invitation.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

/d

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 22, 1948

You remember that at the membership meeting and the Board meeting in November, many people asked for a new promotion pamphlet.

The sentiment seemed to be that this new one should be simple, short, and spacious, with appealing art work.

Mr. Fleming has turned out a tentative text. We can't get the illustrating done until we know roughly what sort of text will be liked. So I send you possible text. Please criticize, correct, amend, delete, or rewrite.

Before the pamphlet is printed, we will send you proof with the pictures, for criticism again.

This letter is going to only some fifteen members. Please, therefore, don't treat it perfunctorily. We earnestly want your careful personal criticism.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

SRC Form 11

TIME RECORD

From _____ To _____

(Notice: This form should be turned in to the Secretary-Treasurer the day before each pay day.)

Employee's Name _____ Position _____

Day of week	Date	In	Out	Total hours Regular	Total hours Overtime	
						Rate
		Semi-monthly Total				

I certify that this is a true and accurate record of my working time for the pay period.

Signature _____

Please keep this form to use in case you change your address. If you will notify us promptly of any change, it will prevent delay in receiving our publications. Thank you.

- -

NOTICE OF CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

_____ Date

Please change my address in your files so that I will receive publications without delay.

My old address _____

My new address _____

Signed _____

SRC Forms

Telephone Memorandum

To _____

Date _____ Time _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT YOU WERE CALLED BY

Name _____

of _____

Phone _____ Extension _____

Message _____

_____

SRC-1

SIGN OUT SLIP

Date _____

Destination (including phone number, if possible.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Out at _____o'clock;

Will return at _____o'clock.

Signed _____

SRC [redacted] 3

ITINERARY SLIP

_____ _____
Name Method of Transportation

Leaving Atlanta_____
Date

Visiting: (Please list below the names of places, with addresses at which you can be reached.) Inclusive Dates

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

Will return to the office on _____ At _____ o'clock.
Date

SRC '44

_____
Date

TO: Emily H. Clay, Secretary-Treasurer

Please issue check in the amount of _____

TO: _____
Name

_____
Address

*FOR: _____

_____

_____

ACCOUNT: _____

REMARKS: _____

_____

_____

SIGNED _____

*If for salary and special services on a per day basis, please indicate dates and rates. If for travel, state destination.

SRC 5

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

_____ Date

To: Miss Clay

From: _____

Re: _____ _____
(Name) (Old Address)

_____
(New Address)

Change to be made in the following files:

(1) SRC (blue membership card)		____ (check)
(2) Board of Directors (2 files)	____	____
(3) Fellows (2 files)	____	____
(4) Alphabetical card index		____
(5) Geographical card index		____
(6) Mailing list service (including complimentary)		____
(7) New South subscribers		____
(8) Stencil cut		____

Change of Address completed _____ (initials).

SRC 6

RECORD OF LEAVE

Date submitted _____194__

For _____ days (Indicate working days, not counting Saturdays.)

Beginning _____194__; Returning to work on _____194__.

Type of leave: (check) Vacation__; Sick__; Without pay__; Other_____.

If "other", specify type here _____

Signed _____

SRC - 7

RECORD OF EMPLOYMENT

Name _____ Phone No. _____

Address _____

Nearest relative _____

Date of employment _____ Position _____

Date employment terminated _____ Reason _____

Salary at beginning of employment _____ per _____. Increases - (Give dates and amounts) _____

RECORD OF VACATION, SICK LEAVE, ETC.

Dates From	To	Number of Work Days	Vacation	Sick Leave	Other (Please explain)

Comments: _____

3RC-8

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date.....

Travel

Railway and Pullman Tickets.....$.....

From.....To.....To.....

.....

Plane: From.....To.....To.....$.....

.....

Bus: From.....To.....To.....$.....

.....

Auto: From.....To.....To.....$.....

.....

Number of Miles Traveled by Auto.....

Taxicabs.....$.....

Carfare.....$.....

Hotel

Dates
and
Places.....$.....

Meals.....$.....

Telephone and Telegraph.....$.....

Other Expenses (Itemize).....$.....

.....$.....

TOTAL.....$.....

Signed.....

Address.....

.....

Date of Trip.....

Purpose of Trip.....

.....

Report of Long Distance Call

Placed by _____

Call to _____

_____
City State

Date _____

Call Completed: Yes _____ No _____

Official Business _____ Personal _____

SRG-2

SRC - Fund Raising

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 4, 1947

Dear SRC Member:

Those of you who attended the annual meeting know that the Council is faced with a deficit of approximately $5,000 for the close of the year. This was nobly faced at the meeting when Dr. Will Alexander called upon the assembled membership to clear the deficit before the end of the year and promised that he, himself, would accept responsibility for raising $1,000 of it if other members would make pledges to obtain the rest.

In immediate response to Dr. Alexander's appeal the following pledges were made:

Mr. Leonard Haas, Atlanta	$200.00
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond	100.00
Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Chapel Hill	100.00
Msgr. T. James McNamara, Savannah	100.00
Rt. Rev. V. J. O'Connell, New Orleans	50.00
Mr. G. D. Rogers, For Fla. Division	500.00
Mr. J. M. Tydings, Kentucky Division	100.00
Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta	100.00
Mr. Paul D. Williams, Richmond	200.00
Dr. R. L. Russell, Georgia Committee	200.00
Other Anticipated Income	250.00
	$1,900.00

In the critical days that lie ahead the need for the Council is felt to be greater than ever. Mr. Rogers, in making his pledge, stated his belief that the Council means more to the South than any other organization with which he had ever worked.

The Council belongs to you, its members. Will you not, each of you, undertake to secure such donations as lie within your power to meet this need? Money so given is deductible from personal income tax. No gift, however, is too small, whether of dimes or of dollars, and the aggregate will, I feel sure, enable us to begin 1948 with a clear slate and to face the work that lies ahead of us with confidence and effectiveness. May we not hear from you?

Sincerely yours,

Agnes McKoy

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

V7W

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT: 3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

January 10, 1948

Colonel Alfred C. Oliver, Jr.
Apartment 311
2801 Adams Mill Road, NW
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Colonel Oliver:

I should like to put before you in further detail the proposal which, in company with Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director of the Council, I laid before you shortly before Christmas in Washington.

In 1945, 1946 and 1947, the Southern Regional Council conducted an extensive program of inquiry into services to veterans in the Southern states. The work was done by some ten veterans of World War II who traveled extensively in all but one or two of the Southern states and, in interviews and at meetings, paved the way for a more effective working relationship between local veterans servicing agencies and the veterans. The improvements urged affected particularly the Negro veterans, whose access to information and action on their needs theretofore had been unfamiliar and frequently difficult.

I am attaching to this letter a set of the reports, state by state, which resulted from this travel, and other publications on the theme of vocational training for veterans.

Out of that direct contact with the needs of veterans in the South the Council reached the conclusion that the South has neglected one of the greatest opportunities for its own advance which has ever come its way. These young men, numbering over 3,000,000, have returned to the South possessed of scholarships entitling them to upwards of three years each of educational training. For the ten or twelve percent of them who are of college level, the colleges of the South have provided them well. For the rest, relatively little is available in the way of training. Some scores of thousands are getting on-the-job training. In most of the Southern states somewhere between two and ten thousand are receiving full-time institutional on-the-farm training. Only a few thousands receive apprenticeship training. As everywhere, very few have entered regular high school courses.

The full subsistence and tuition payments are available for secondary educational work. The difficulty is that the South has few schools where the kind of training the veterans want can be had. The men have growing responsibilities. They gave up that period of their lives when regular high school work might have held their attention, and for great numbers of them the only kind of schooling that has an appeal is technical and vocational training. Most Southern schools have little to offer of this kind. Vocational courses in high schools, assisted by Smith-Hughes funds, are scattered about. In each state, three, four or five entirely vocational schools, secondary in character, can be found. These are now over-crowded and under-equipped. The present facilities are still not under the strain which it is reasonable to anticipate with the first breath of serious unemployment. Should the demand for vocational training in the South grow sharply within the next four years (the time remaining for entrance on training under the G.I. Bill), the South would have a distressingly inadequate network of trade training schools.

It so happens that this opportunity to expand trade training coincides with a pressing need for expansion arising from the thrust of industrialization into the South at the very time when increasing mechanization of agriculture makes it clear that from a million and a half to two million untrained men now on the land will be turned into the cities. It is obviously the part of statesmanship, as well as of service to the veterans, to equip the South in its industrial and also in its agricultural areas, with a network of trade and vocational training schools, which will enable industry to find the schools it needs and will ease, for the rural areas, the transition from hoe-hand to mechanized agriculture.

The Southern states have not entirely neglected this opportunity. North Carolina now has thirty or more localities in which institutional trade training for veterans is offered. In all the states new courses of this kind have been opened. This development is subject to the criticism that it is unsystematic and altogether inadequate. Doubtless, also, the scattered courses now being offered should be coordinated into technical schools, spaced by appropriate areas, within each state. Such a structure of technical education is the proper equipment of the kind of commercial and industrial society that the South is becoming.

As you, of course, understand, it is fundamentally the responsibility of local communities and of the states, through their educational systems, to set up the needed facilities. The state or the local school system must find the buildings, get in the equipment, and engage the teachers. From that point on, for some years to come, the tuition payments for veteran students will very largely carry the load. It is to be held in mind that after the veterans have exhausted their entitlement, most of the schools will remain as being indispensable to an industrial South.

The present opportunity arises from the fact that a comparatively small effort on the part of local citizens can prise loose a very sizable amount of Federal assistance, thus providing facilities which the veterans wish are are entitled to have and which will be of great and lasting benefit to the communities and states which show the effort required.

The Southern Regional Council requests the aid of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in providing a stimulus to local action which will get more and better-planned and better-run trade training schools in the Council's area.

Our experience has shown that a trained person, independent of the school systems but informed about organizations whose voices can be effective, can greatly increase the speed with which educational opportunities can be provided for the veterans and can do quite a lot to make these opportunities systematic and of good quality. At the present time we see no one in the field who is an effective intermediate between the several state Departments of Education, the Veterans Administration, the various veterans' organizations, the unorganized veterans and public opinion in general. What we should like to do is to engage a competent person experienced in trade educational work and having acquaintance with state and federal educational officials, as well as with the Army

and the Navy, and with the sources of public opinion. He should be provided with not less than two full-time traveling assistants, and, of course, with secretarial help. Such a unit of three professional persons could, in a couple of years' time, add enormously to the technical educational opportunities provided for the veterans and, therefore, for the people of the South.

No special mention has been made above of the particular needs of the Negro veteran. Those who are equipped for college work are eagerly taking advantage of college training. Enrollment of veterans in Negro colleges the country over (and practically all of them are in the South) grew 44.6% in 1947 as against 1946, while enrollment of veterans in all colleges for the same period grew less than five percent. But for the Negro veterans as a whole college is even less the answer than for the white ones. Most of the Negro veterans in the South left school at fourth, fifth or sixth grade levels. Where technical teaching is open to them they have taken advantage of it. But the number who have been able to get on-the-job training or apprenticeship training in the South is minute. They need specially adapted technical schools. Extremely little provision has been made for their needs. Something like two-thirds of the Negro population of the South is still in rural areas. They will bear the brunt of the changes in agriculture. If it is the part of wisdom to provide training for white veterans in the South, it is doubly the part of wisdom to provide it for Negro veterans.

Emphasis should be given to the opportunity open for training in what is called "industrial arts." Vocational education people are familiar now with a type of instruction which does not attempt to give finished skills. For a year or for two years young persons are taught the use of a variety of woodworking and metal-working tools, neatness and cleanliness in work, materials, the fundamentals of electricity, motive power, and familiarity with big, noisy and complicated machinery. Persons who have had training of this kind are picked up by factory and commercial employers, who train them further in the particular skills needed in their lines of business. That background training makes the difference between a lifetime of work at common labor and one spent at semi-skilled or skilled levels. The difference in earnings will make the difference between well-kept homes and children who get to high school, and slums and a new generation of children the product of slums.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization which works for the well-being of all of the people of the South, white and Negro. It has members of both races on its staff and on its governing bodies. It understands, from long experience, how to get things done in a way to advantage both races in the South.

It would like to have the means to get ahead with the job outlined in this letter. It applies to the Veterans of Foreign Wars for such a measure of aid as will enable this job to be done. We think it would take about twenty thousand dollars a year for each of two years to do it.

The Council would be most happy to supply you or any persons you may suggest, with further information about itself, its programs or its membership.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Williams
President

Enclosures

H. F. WILLKIE
Box 240
LOUISVILLE, KY.

August 5, 1948

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was very kind of both you and Mr. Williams to send me the recent publications of the Southern Regional Council. A brief examination of these articles assures me they will be interesting.

Very truly yours,

H. F. Willkie

HFW/ebm

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

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11- Foundation Program

JOSEPH E. SEAGRAM & SONS, INC.

Louisville 1, Kentucky

August 4, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I have given a great deal of thought to the correspondence you have sent from time to time on the progress of the Southern Regional Council with special emphasis on police administration in the South.

I am certain that this program has the highest merit and deserves all the support that can be rallied. I cannot see, however, that it is the role of a public corporation to underwrite the work; that is, it is not in the interest of the stockholders to bear the entire burden. I think it might be possible, if the total fund is raised by general subscription, for this company or some other one to underwrite the annual award of $1,000. If the project should reach such point of fruition I will endeavor to secure such funds from this company.

Current news articles on police administration here in the city regarding the Negro population are indicative of the deficiencies you have pointed out. We are having a mayoralty election this November and if it comes out in favor of the incumbent I may be able to be of some assistance in the program here in Louisville; otherwise, I am none too optimistic.

Very truly yours,

Vice-President

H.F.Willkie/ebm

11 - Foundation Requests - Willkie

August 3, 1948

Mr. Fred Willkie
Joseph E. Seagram & Sons
Seventh Street Road
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Willkie:

At the request of Mr. Paul Williams, the President of the Council, I take great pleasure in sending you a selection of the more recent publications of the Southern Regional Council.

The Council is built on the belief that no more important contribution to interracial understanding in the South can be made than the upbuilding of all of the people of the South. With this in mind, our publications have over the last four years set out the main facts about the condition of the people of the South.

On top of the stack is Rupert Vance's "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation." This reviews the population figures and lays out our main problems in broadening opportunity in agriculture, industry and commerce.

Then comes Dorothy Dickins' study on health.

The next is "Machines in the Cotton Fields," which tells the changes under way in Southern agriculture.

"Wanted: An Educated South" gives the disparities in the school program of the South as against the rest of the country, and in the South for Negroes as against whites.

"Housing in the South" compares the standing of various Southern states in this field.

"By The People" tells the method and the first remarkable results of a community self-survey which Jacksonville, Florida, did, with technical advice from the Council.

"To Secure These Rights" compresses the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought it important to put before the South for study the exact recommendations.

"The Condition of Our Rights" accompanies the digest and gives the main facts about the shortcomings in civil rights in the South.

The last one, called "Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940," tells about the growth of the Negro vote and describes its contribution to our political well-being.

In the stack is also a leaflet telling generally about the Council, and four or five back issues of our monthly magazine, New South.

All of the pamphlets have had quite good circulation in the South and are in steady demand from schools, colleges, libraries and local discussion groups.

We do not expect you to read all of these, but we want you to know the general tendency of the Council's work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Separate cover:
Machines in the Cotton Fields
Wanted: South's Future
" Educated South
" Healthy South
"Housing in the South"
"By The People"
"To Secure These Rights"
Condition of Our Rights
Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940
May '48 New South
Feb '48 New South
Mar '48 New South

Foundation Requests, Willkie

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Lawrenceville, Va.
June 17, 1948

Dear George,

Thanks for the "dope" you sent. I am enclosing the letter I wrote Willkie. Also sent him the Police Project, especially typed for him. Also wrote Etheridge, Tydings and Atwood to intercede for us. We'll await developments and say a prayer.

I'll be at Lawrenceville, Va. until after July 4th. Write me.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul

Referred to P. Buck 22 June 48

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JUN 17 1948
Southern Regional Council

Copy
Dr. Mitchell

June 15, 1948.

Mr. Mark Ethridge, Publisher,
The Courier Journal
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mark:

I am grateful to you for all you did in our behalf with Mr. Willkie. I had a good meeting with him last Wednesday when I was in Louisville and had a chance to talk with him in some detail regarding the work and strategy of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Willkie seemed to be impressed and I am writing him today giving him additional information which he desires before making a decision in the matter. It is possible that he will confer with you again and if he does I hope you will "go to bat for us."

I called your office when I was in Louisville but you were not in. When I called again you had left for the day and as I left by plane early in the morning I had to forego the pleasure of dropping by to say hello.

Thank you again for your confidence in the work of the Southern Regional Council.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

George Mitchell

C

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May 18, 1948.

Mr. Mark F. Ethridge, Publisher,
The Courier-Journal
Louisville Times
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mark:

Thank you so much for your letter of May 10. I am most grateful to you for useing you good offices to intercede for us with Mr. Willkie. The last part of his letter seems to leave the door open for further discussion. I would be still further indebted to you if you would phone or write Mr. Willkie indicating that in your estimation you think the work of the Southern Regional Council extremely important for the progress of the South and that you wish he would reconsider its support. You might mention that I plan to be in Louisville the week of June 7 and would be grateful for a chance to discuss certain phases of the program with him. If you feel that you can do this I will consider it a very great favor. Please drop me a line after you write again to Mr. Willkie.

I discussed Mr. Willkie's prospect of helping the SRC through your influence when I spoke with Virginius Dabney today and he seemed delighted. Indeed, he said he would write you about it. As you know, Mr. Dabney is on the Board of Directors of the SRC and I depend greatly on his advice in all matters pertaining to the affairs of our Council. We are delighted that Mr. Dabney received one of the Pulitzer prizes.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

MMC Reg Found
Schmitlapp
Cincinnati
(Police Project)

October 15, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Thank you for your letter of October 11.

I have agreed to go to the Chicago meeting November 18, 19, and 20. I will do my best to represent the Kentucky and all other divisions and committees. But if you are free, it would be fine if you could go.

I have written Paul Williams and asked him to write to Barry Bingham. Thank you much for your visits.

I need to do some more work on a plan for handling police matters. I send you a copy of what we batted around for a year as our "police project". Most of it is still valid. I am satisfied we need to get first one or two lay persons who know the inside of police administration in the South but can be free to tell much of what they know to the general public. With such information we can build public support for improved police administration.

I send you also the whole of Myrdal's speech last May at the Rosenwald Fund celebration. It is our only copy, so I wish you would be good enough to send it back. Observe his remarks on police and a police academy toward the end of the paper.

The whole thing has moved on some since we got up the police project. Maybe something could be worked out with the new Regional Council

for Education. That, you see, has support from the state governors, and it will end up as their business to operate a real police school in the South. I haven't explored this, but will soon with John Ivey, who runs that Council.

I still think the main contribution the Council could make would be to have two men who between them know the whole story on police administration in the South. That would take about $25,000 to get the story and get it in print. From then on public pressure would mount.

I have got to recast the Council's whole notion on what to do about police but have not yet done it. All I can do is to send you these materials and hope that you can find enough material in it to persuade the Schmidtlapp Foundation.

If this is too scrappy, tell me so posthaste and I will drop other things and go after that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
MANSIR TYDINGS, CHAIRMAN
R. B. ATWOOD, VICE CHAIRMAN
DR. O. T. BINKLEY, 2ND, VICE CHAIRMAN
MRS. HORTENSE YOUNG, SECRETARY
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MRS. LUCY HARTH SMITH
CHARLES G. TACHAU
WHITNEY M. YOUNG

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

KENTUCKY DIVISION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

ADVISORY DIRECTORS
MISS JULIA F. ALLEN
PHILIP ARDERY
REV. W. H. BALLEW
DR. HOWARD W. BEERS
LOUIS J. BOSSE
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DR. JULIAN P. LOVE
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DR. C H. PARRISH
W. H. PERRY, JR.
VICTOR PORTMANN
MISS JULIET J. POYNTER
DR. WARREN S. REHM
MRS. PATSIE SLOAN
CHARLES T. STEELE
O. M. TRAVIS

October 11, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. G. S. Mitchell
Ex. Director, S. R. C.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have an invitation to attend the 12nd Annual Conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials to be held on November 18, 19, 20.

Last year I attended this conference and requested that all work in the South be cleared through S. R. C. and it was agreed that such was a sound policy.

Therefore I am writing to suggest that you appoint a representative of S, R. C., or better, attend the Conference yourself.

I would like to be excused from attending the Conference if such an idea comes to your mind.

I have had two very satisfactory conferences with Mr. Barry Brigham which might be followed up at this time with a letter from you or Paul Williams.

Last Friday I had a talk with Mr. Wm A. Stark, Chairman ofthe Jacob Schmidtlapp Foundation in Cincinnati. He was very interested in the Police School Project and would like more details as to plans and the cost. Please let me have your ideas along these lines as soon as possible. I promised to write him a prospectus of the whole project.

Very truly yours,

J. M. Tydings

JMT/lb

FILE COPIES

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 6, 1948

Dear Member:

Do we who have accepted membership in the Council really believe in the Council's objectives? If so, we should be willing to make the sacrifices necessary to sustain these objectives. Because of the decline in Foundation support, the Council must in the future find most of its means from people in the South who believe in its work.

It has not in the past asked much of its membership. Dues have been low, and for them the Council has sent out a good stream of printed things. We know that you are interested, and count on you to work in your own community for the positive gains that the Council stands for.

At the recent annual membership meeting, those in attendance by vote urged that each member send in at least $10.00 besides dues. It can be raised from your friends or it can be paid straight from you. It is only right, after all, that we in the South who will get the good of a richer and fairer South should strain ourselves to pay for the organized effort to get such a South.

There are 3,000 of us. Ten dollars extra from each member will give us our minimum budget.

Yours and ours is a deeply felt intent. Please mail the Council (by February 15, 1949 if you can) the evidence of your faith and encouragement.

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams, President

Charles S. Johnson, Chairman
Executive Committee

SRC - Fund-Raising (Gen file)

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 2, 1948

Dear Member:

Do we who have accepted membership in the Council really believe in the Council's objectives? If so, we should be willing to make the sacrifices necessary to sustain these objectives. Because of the decline in Foundation support, the Council must in the future find most of its means from people in the South who believe in its work.

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Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams

Charles S. Johnson, Chairman
Executive Committee

SRC - Fund Raising

January 4, 1949

Mr. George M. Stephens
The Stephens Press
50 Walnut Street
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear George:

That was most kind of you to talk with Hiden Ramsey and get us the list of people who could help.

Paul Williams' present plan is to convene the Board members and, I hope, also the Fellows, state by state, and with a committee arrange for those persons in the state who could contribute to the Council to be interviewed. I hope all that will unroll in the next two months.

Incidentally, I have talked with Mr. Spaulding, Dr. Odum has already written unsuccessfully to George Watts Hill, and eighteen months or so ago I talked with Mr. James A. Gray in Winston-Salem, before he went to the War Department. We will bring up all of the names at the North Carolina meeting when it is set.

Dr. Odum's article is just fine. I would very much like to get it into the hands of each of our 3,000 members. If that is agreeable, how could it best be done? I could buy an extra run of 3,000 copies of the January Packet, on the assumption that the bill would not be over a hundred dollars. Or, we could buy from you 3,000 reprints of the article. I should think it would be better for the article to be in its full Packet dress, as that would add a little renoun--and maybe a few subscriptions--to the Packet.

It does seem to me that there should be a box on the front page that would tell a little about Odum's statement. I don't think it could be summarized, but you could place Odum and show the importance of his statement.

Anyway, I am good for a hundred dollars, or if necessary a little more, to get 3,000 copies, if that is feasible from your point of view.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
50 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
DEC 31 1948
Southern Regional Council

December 29, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 31 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

On receiving your letter of December 16 I asked Hiden Ramsey if he would write down some suggestions for substantial donations to your 1949 operating fund. You will find them noted on the back of your letter which is enclosed.

As you know, there has been for years a North Carolina Inter-Racial Commission. This has been supported by moderate sized donations from a fairly large group. Through Dr. Odom I think you might get permission to ask the help of the man who has raised this money each year. His name is Guerney P. Hood. He is North Carolina Banking Commissioner with offices at Raleigh. Meanwhile I shall try to raise a little money in Asheville.

Dr. Odom has just sent us a wonderful and thorough manuscript on "Today's National and Southern Racial Situation," for publication in the January Packet. Enclosed you will find the Galley proofs. Look them over and give me any critical suggestions on presenting this to the public in a way it will be read. Some sort of summary or striking quotation will have to be used, as there is little chance of many people reading 5000 words. If I guess correctly it may be quoted fairly widely just as Harry Ashmore was. I am especially anxious for the mature judgment of Dr. Odom to count for all possible in the questions the country is trying to settle today.

Cordially,

THE STEPHENS PRESS

George M. Stephens

George M. Stephens: lrj

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 16, 1948

Mr. George M. Stephens
The Stephens Press
50 Walnut Street
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear George:

We have been so snowed under with the work involved in catching up with the meeting that I am thus regrettably late in thanking you for your most generous gifts totaling $51.10 for the Council. They help us very greatly.

If you do make up a small list of other people in the state who might be willing to help, we would appreciate that too. The present plan is to convene the Board members, state by state, in their own states, and with a subcommittee of them, parcel out the names of people whom they would approach for sums that would match Dr. Odum's gift of $250, contingent on 99 other persons doing likewise.

We have had no word from your friend the publisher in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

C. C. Spalding
Durham. N.C.

Ben Cone,
Greensboro, N.C.

Herman Weil,
Goldsboro, N.C.

John Sprunt Hill, or Geo. Watts Hill
Durham, N.C.

Frank Sherrill,
S + W.
Charlotte, N.C.

James G. Hanes
Winston-Salem, N.C.
[He is very generous but I do not know whether he is interested]

James A. Gray
Winston-Salem, N.C.

SRC - Fund Raising
North Carolina

N. C. FUND RAISING January, 1949

From George M. Stephens' letter of 1/8/49:

"When I go down the state during the next month, perhaps I may dig out some more help for your Council's fund raising in North Carolina. For the record, I believe you may want to recall that Mr. James A. Gray is not the man who went to Washington, but is a much older and prominent man in State affairs, being an official of R. J. Reynolds and Trustee of the University of North Carolina. Gordon is about 40 and the owner of the newspapers in Winston-Salem, also assistant secretary for the Army."

SRC-Fund Raising (Kentucky)

January 17, 1949

Mr. C.H. Parrish
Louisville Municipal College
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Parrish:

As you know, the Kentucky Division of the Southern Regional Council has its annual meeting February 12 in Louisville. The meeting convenes at noon. Mr. Tydings is calling a small gathering in connection with the meeting at 10 o'clock, at which I hope you can be present. The meeting will be made up principally of our Board members and Fellows.

One purpose will be to make a plan by which we can reach successfully twelve or fifteen people in Kentucky who would join Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina in his generous offer of $250 as a contribution to the Council's budget, provided 99 other southern people can be found who will put up the same amount. We shan't be asking you for money, but we shall be asking for advice as to whom to reach and how to reach them.

I do hope you can write me that you can be present at that time.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

SRC - Fund Raising
(Ala)

January 17, 1949

Mr. Ernest Neal
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mr. Neal:

As you know, the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council will have its annual meeting February 22, at Alabama State College in Montgomery. The meeting convenes at ten o'clock in the morning.

I am calling a special small gathering in connection with the meeting at 4:00 P.M., at which I hope you can be present. The meeting will be made up principally of our Board members and Fellows.

The purpose will be to make a plan by which we can reach successfully twelve or fifteen people in Alabama who would join Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina in his generous offer of $250 as a contribution to the Council's budget, provided 99 other southern people can be found who will put up the same amount. We shan't be asking you for money, but we shall be asking for advice as to whom to reach and how to reach them.

I do hope you can write me that you can be present at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams
President

PDW:nh

SRC - Fund Raising (Virginia)

January 24, 1949

The Rev. Mr. C. Emerson Smith
Virginia Council of Churches
1444 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

You will see that the date we picked for the Richmond meeting was Friday, February 11, at 2:30 P.M., at your new office on Grace Street.

We have written all of the people (list enclosed).

I will greatly appreciate it if you would call Paul Williams at your early convenience and the two of you confer on whatever services you could divide in buttoning up details about the meeting.

I will be there and Paul will be there. We consider it very important indeed for you to be there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Paul Williams

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

1/24

TO: GSM

Here are copies of letters about the North Carolina meeting.

met

(Please return.)

P.S. Nothing was said about paying Fellows' expenses. Will we, if they need it done?

2--I said nothing to Cy about the NC Commission having 25% of money raised in this effort, assuming that was limited to regular Divisions of SRC. Right?

met

January 24, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Here is the letter that I spent so much money calling you about on Saturday! A similar one has gone (under your signature) to all North Carolina Board members and Fellows, inviting them to the February 9 meeting. It will be held in the Directors' Room of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank in Durham (116 West Parrish Street). We are hoping that Mr. Spaulding will preside. The time is three p.m.

We are counting on you to be there.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor

January 24, 1949

Mr. J. H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
116 West Parrish Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

It was good to talk with you on Thursday and Friday.

Here is a copy of the letter that has gone to North Carolina Board members and Fellows about the February 9 meeting. We will be anxious to hear the results of your talk with Mr. Spaulding about presiding. And, of course, we will be counting on your presence and guidance. The time is three p.m.

Thank you for the ride in your banker's car, and for all your help in arranging for the meeting.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Taylor

cc: Paul Williams

January 24, 1949

Mr. Cyrus Johnson, Director
North Carolina Commission on
Interracial Cooperation
Box 1208
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Cy:

Thank you for hauling me around and letting me use your office.

Here is a copy of the letter that has gone to North Carolina Board members and Fellows about the February 9 meeting. Notice that it will be held in the Directors' Room of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, 116 West Parrish Street, Durham. The time is three p.m. Naturally we are counting on you!

Sorry I couldn't make the square dancing. I did get to see Preacher, at an unholy hour Friday, and we talked—as you might guess— of co-op farming in western North Carolina.

Blessings on thee,

Elizabeth Taylor

January 24, 1949

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
Alumni Building
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

It was good to walk the hallowed halls of Alumni last week, and to have a few minutes with you.

Mr. J. H. Wheeler was good enough to arrange for the February 9 meeting to be held in the Directors' Room of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank in Durham (116 West Parrish Street). The time is three p.m.

Mr. Spaulding was ill at home, so I didn't have an opportunity to talk with him about presiding at the meeting. However, Mr. Wheeler agreed to discuss this with him and let us know. I gave your persuasive messages to Mr. Wheeler, to be duly conveyed to Mr. Spaulding!

Here is a copy of the letter that has gone to Board members and Fellows in North Carolina. Of course we are all hoping that you can be at the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor

cc: Paul Williams

LETTER SENT TO ALL BOARD MEMBERS AND FELLOWS
IN NORTH CAROLINA

SRC - Fund Raising
North Carolina

January 22, 1949

Dr. Charlotte H. Brown
Palmer Memorial Institute
Sedalia, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Brown:

In following up the broad plans laid at the November 1948 meeting for helping the Southern Regional Council to meet its budget, a special meeting is being held of the Board members and Fellows in each state.

The meeting will draw up a list of names of persons who might contribute to the Council and will, presumably, appoint a committee to follow through and get in touch with the various people who could contribute.

The general idea is to find in the whole South a hundred people who will join Dr. Howard Odum in his generous offer of $250 toward the Council's budget if a total of a hundred such people can be found. We have seven or eight already.

I am, therefore, calling a meeting of North Carolina Board members and Fellows, on Wednesday, February 9, at 3:00 P.M. The meeting will be held in the Directors' Room of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, 116 West Parrish Street, Durham.

We will not be begging those who come to the meeting for money. The object is to plan to get a small campaign which would net, perhaps, fifteen or twenty $250 contributions from over North Carolina.

I do hope that you can come. Will you let me know?

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams
President

pdw/t

January 18, 1949

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Wednesday, February 9, at three P.M. has been tentatively set for the meeting of North Carolina Board members and Fellows of the Council. As you know, the purpose will be to plan ways of implementing Dr. Odum's financial proposal.

I will be in North Carolina the latter part of this week to work on arrangements for the meeting. Could I have a few minutes of your time on Thursday? I will get in touch with you when I get to Chapel Hill to see if it is convenient.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Taylor

January 18, 1949

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Dr. Mitchell tells me that you and he discussed February 9 as a possible good date for the proposed meeting of North Carolina Board members and Fellows of the Council.

I will be in North Carolina the latter part of this week, working on arrangements for the meeting, and will hope to have a few minutes of your time on Thursday.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Taylor

January 18, 1949

Mr. Cyrus Johnson
Box 1208
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Cy:

Nice to talk to you over the 'phone. As I told you then, I expect to be in North Carolina Thursday morning. I will probably spend that morning and part of the afternoon in Chapel Hill and Durham, and will come to your office sometime Thursday afternoon.

It is good of you to let us use your office (and your advice!) in setting up the North Carolina meeting. Tentative date is Wednesday, February 9, at 3:00 P.M.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Taylor

January 13, 1949

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Plans are under way for a meeting of North Carolina Board members and Fellows of the Council, tentatively set for February 9. The purpose would be to consider ways of implementing Dr. Odum's financial proposal.

I will be in North Carolina the latter part of this week to work on arrangements for the meeting, and will hope to have a few minutes with you on Thursday afternoon, January 20. I will telephone your office on Thursday to see if it is convenient.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Taylor

SRC - Fund Raising (N.C.)

WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE
Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH

CONFERENCE OFFICERS
1948

President
Mrs. J. W. Payne
Cherryville, N. C.

Vice President
Mrs. W. F. Redding, Jr.
358 Hill Street
Asheboro, N. C.

Recording Secretary
Mrs. R. M. Hauss
201 Lineberger Street
Shelby, N. C.

Promotion Secretary
Mrs. John Hoyle, Jr.
29 West Fort Street
Marion, N. C.

Treasurer
Mrs. David D. Smiley
220 Milford Hills Road
Salisbury, N. C.

Assistant Treasurer
Miss Cloyce Woody
415 North Spring Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.

SECRETARIES

Missionary Education
Mrs. C. A. York
635 Colonial Drive
High Point, N. C.

Missionary Service
Miss Lilian Walker
2005 Beverly Drive
Charlotte, N. C.

Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities
Mrs. Jesse Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, N. C.

Wesleyan Service Guild
Mrs. R. I. Corbett
226 Morgan Street
Marion, N. C.

Student Work
Mrs. Carl King
Salisbury, N. C.

Youth Work
Mrs. J. G. Winkler
Box 47
Kings Mountain, N. C.

Children's Work
Mrs. S. A. Rhyne, Sr.
307 North Center Street
Statesville N. C.

Literature and Publications
Mrs. D. M. Davidson
Gibsonville, N. C.

Supply Work
Mrs. Ira C. Shelley
1405 Northfield Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Spiritual Life
Mrs. J. Dale Stentz
41 Academy Street
Concord, N. C.

Missionary Personnel
Mrs. C. N. Clark
Waynesville, N. C.

Status of Women
Mrs. Mabel Baughman
Box 998
Hendersonville, N. C.

Editor Woman's Page N. C. Christian Advocate
Mrs. E. Lester Ballard
Box 795
Glen Alpine, N. C.

President Emeritus
Mrs. C. C. Weaver
C-1-Apt. 23, Twin Castles
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Treasurer Emeritus
Mrs. P. N. Peacock
707 Mitchell Ave.
Salisbury, N. C.

RECEIVED
FEB 2 1949
RECORDS
Southern Regional Council

25 January, 1949

My dear Mr. Williams:

It is with real regret that I tell you I cannot possibly attend the meeting you are calling for 9th February in Durham. I have been out of the state for the past two months and my obligations and commitments in the work of the Conference have piled up on me to such an extent that I cannot attend any conferences within the next four months other than those already scheduled for me.

The SRC is taking a step which I urged on the Director and Executive Committee at the time of the organization of this body. There was every sign that we could not depend much longer on Foundation handouts and that while there was this income, we should develop southern support to take over when no more support from Foundations would be forthcoming. This refusal to face financial facts has given me great concern. I hope that the SRC will be successful in raising the needed funds.

Possibly the next time you call on me I shall be in a position to do something.

Sincerely yours,

Lessie Hamel Ames

SRC - Fund Raising (NC)

NORTH CAROLINA FELLOWS AND BOARD MEMBERS PRESENT AT NORTH CAROLINA MEETING
February 9, 1949

Dr. Will W. Alexander
New Hope Farm, RFD 4
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. Harold Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson
Box 1208
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. John R. Larkins
Consultant on Negro Work
N.C. State Board of Charities
and Public Welfare
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald
1527 12½ Street
Hickory

Mr. Asa T. Spaulding
North Carolina Life Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

NORTH CAROLINA FELLOWS AND BOARD MEMBERS WHO WROTE THEY WOULD BE UNABLE
TO ATTEND MEETING OF February 9

Mrs. Jessie D. Ames
Box 73, The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Dr. N.C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Rt. Reverend E.A. Penick
802 Hillsboro Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. S.E. Duncan
State Dept. of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. George Stephens
48 Walnut Street
Asheville, North Carolina

SRC - Fund Raising (Kentucky)

NOTES ON THE KENTUCKY FUND-RAISING MEETING, 2/12/49

Present: Mr. J. M. Tydings, Dr. R. B. Atwood, Mrs. Hortense Young, and Mr. George Mitchell.

Fellows present were: Mr. G. D. Wilson and, I believe, Mr. Harold A. Smith and Mr. Robert T. Burke

NOTE: Mr. Frank L. Stanley runs the Louisville Defender, is a representative of the Chicago Defender. To help with fund-raising.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

February 24
Dict. February 17

Mrs. McKoy:

On the $250 pledges, Mr. C. C. Spaulding, Mr. Asa Spaulding, and Mr. J. H. Wheeler, all of Durham, all addressable at Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, did on February 9 jointly pledge as a group a single sum of $250.

The pledge was made orally to me.

GSM.

250.00
Campaign

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

2/16

To: Mrs. McKoy

Would you kindly compile an official register of pledges and contributions of (a) $250 (b) lesser amounts being in excess of the ten dollars.

The register should have as its earliest entries no items before November 10, 1948.

G. Mitchell

See letter of 7 Dec 48 from
G. D. Rogers, Tampa, Fla.
Sending $100 toward
pledge of $250.

Filed under -
"31 - Ro - Misc."

cac
2.3.49

Memo

December 7, 1948

To: Mrs. McKoy
From: GSM

I have a letter of December 6 from Mr. Alfred Mynders about a variety of matters. The final paragraph says:

"I pledged $100 to the Southern Regional Council at the directors meeting in Atlanta. I shall send half of it around January 1st and the remainder on July 1st. Don't hesitate to remind me if I get delinquent."

I wrote him in reply as follows:

"I have turned over to our secretary-treasurer, Mrs. McKoy, your sentence or two about your very generous pledge of $100 to the Council. She will follow up, in case your recollection fails you."

GSM

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

Memo

11/16/48

To: Mrs. McKoy
From: GSM

President Benjamin Mays approached me and said he would give $100 toward our 1949 budget, and asked me, Mitchell, to write him at the appropriate time. If you will so remind me, I will follow through.

GM

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

SRC Fund Raising (S.C)

3/7/49

Dr. Mitchell:

Confirming what I told you on Saturday about my conversation with Mrs. Spearman:

Date set by her is March 25. Time, 11 am.

She wants to discuss fund-raising before lunch, and to have a meeting of selected people after lunch to discuss implementation of surveys in S. C.

Wants us to write the usual letter of invitation to S. C. Fellows and Board members, signing her name.
Asks that we also write some letters inviting persons (whom she will select and notify us of) to the meeting on surveys.

met

~~S.C. Mtg~~

11-1 or 2:30 & 4:30

Trinity Parish House

c/o Sumter & Senate

Mrs Spearman

February 10, 1949
Dict. February 7

Mrs. Eugene Spearman
Algene Acres
Newberry, South Carolina

3 wks.
200 reprints
hold
as
credit

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Thank you for the letter of February 4.

As to a meeting in South Carolina. It would be a mighty effort for you to organize such a meeting at so near a date as February 19. I suggest, therefore, that we put it off.

Just now I am free for any date in March except the 14th, 15th, and 16th, and March 28. I am to be in South Carolina, in any case, on Thursday, March 24, to talk to the meeting of the South Carolina Teachers Association (10:00 A.M.). Mr. Potts has never let me know where that meeting will be, but I assume it will be in Columbia. It would suit my convenience, naturally, if a South Carolina meeting could be held March 24, 25, or 26, but if an earlier date is better for South Carolina's purposes, that will be all right with me.

I am delighted that the South Carolina Division is going after $5,000 for itself. It should have it. I know it will be a strain to be approaching our very limited group of friends for such a sum as $250 amounts. But we shan't be asking for more than a very few such gifts from South Carolina. In any case, I would come to a South Carolina meeting with the experience of similar meetings in Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Alabama behind me. So I ask that the South Carolina Division arrange a March meeting of the Council's Board members in the state and the Fellows, and any other persons (such as board and committee members of the South Carolina Division) as it might be thought wise to get to come.

Here is a list of the South Carolina Fellows, with tick marks as to those of the recommended ones who have agreed to serve as Fellows.

I am told that Howard Kester now lives at Black Mountain, North Carolina.

Mr. Marion Wright said he would try to get to the North Carolina meeting February 9, but reminded us that his main links are still with South Carolina. If he does not get to the North Carolina meeting, we can hope to get him to the South Carolina meeting. In any case, he should be asked, I think.

The boiled-down pamphlet is getting its art work added and has not gone printer. Even after it goes to the printer, we could still make changes in proof. Please send us your comment and suggestions. They would be helpful.

On the December '47-January '48 New South. I am sorry to tell you that we have literally only two copies left. I send you one of those, but 'tis a loan, and I beg you to mail it back to us with your comments on the new pamphlet.

When the March meeting comes off, do please invite Mr. Guthrie at Spartanburg.

When you decide on a date, will you send out invitations for people to come? If the Division wants it, this office would be willing to send out the letters. But it seems to me better for it to come from South Carolina.

I don't know Paul Williams' calendar, but he is trying very hard to get to each of the state meetings, and I could tentatively promise that he would be present for the South Carolina one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SOUTH CAROLINA FELLOWS

Ayers, The Rev. Mr. Robert, 1301 Hampton St., Columbia
Boyd, Dr. Rosamond Wimberly, Converse College, Spartanburg
Clement, Mr. Arthur, NC Mutual Insurance Co., Charleston
Jones, Dr. Dorothy, Dept. of Sociology, Winthrop College, Rock Hill
Maxwell, Miss Cassandra, Librarian, Law School, State College, Orangeburg
Morgan, Dr. Clarence E., 2029 Taylor Street, Columbia
Potts, Mr. John Avery, Avery Institute, Charleston
Webber, Mr. Paul, State College, Columbia

(All except Mr. Webber and Dr. Morgan have accepted. 2/10/49)

Algene Acres
Newberry, S.C.
Feb. 4, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Much to my regret my hosband's health and a combination of conditions are such that at the present I am a poor bet, when it comes to you or anyone else getting anything accomplished thru me, especially on schedule! I'm sorry.

There are many things about which I have been wanting to write you, and I will yet, if possible. Otherwise, I hope we may have some time to do so when you are here.

I wish I might be more encouraging about Mr. Dabbs and my helping you on the matter of raising funds to match Dr. Odum's gift. I am sorry that Dr. J.H. Stuart whose term expired this year might not have been succeeded on the Board by one of our outstanding Negroes from this state. Will you have a list of the Fellows sent me? I shall appreciate it, as I did not get one at the annual mtg., and have been intending to ask for one. I talked with Rosamonde W. Boyd in Columbia last month about her work with SRC and she was not encouraging. I'd rather not quote her as I'd prefer that you hear her ideas directly from her. However, my impression was that she does not think there is a unique place for SRC what with the many recent developments, and definitely said she preferred contributing to more urgently needed work. Quite confidentially, she has married the Chr. of the Dem. Party of Spthg. Co., and she is upset on the subject of civil rights. We have never been able to get John Potts to any meeting when his school is in session. Buck Kester is no longer at Penn School, I believe, and I don't seem to know who the other Fellows are. However, I do not doubt that they are like Mr. Dabbs said he has observed of most liberals, they know people all right, but seldom the right ones when it comes to raising money.

Now, I do not mean to be entirely discouraging, and am willing to try to do all I can. All other things being equal, Cola. is usually the best place for a meeting. Since we are as scattered as we are, I wish there were some way to assign us to make the desired contacts without having to have a meeting. If a number of the Fellows are school people, and you do decide upon a meeting, might not Sat. the 19th be the best time. I will not make any appointments for this period which I cannot break until I hear from you. I think it might be worthwhile sending notices of the meeting to our S.C. Division Board members, for I believe a few would want and be able to attend. C.L. Guthrie, Rt 5, Spartanburg S.C. , who is past president of the SPTBG Central Labor Union said he would like to do so when we mentioned the possibility of such a meeting at our last Board meeting.

Our Board and Advisory Committee has set a goal for $5,000 for this year for a full time travelling secretary, and I believe most S.Carolinians will prefer to give to that as the need is so great on the local level, and there are so many urgent crucial issues at stake in the state just now. However, we are indebted to the regional work, xxxx want it to continue, and will work to that end!

I have some definite ideas about the new promotion pamphlet which I have begun setting down several times, only to be inter-

over

rupted. Shall I make a desperate effort to complete this the first of the week when I should have a little free time, or is it too late to be of help?

My general criticism is that what was submitted is logical, but not psychologically arresting. The iron is hot at many points just now, and I hope we may play up these points as attention getters, and then give a minimum of background, etc. If there's time, I'd like to develop these ideas more fully and specifically. Let me hear.

Hastily,

Calvin N. Spearman

P.S. Have given away or lost my file copy of The Dec 1947 New South. If one is available please let me have as I want to use some excerpts from Paul Lewis' address to 1947 annual mtg - for above

February 3, 1949

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Algene Acres
Newberry, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Please speed us an answer to my letter of January 18, about a South Carolina meeting.

I am most sorry we did not get someone to the meeting the other day, though we tried hard.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

January 18, 1949

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Algene Acres
Newberry, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Paul Williams' plan on raising the $250 sums to match Dr. Odum's gift is to convene a meeting of the Board members, and I think also the Fellows, in each state. That group would draw up a list of people who would put up $250, and parcel out the job of going to see the people. Of course the job needs to be done in the closest coordination with the state division or state committee concerned.

Incidentally, Paul agrees that it would be a good idea to offer to the treasury of each state division concerned twenty-five cents out of every dollar so raised.

Could you please be busy at picking a date for such a meeting in South Carolina? I will hold open for South Carolina the whole period of Thursday, February 17, through Monday, February 21.

Please think hard about when and where, and let me know just as quickly as you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

cc: Paul Williams

SRC Contributions — 1948 Deficit

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 18, 1949

Dear SRC Member:

You will be interested in the results of the "ten dollar" campaign.

Here is the number of these contributors, by States:

States	Number of Households	Number of Contributors	% Households Contributing	Amount Contributed
Mississippi	125	41	32.8	$328.00
Tennessee	116	27	23	258.00
Georgia	230	46	20	327.00
Alabama	134	23	17	201.00
Louisiana	77	12	15.5	111.00
Texas	93	14	15	114.00
Kentucky	102	15	14.7	121.00
South Carolina	239	34	14.2	283.00
Assoc. (Outside of South)	148	21	14	196.50
Virginia	180	21	11.7	181.00
Arkansas	17	2	11	15.00
North Carolina	195	20	10.2	193.50
Oklahoma	11	1	9	9.00
Florida	552	27	5	232.00
TOTALS	2,219	304	13.7	$2,570.00

The total amount received thus far is $2,570. Average contribution was $8.45. Of the 2,219 households in our membership of 3,200, 13.7 percent contributed. We are pleased with these results, and the Council has been greatly helped by that addition to its threateningly low funds.

Books close June 30. If any one wishes still to help, we would be very grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

SRC - Fund Raising

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 24, 1949

Dr. John R. Ewbank
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Ewbank:

This is one of our rare appeals to you as a Fellow for a special bit of service.

We are going pretty seriously into a major fund-raising campaign this fall. We have engaged an able person named Thomas F. Byrd, of Burnsville, North Carolina, who will head up the campaign for several months on a salary basis.

He has asked me to get for him a list of the three or four leading ministers for each state, one for each of the three or four major denominations.

It isn't necessary that they be persons who have shown much interest in the Council's sort of work; we want people who are influential in their denominations.

No one is going to ask them for money, but Byrd would go and see them and ask them to tell him where he might usefully address his efforts to find persons who could give substantially.

Would you ponder a bit and write me the names and addresses of three or four such persons? I assume one would be a Baptist, one a Methodist, and one a Presbyterian. For the Episcopal and Catholic Churches we wou d depend on the bishops.

Kind of you if you can help us in that way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM;d

"over"

Box 285,
Y.M.C.A. Camp,
Estes Park,
Colorado.

Dear Doctor Mitchell,

I am out of State for the Summer but make the following suggestions.

1. Pastor of Immanuel Baptist Church Little Rock, Rev. W. D. Vaught.

2. Doctor C. M. Reeves, Methodist, First Church, Conway, Ark.,

3. Presbyterian:— Pastor of the (I believe) Second Presbyterian Church Located on third Street, Near the Post Office, Little Rock, Ark.,
(I cannot recall his name.)

These three persons are influential, well known, Respected and, I believe, will be Sympathetic to our Cause.

Sincerely,
J. R. Newbank

RECEIVED
JUL 20 2019
RCUSU V LS
Southern Regional Council

250.00 Campaign

June 2, 1949

Mr. Reuben B. Robertson
The Champion Paper and Fibre Company
Canton, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Robertson:

We are most appreciative of your check for $250 sent us through Mr. Walter J. Damtoft at the request of Mr. C. C. Spaulding. This gift means a great deal to the Council and to its work in the field of Southern problems.

Our very warm thanks to you and to Mr. Spaulding.

Cordially and sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

cc: Mr. C. C. Spaulding

THE CHAMPION PAPER AND FIBRE COMPANY
CANTON DIVISION CANTON, N. C.

VOUCHER PAYABLE

NUMBER 86775

Southern Regional Council

DATE 5/24/49

DATE	REGISTER NUMBER	GROSS AMOUNTS	DEDUCTIONS DETAILS	DEDUCTIONS AMOUNTS	NET CREDITS
		250.00	Contribution 1949 Budget for Coordination of State Interracial Organizations.		250.00
	TOTAL				250.00
LESS DISCOUNT AT %					
NET AMOUNT PAYABLE					
PAYMENT ENCLOSED—OUR CHECK NO. 65232W DATED MAY 25 1949					
BALANCE PAYABLE					

Gentlemen:

We enclose our check as settlement in accordance with the above. Acceptance of this check constitutes a full and final settlement of the account as shown. Your endorsement is the only receipt we require.

Do not use this check unless accepted as stated on this voucher; if unacceptable please return to us with detailed explanation.

Yours very truly,

THE CHAMPION PAPER AND FIBRE COMPANY

THE CHAMPION PAPER AND FIBRE COMPANY

MILLS AT HAMILTON OHIO, CANTON N.C., HOUSTON TEXAS

CANTON DIVISION

WALTER J. DAMTOFT
ASSISTANT SECRETARY & TREASURER

CANTON, NORTH CAROLINA

May 23, 1949

Mr. C. C. Spaulding, President,
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.,
Durham, North Carolina.

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

At the request of Mr. Reuben B. Robertson we are enclosing our check in the sum of $ 250.00 in favor of Southern Regional Council, being a contribution to that organization for the coordination of State Interracial Organizations, as explained in your letter to him of May 4th.

Yours very truly,

W J Damtoft

WJD
PES

encl-check

cc- Mr. Robertson
Mr. Helder

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Fund Raising

June 27, 1949

Mr. C. J. McLanahan
941 Howard Street
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Mr. McLanahan:

Our president, Paul Williams, and I were in New York about three weeks ago and we went by to see the Welch Grape Juice people. Mr. Kaplan, I assume, was too busy to see us and sent out Mr. Neaman, his assistant. Mr. Neaman was solicitude and alert understanding itself, but said that they had flocks of appeals for money. We told him ours was a settled organization with thirty years of rootedness in southern needs behind it and that therefore we should be helped. In effect, he said that that was interesting, because more lately Mr. Kaplan had been helping only brand new organizations just getting started!

Nevertheless we left our materials and oral petitions with Mr. Neaman, who promised to bring the matter up to Mr. Kaplan. We went away feeling no great hopes. If you have private channels for strengthening our possibilities, we would be very grateful.

We are in tough shape financially, but are sure of good support in the future, and need now only a few thousand dollars to get us through this year.

Mr. Neaman made it clear that we wouldn't improve our cause by submitting reams of projects and documents. Wherefore I don't present any to you.

Nevertheless, for your own interest, and to show the sort of thing we do, I send now a recent letter to the southern governors which caused

something of a splash and will mark the beginning of a new period.

Thank you, anyhow, for letting us know about the possibility.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SRC - Fund Raising

Urban League of Oklahoma City, Inc.

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

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AFFILIATED WITH
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
COMMUNITY FUND OF OKLAHOMA CITY
COUNCIL OF SOCIAL WELFARE

300 NORTH STILES STREET
TELEPHONE: 2-8817
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

June 29, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In reply to your request of June 23 for names of prominent Oklahoma ministers of major denominations, I suggest the following:

Rev. W. K. Jackson, Assistant Pastor
St. John Baptist Church
805 N. E. Second Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Rev. William H. Wallace, Jr.
St. Luke Methodist Church
201 N. W. 8 Street
Oklahoma City

Rev. William H. Alexander
First Christian Church
1104 North Robinson
Oklahoma City

Rev. G. Raymond Campbell
Westminister Presbyterian Church
4400 North Shartel
Oklahoma City

Rev. Campbell is also president of the Oklahoma City Council of Churches. Rev. Alexander has served for several years as head of the Community Chest Campaign and is quite influential. The president of the State Council of Churches is Rev. Donald Black, 2317 N. E. 20 Street. He might be able to help locate other prominent ministers throughout Oklahoma.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs) Cernoria D. Johnson

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

August 19, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing herewith a list of the Church leaders as requested in two of your letters.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mlb
Enc. 1

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Fund Raising

Dr. Mitchell:

I notice that on checking this list that Dr. Trigg has marked only the Methodist Ministers, which, of course, will not be sufficient for Mr. Byrd's needs. Since Mr. Byrd does not know these people giving him the complete list without information will not help him a great deal! It just happens that I know some of these ministers that are well know and have influence in North Carolina.

Dr. J. A. Jones, Charlotte, has one of the wealthiest churches in the state. It is Myers Park Presbyterian, I believe.

Dr. J. A. Redhead, Greensboro, was in Charlotte for years before going to Greensboro, is a powerful preacher and has influence not only among Presbyterians but in other Protestant denominations as well.

Rev. J. C. Plexico, Asheville, is quite well known and much liked in the Presbyterian Church.

Dr. John R. Cunningham at Davidson is well thought of and greatly respected.

Dr. W. M. Boyce and Dr. E. N. Orr are both leaders among the A.R.P's. Dr. Boyce has some wealthy church members too I believe. Dr. Orr. was for years President of Mecklenburg County Ministerial Association and may still be.
Dr. Boyce is at First A.R.P. Church, Charlotte
Dr. E. N. Orr at Tabernacle A.R.P. Church, Charlotte

Dr. Herbert Spaugh, Charlotte, writes a daily column in either The Charlotte Observer or the Charlotte News(can't remember which) His church is called "The Little Church on the Lane" or something to that effect.

Mr. George M. Ivey, Charlotte, owns chain of Ivey Department Stores in N. C. He belongs to First Methodist Church in Charlotte and has given a great deal of money to that denomination and to other worthy causes. I remember once the Interdenominational Council of Christian Young People in Charlotte had an interracial meeting and he showed us a movie (His own) on Negro Housing in Mecklenburg County.

Dr. William Harrison Williams, Pritchard Memorial Baptist Church, Charlotte, is well known among Baptists and highly respected.

All these people except Dr. Redhead and Dr. Cunningham are in Charlotte. I notice Dr. and Mrs. Clyde Milner of Guilford College are also listed but are not checked. Some notation should be made that they are Council Members for Mr. Byrd's sake. Do you think it worthwhile to make the above information available to Mr. Byrd?

WGD

Yes, please.

SRC - Fund Raising

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM		SERIAL	
DAY LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE		DEFERRED	
CODE		NIGHT LETTER	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

September 6, 1949

Mr. D. V. Jemison
Mount Zion Baptist Church
c/o Rev. S. H. Prentice
1375 East 45th Street
Los Angeles, California

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, meeting in Atlanta, August 31, directed that the following be sent your Convention.

The period immediately ahead is one in which major decisions by all the people of the South, with the Nation, must be taken toward resolving the conflicts of today. Substantial achievement is in sight and the Southern Regional Council must have additional emergency support in order to play its uniquely effective part. Either the Christian groups accept this challenge or injurious forces will prevail. We appeal to your great Baptist Body to play its part in this effort and to align itself with other religious groups by voting one thousand dollars to the Council.

Next page continued

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM		SERIAL	
DAY LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE		DEFERRED	
CODE		NIGHT LETTER	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

The full membership of the Executive Committee is:

Mr. Paul Williams, President
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Chairman
Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Mr. C. H. Gillman
Mr. Leonard Haas
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. J. McNamara
Mr. Carter Wesley
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. John H. Wheeler
Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Dr. Guy B. Johnson

Signed by,

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

SRC Fund Raising

Copied from a letter to Dr. Mitchell from Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee September 7, 1949

Miss Gundlach made the following suggestion which I thought you would be interested in:

"It occurred to me as I read the enclosed sheet, "Southern Liberals On the Move" that the statement ought to be in the hands of each member of our faculty with an appeal for them to support the Southern Regional Council. Do you think there is value in the suggestion that you prepare a letter for college teachers who are not now members of the Council, and enclose a copy of the sheet? If these could be sent to a Council member on each campus who would undertake to see that they are distributed, it might not be too expensive a way to make the appeal for others to help."

SRC - Fund Raising

ARTHUR W. NEWELL
Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
Vice-President

MRS. EARL BROWN
Vice-President

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

OFFICES AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA

RT. REV. FREDERICK D. GOODWIN
President

ROBERT LEE HOUSE
Chairman, Commission on Activities

MINOR C. MILLER
Executive Secretary

109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

ROLAND P. RIDDICK
Chairman, Commission on Finance

W. A. MANN
Treasurer

Sept. 16, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In reply to your letter asking for the names of a few ministers inVirginia who might be able to help the Council inllocating potential donors, I would like to suggest the following names:

Dr. E. T. Thompson (Presbyterian), Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.

Rev. Henry Lee Robison, Jr., Box 63, Blacksburg, Va. (Meth.)

Rt. Rev. F. D. Goodwin,(Episcopal), 110 W. Franklin St.,Richmond,Va.

Rev. Leland H. Waters,(Baptist) 1 W. Franklin St.,Richmond, Va.

Very sincerely yours,

Emerson Smith

C. Emerson Smith, Director
Interracial Cooperation

CES:lj

SRC Fund Raising (Byrd)

The Laurentien

DOMINION SQUARE · MONTREAL, CANADA

September 16th, 1949.

Dr. George Mitchell,
Wesley Memorial Building,
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Dr.Mitchell:-

I got your letter as I was leaving the farm two or three days ago. It will be impossible for me to get down there for the 20th. I should be down there about Thursday or Friday of next week. Something has come up to delay me a day or so and I have to go back to see my sister in North Carolina on my way down. I hope this slight delay will not inconvenience you any.

Hoping to see you next week, I remain,

Yours very truly,

Thomas F Byrd

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

September 7, 1949

Mr. Thomas F. Byrd
Wingdale, New York

Dear Mr. Byrd:

I am deeply appreciative of your kindness in agreeing to take on the effort on behalf of the Southern Regional Council.

The Council will be responsible for payment to you of a monthly salary of a thousand dollars and immediate payment of current traveling expenses. The monthly salary will, if necessary, be paid retroactively to the beginning of your work for the Council, payment to be taken up on or just after January 1, 1950.

You should, henceforth, be called Associate Director of the Southern Regional Council. I have no authority to add an office in a formal sense, but our membership meeting on November 8 will have my recommendation for the approval of this title. If some other one suits you better, please let me know.

We are looking for you here on a date between September 15 and 20.

We are all delighted with the prospect of working closely with you. The services of the whole organization will be at your disposal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

#250 Campaign

WILBERT J. O'NEILL
COUNSELLOR AND ATTORNEY AT LAW
UNION COMMERCE BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

EARL J. KROCK
ROBERT J. NEWTON

November 10, 1949.

Mr. Paul Williams,
3320 Gloucester Road,
Richmond, Virginia.

My dear Paul:

In accordance with our telephone talk, I send you herewith my check to the order of the Southern Regional Conference for $250.00.

I shall be very much interested to learn the outcome of your Atlanta meeting. Hope that the results indicated appreciation of your splendid efforts.

Sincerely,

Bert

WJO:BK
Encl.

SRC Jim Dunn

Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
May 15, 1950

RECEIVED
MAY 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

You'll find enclosed a copy of a letter I have written to Harry Daniel, Amalthea, Bristol, Virginia, the young liberal manufacturer I spoke to you about.

Last Friday I sent off to the text editor of LIFE a brief synopsis titled, "Mr. Calm and Gradual," which was, of course, a suggestion that I do a piece for them about you, weaving into it the work of the Council, and with the purpose of proving that there is something Southerners can do to solve their own problems, with you and the Council as prototypes.

You know that any dealings with LIFE are highly speculative, but in case they should be interested will you send me the five-page document you wrote for Mr. Oursler and which you mentioned during our talks? In return, I'll let you know immediately what LIFE says.

I went on to Chattanooga with Popham and had a good and fruitful talk with him. The next day hit Knoxville and the TVA crowd where I got some fine bibliographies and maps. In Asheville I saw Stephens very briefly to find him willing to help and a charming person. In Greenville, S.C., at the end of my trip, I found your fine hand again, in the community survey they've just done.

As a matter of fact, I made that survey the main point in a second synopsis I sent to LIFE: "The Town That Found Its Conscience."

Thanks again very much for all your fine help and hospitality which put me doubly in your debt by the spirit in which you gave it.

Cordially,

George

George McMillan

Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
May 15, 1950

Dear Harry:

I'm enclosing a clip which describes the work of The Southern Regional Council, an organization which deserves your interest and support. Up until now it has been getting money from the Rosenwald Foundation but, as you probably know, the Rosenwald money is all gone now. The Council is seeking memberships, and I believe hopes to get a certain number of $10 folk. I think you ought to be one of them.

All goes well with the McMillans. My Marine book got reviews which went far beyond my expectations, and at the end of April I found my name among those who were awarded Guggenheim Fellowships for the coming year. I'm to write: "A Social History of the South, 1930-48," a monumental and bewildering mission which will probably at some time or other bring me to Bristol.

All the McMillans, including Virginia, Kit and Sander (who has just been accepted to enter Harvard next fall) are going to England this summer. I'm attending as one of 100 students from 23 countries a seminar at the University of London, sponsored by the British government, "The Arts in Britain Today," a discriminating survey of contemporary British culture. We got to the ballet, the theatre, etc.

We're returning about mid-September and wish the hell we could have a reunion with the Daniels then. Can't you come see us in September-October for a weekend?

Virginia joins me in sending best to you and Julia.

Cordially,

George McMillan

P. S. I've given your name to the folks at Southern Regional [illegible] from them.

CC: Mr. J. M. Tydings

June 20, 1950

Mr. Frank L. Stanley, Publisher
The Louisville Defender
418 South 5th Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Stanley:

Mr. Tydings very kindly sent me a copy of his letter to you of May 22. I had asked him if you could get to see Mr. Russell Sweeney at Churchill Downs.

If you could help us get a substantial contribution from him, we would be extremely grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

5/22/50

Mr. Frank Stanley, Editor
Louisville Defender
418 S. 5th St.
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Stanley:

Among our special prospects cards of possible contributors to the SRC is one for Mr. Russell Sweeney, President Manager of Churchill Downs. The card is annotated, "see just after the races".

Would this be the psychological moment for you to make a personal appearance in Mr. Sweeney's offices?

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:clg

Fund Raising - $250 as of July 1950

People who have given $250. ...

Mr. G. D. Rogers, 1416 North Blvd., Tampa, Fla.

Mr. Leonard Haas, Haas-Howell Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Donald Comer, Avondale Mills, Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. Edgar Sterne, New Orleans, La.

Mrs. Edgar Sterne, New Orleans, La.

Dr. Howard Odum, univ. of North Carolina

Mr. C. C. Spaulding, Durham, N.C.; Mr. Asa Spaulding; and Mr. J. H. Wheeler (as a group)

Mr. Charles Smith, 2710 North 25th Street, Arlington, Va.

Miss Hugh B. Hawes and Miss Julia Hall, Richmond, Va.

Mr. Spencer Love, Burlington, N. C.

Mr. D. W. Uzzle, Durham, N. C.

Mr. S. T. Marcus; Mr. R. M. Haynes; Mrs. Gertrude Weil

Mr. Leonard Haas; Mr. Morris Hirsch; Mrs. Edwin Haas

Mr. Reuben R. Robertson, North Carolina

Mr. James P. McGuire, North Carolina

Mr. James L. Coker, South Carolina

McCormick & Company, Maryland

Mr. Wilbert J. O'Neill, Ohio

3/23/50 Sigmund Silberman Foundation, 117 West 35th Street, Chicago 9, Ill.

1/25/50 Div. of Home Missions and Church Extension (M. D. Hackman)

4/17/50 Mrs. David R. Coker, Hartsville, S. C.

" Div. of Home Missions and Church Extension, Methodist Ch., 1701 Arch St, Phila.

NOTES ON THE CONVERSATION WITH BYRD, JUNE 1, 1949 GSM

He would only do the job on condition that he be assured of the active personal participation in fundraising of many members of the Board of Directors, as well ad the participation of the staff.

If after three or four months he does not feel encouraged as to the prospects of raising a substantial sum, the arrangement would be terminated.

He wants from us during the summer a list of well-to-do southern persons, being approximately 25 per state. As to each person such information as is available should be supplied.

He wants also a list of persons high in each of the leading religious denominations in each state who could assist in making contact with prospective donors. This would not exceed 3, 4, or 5 per state.

He will propose to begin work between September 1 and 15. I urged him to start on it as early as possible, in order that the literature he wants printed may be printed.

He has his own printer that he likes and has trained to deliver on time. We will need to supply him with a careful budget of what we would do with the money to be raised -- that is, what projects and what amounts.

He contemplates putting in about six months in the job: one or two more if necessary.

9/29/49

LIST OF PERSONS TO WHOM $250.00 LETTERS WERE SENT for Mr. Thomas F. Byrd

Alabama

Birmingham: 250 Dr. E. W. Taggart, Masonic Temple Building
100 Mr. Lindley C. Morton, First National Bank Building
250 Mr. Ed Norton, Protective Life Building
100 General John C. Persons, President, First National Bank
250 Mr. Louis Pizitz, Pizitz Department Store
100 Mr. Don Drennen & Mr. Nabb Drennen, Drennen Motor Co., 401 South 20th St.
100 Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, 1819 Eighth Avenue, North
250 Messrs, Robert I. Ingalls, Sr. & Jr., Ingalls Iron Works Co.
250 [Mr. Crawford Johnson, Jr.
Crawford Johnson & Co., Inc., 3301 11th Avenue, North
100 Mr. Joseph H. Loveman, Loveman's Store
250 Mr. C. D. Barr, President, American Cast Iron Pipe Co.
100 Mr. Rucker Agee, Sterne, Agee & Leach, First National Building

Gadsden: 250 Mr. Carmage Wall
250 Mr. Adolf Reich, Reich Hotel

Mobile: 250 Mr. Ed Roberts, Waterman Steamship Lines

Montgomery: 250 Mr. S. Cleve Stokes, S. Cleve Stokes Nursery
250 Mr. William Baldwin, Vice-President, First National Bank
250 Mr. Algernon Blair, First Nation l Bank Building

Waugh: 250 Mr. Price C. McLemore

ADDITIONAL ALABAMA NAMES ON ATTACHED SHEET

Florida

Cantonment: Mr. James H. Allen

Clearwater: Mr. Courtney Campbell, Vice President, Foods Machine Corp.

Dinsmore; Mr. V. C. Johnson, Dinsmore Dairy Farms

Ft. Walton: Dr. J. Lee Drake

Jacksonville: Sheriff Rex Sweatt, Duval County Courthouse
Mr. Louis E. Wolfson, 1036 Nicholson Rd.
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Kloeppel, Sr., George Washington Hotel
Mr. Samuel Kopnis, National Container Corp.
Mr. James W. Spratt, 3925 Ortega Boulevard
Mr. Alexander Brest, George Washington Hotel
Dr. T. Z. Cason, 2033 Riverside Avenue
Mr. P. N. Coleman, Graham Building
Mr. Walter Crabtree, Barnett Building
Mrs. Waldo E. Cummer, 761 Riverside Ave.
Mr. George Milam, Greenleaf Building
Mr. & Mrs. Thurston Roberts, 1304 Elizabeth Place
Mr. Harry Reinstine, Atlantic National Bank Building
Mrs. James H. O'Reilly, 3026 St. Johns Avenue
Mr. A. O. Jenkins, Duval Jewelry Co., Lynch Building
Mrs. A. I. Dupont, Barnett Building
Ferrell Jewelry Co., 220 Main Street

ADDITIONAL ALABAMA NAMES

Birmingham: * Mr. Douglas Arant, Comer Building
Mr. C. D. Barr, President, American Cast Iron Pipe Company
Mr. J. T. McKenzie, American Cast Iron Pipe Company
Mr. Preston H. Haskell, Jr., 113 Third Avenue, North
Mr. Clarence B. Hanson, Jr., Birmingham News
*Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, 1819 Eighth Avenue, North
Mr. James E. Chappell, Birmingham News
Erskine Ramsey
Mervyn H. Sterne, Sterne, Agee & Leach, First National Building
*Mr. Charles F. Zukoski, Jr., First National Bank

Montgomery: Mr. Stanhope Bellmore

Anniston: Mr. Harry M. Ayers, 818 Glenwood Terrace
Mr. Oscar Kilby

Selma: Mr. E. T. McBride, Tillman Drug Company, 100 Broad Street
Dr. B. R. Odum
Mr. W. H. Plant, President, Peoples Bank and Trust Company
Mr. William Ward, Manager, Meyers Shoe Company

*These persons were asked for only $100; the others were asked for $250.

Jacksonville: (continued)
Mr. Kennett Merrill, Merrill-Stevens Co.
Mr. Cliff McGehee, Florida Paper Co.
Mr. Lester Foley, Foley Lumber Co.
Mrs. Carl Swisher, 2252 Biner Rd.
Mr. Finley Tucker, 331 West Forsyth Street

Miami:
Dr. Harold D. Van Schaick, 6675 Windsor Lane, La Gorce Island
Mr. Thomas T. Scott, 3077 Southwest 32nd Avenue

Orlando:
Mr. Edward Issam, P. O. Box 1431

Pensacola:
Mr. C. H. Overman, 21 West Government
Mr. Eugene Taylor, 120 West Brainerd
Mr. William S. Rosasco, Jr., 50 West Brainerd
Dr. Charles A. Born, 1400 Lakeview Avenue
Mr. F. W. Sherrill, Bay Shore

Port St. Joe:
Mr. W. T. Edwards, Port St. Joe Paper Co.

Quincy:
Mr. J. O. Corry

Tallahassee:
Mr. S. E. Teague, 1004 Park Avenue
Mr. George F. Lewis, Lewis State Bank
Mr. Millard Caldwell, Caldwell, Parker, Foster, Wigginton Law Offices, Brock Building

Tampa;
Dr. M. R. Silas, 1404½ Central Avenue

Kentucky (They sent out their own letters. These were the names adopted)

Ashland:
Mr. Paul Blazer, Ashland Oil and Refining Co.

Churchill Downs:
Col. J. Matt Winn

Frankfort:
Mr. Leslie Perkins
Mr. A. R. Blanton, President, Stagg Distilleries
H. S. Marcus Co.
Mrs. Eleanor Hume Offutt
Mr. Leslie Morris, President, Farmers Bank Capital Trust Co.
Mr. W. P. Sullivan, Vice President, Farmers Bank Capital Trust Co.

Lexington:
Dr. Massie (Believed to be Dr. Paul Massie)
Mr. Frazier LeBus, Tobacco Warehouse on West Fourth St.

Louisville:
Mr. Charles Kastner, Mockingbird Hill Road
Harry Bingham, Courier-Journal
Mr. Owsley Brown, Brown-Foreman Distillery, 18th Street
Kentucky Rock Asphalt Co. (Louisville and Bowling Green)
Mr. Harry Schacter, Kauffman-Straus Co.
Mr. Ely H. Brown III, 601 Kentucky Home Life Bldg.
J. B. Smith, Domestic Life Insurance Co.
Mrs. Austin Oerbacker, 3000 Neals Branch Dr.
Mr. George W. Norton, Jr. Radio WAVE
Mr. H. Fred Willkie, Joseph Seagram's & Son, 7th Road
Mammoth Life Insurance Co., A. D. Doss, President
Mr. Charles W. Allen, 1610 Heyburn Bldg.
Gen. J. Fred Miles, American Life Building, 5th and Main
Mr. Richard Hardesty, President, United Furniture Co. Jackson & Market Sts.
Mr. Rogers Norton, Ballard Mills
Mr. E. C. Speckman, Anchorage, Kentucky
Mr. Lewis W. Cole, Speed Avenue
Mr. Harrison M. Robertson, British American Tobacco Co., 10th & Hill Sts.

Louisville: Mr. Mark Ethridge, Courier-Journal

North Carolina

Asheville: Mr. Reuben Robertson, President, Champion Fibre & Paper Co.

Brevard: Mr. Harry Straus, President, Ecusa Paper Co.

Burlington: Mr. Spencer Love, Burlington Mills

Chapel Hill: Mr. Wm. D. Carmichael, Jr., University of N. C.

Charlotte: Rev. Mr. James A. Jones, 1052 Providence Road

Conover: Mr. Adrian Shuford

Durham: Mrs. C. W. Toms, Jr., 1524 Hermitage Court
Mr. Asa Spaulding, 116 West Parrish St.
Mrs. Josiah Trent, Bivins Street
Mr. D. W. Uzzle, 1004 W. Forest Hills Boulevard
Mr. George Watts Hill, Quail Roost Farms, Roxboro Road
Charles H. Livengood, Sr. & Jr., 1022 Homer St
Mr. J. P. McGuire, 1430 Mangum St.,
Mr. L. W. Norton, 111 Corcoran St. Bldg.
Mr. William H. Ruffin, 25 Oak Drive, Forest Hills
Mr. C. T. Council, Hope Valley
Mr. & Mrs. John A. Buchanan, Cedar Street

Hickory: Mr. Alex Shuford
Mr. Bill Shuford
Mr. Harley Shuford
Mr. Norman Hutton

Goldsboro: Miss Gertrude Weil

Greensboro: Mr. Ralph C. Price, 301 Fisher Park Circle
Mrs. Julius W. Cone, 1030 Summit Avenue

Kannapolis: Mr. & Mrs. Charles A. Cannon

Laurinburg: Mr. Edwin Pate, 803 Church Street
Mr. Halbert McNair Jones, 308 Prince Street
Mr. John F. McNair, 502 W. Church Street
Mrs. George Avinger,
Mr. J. Hervey Evans

Lenoir: Mr. J. E. Broyhill

Morganton: Mrs. Dell Berhardt Wilson
Mrs. A. B. Stoney

Newton: Mr. Julian Abernethy

Raleigh: Mr. Clyde Dillon, 1603 Hillsboro St.
Mr. N. E. Edgerton, Tatton Hall
Mr. Frank Daniels, 1515 Glenwood Ave.
Mr. John R. Larkins, Consultant on Negro Work, N. C. State Board of Charities and Public Welfare
Mr. Cyrus N. Johnson, Box 1208
Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President St. Augustine's College

Raleigh: Mr. Jonathan Daniels, 1540 Caswell Street

Rocky Mount: Mr. Thomas J. Pearsall, West Haven

Tarboro; 600 St. Patrick St. Mr. Willie G. Clark

Warrenton: Mrs. Catherine Arrington

Whiteville: Mr. J. N. Coburn

Wilson: Mr. N. M. Schaum, 904 West Nash St.

Winston-Salem: Mr. James A. Gray 138 North Cherry St.
Mr. James G. Hanes, Brockstown Road
Mr. P. H. Hanes, 2000 Georgia Ave.
Mr. John P. Whitaker, Brookstown Rd.

New York City: Mr. John W. Hanes, C. D. Barney & Co.
Mr. Thomas A. Morgan, Chairman of Board, Sperry Gyroscope, 30 Rockefeller Plaza

South Carolina

Bishopville: Mr. Eugene McCutcheon

Charleston: Miss Josephine Pinckney

Columbia: Mr. Edwin G. Seibels, Seibels-Bruce Company
Mr. Lester L. Bates, President, Capitol Life Insurance Company
Mrs. Julian Hennig
Mr. R. B. Herbert
Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, 1511 Laurel Street
Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Simkins, 2025 Marion Street

Conway: Mrs. E. E. Dargan
Mr. E. C. Wall

Easley: Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Smith
Mrs. Gertrude Matthews
Mr. and Mrs. Ben Woodside
Mr. and Mrs. R. C. McCall

Florence: Mrs. James McLeod
Dr. Walter R. Mead
Mrs. Simons Lucas

Fort Motte: Miss Julia Peterkin, Lang Syne Plantation

Gaffney: Mr. Louis Wood

Greenville: Rev. G. B. Lee, Easterlin Baptist Church

Hartsville: Mr. Robert Coker, President, Pedigreed Seed Company
Mr. Richard Coker, Vice President, Sonoco Products Company
Mr. John H. Martin
Mr. Charles Coker

Joanna: Mr. Walter Regnery, Manager, Joanna Mill

South Carolina (continued)

Lancaster:	Mr. Elliott W. Springs
Marion:	Mrs. Horace Tilghman
Newberry:	Mr. Guy Whitener Mr. Ralph Williams
Spartanburg:	Mr. Walter Montgomery Mr. Donald Russell Mr. W. S. Montgomery, President, Spartan Mills Mr. J. S. Woodward, 595 Howard Street Mr. Broadus Littlejohn, President, Community Cash Stores Mr. J. L. Brooks Dr. J. C. Bull, P. O. Box 274
Una:	Dr. J. F. Brooks, Una

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

5/24/49

TO MET:

Virginia is excluded on the return of part of the $250 contributions. Louisiana is excluded, because it has no division, and so are Arkansas and Oklahoma. Otherwise, all are included.

cc: Mrs. McKoy

4/1/49

TO: GSM
RE: FUND-RAISING

I have just gone over progress of fund-raising in the states. These perhaps should have some follow-up now:

ALABAMA:
GSM went to Montgomery March 4. Marmion to get Norton to sign letter; Shores to get Gaston to sign. We have heard nothing on this that I know of.

NORTH CAROLINA:
GSM talked to Mr. Wheeler over 'phone March 15. He was to go to Greensboro to see Mr. Hanes about signing the letter. WE HAVE NOT HEARD.
Spaulding reprints mailed on 3/29 and 3/30 to persons on list, with promise that they would be receiving letter from Mr. Spaulding soon.

VIRGINIA:
GSM wrote Paul Williams February 18, sending cards to be perfected. PW to get Young and Dabney to sign the letter. NO WRITTEN REPORT since that I know of.

FLORIDA:
Wrote Mrs. Havens on March 3. Mr. Daniel to peffect letter he and Mr. Rogers to send out.
CAN GSM SPEED THIS WHEN HE IS IN FLORIDA?

In these states, no follow-up is necessary now, looks like:

KENTUCKY:
GSM talked to Mr. Tydings by 'phone March 30. He agreed to refer to correspondence and take action.

SOUTH CAROLINA:
Dabbs written March 30 about what needs to be done.

TENNESSEE:
We have correspondended with Mrs. Havens, most recently on March 29. Meeting to be set up in connection with May Tennessee annual meeting.

TEXAS:
Carter Wesley wrote on March 28 that now isn't the time to go ahead in Texas; too much competition from United Negro College Fund.

No meetings set up in: Arkansas, Louisiana, Georgia, Oklahoma, Mississippi.

SRC Fund Raising

February 8, 1950

Bishop Robert M. Brooks
631 Baronne Street
New Orleans, La.

My dear Bishop Brooks:

In the Council's grave financial need, I took occasion the other day to ask President Dent to name for me two or three people in New Orleans who might be able to find $250.00 for the Council. You will see from the enclosed that Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina has given us $250.00, conditioned upon our finding nine-nine other southerners who would give us a like amount. We are satisfied that with greatly increased help from within the South, we can again get substantial contributions from certain of the foundations.

I send you a memorandum that will tell you more at length about the Council. I know that the Methodist Churches in various branches have already assisted the Council considerably, and I know also that there are many many calls upon such resources as you can muster. Nevertheless, I hope, earnestly, that it will be possible for you to undertake the responsibility for a contribution to the Council's work.

I am sorry that in a visit to your office the other day I did not have the good fortune to catch you there. I enjoyed, however, a fine conversation with Mr. Taylor of the Advocate.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

February 8, 1950

Mr. James Lewis, President
Peoples Industrial Life Insurance Co.
901 North Claiborne Street
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

I greatly appreciated your kindness the other day in giving me an opportunity to talk with you about the Southern Regional Council.

Here is a long memorandum that will tell you--if you have the time to look through it--of the sort of things the Council does.

Mr. Dent At Dillard will speak warmly of us I am sure. Your own New Orleans Committee is now a close affiliate of the Council.

The newspaper account from the New York Times will explain to you Dr. Odum's $250.00 campaign to aid the Council. It is of the very greatest of importance to us to bring up the number of contributors of that amount. We are satisfied that in that way we can show substantial additional southern support and will be able to get large sums again from various of the Foundations as a result.

We do earnestly request your kindness in sending us a check that will add another to the growing number of southern persons concerned for interracial progress in the South and who are willing to help in that way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Spc. Fund Raising

February 7, 1950

President A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans 19, La.

Dear Dr. Dent:

I had a most pleasant visit with Mr. Lewis and felt honored to have made his acquaintance. He said he would consider our request.

We need his help desperately, and I do hope he will give it. Enclosed is a copy of my letter to him.

I missed Bishop Brooks though I talked with people in his office. I have written him as enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

SRC - FUND RAISING

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 20, 1950

TO MEMBERS OF THE BOARD:

This is to report to you following the meeting of the Executive Committee held pursuant to the directive given by the Board at its last meeting, November 8, 1949, which was: "The Board upon motion directed that the present staff be given assurance through January 31, 1950, the Executive Committee to meet as early as practicable in January and determine on behalf of the Board what further steps should be taken."

You will recall that we began last year with a deficit of around $12,000. Review by the Executive Committee of the audit for the year, ending December 31, showed:

$53,033.71	- income
46,318.38	- expenditures
$ 6,715.33	- income over expense
269.99	- cash on hand
3,549.39	- accounts payable ($2,189.42 of which due printer)

Other obligations outstanding at the close of the year:

$ 2,600.00	- commitment to continue for a second year the two-year project for home town self-surveys
1,500.00	- loan from Executive Director
3,500.00	- accrued salary to Thomas F. Byrd

It should be pointed out that in an effort to raise sizable funds for the Council, Mr. Byrd is giving his services to us through the middle of April on an accrual salary basis. With that in mind, you will see we closed 1949 with current accounts payable and other obligations totalling $11,149.39.

Since reduction of its staff in October, the Council has been operating on approximately $3,000 a month, as against $4,500 previously. The Executive Director considers that staff is now at the minimum for the Council

to continue in its present form. Therefore, to carry on at our present level of operation for the current year would require $36,000. To this would be added the foregoing obligations carried over from last year, together with salary for Mr. Byrd through April 15.

After hearing from Mr. Byrd and from members of the Committee on progress made toward raising funds for the Council, it seemed reasonable to assume that in the coming few months the Council should receive around $19,000 from foundations, religious denominations, and individuals; and over the remainder of the year not less than $8,000 from dues, sales, and customary annual donations. The Committee took note also of a reasonable anticipation that quite a large sum would be available to the Council at a later date not known.

Under these circumstances, the Executive Committee, acting for you, authorized the continuance of the Council at its present level of expenditures through April 30. The Committee is to meet again on March 31 and will report to you its review of the situation at that time. The Committee has directed, if the situation has not greatly improved, a meeting of the full Board be called for Saturday, April 22.

Please reserve that date for the contingency that the Board may be called to meet at that time.

While the Executive Committee did not say so, I may be pardoned as president in adding a plea that you, as a Board member, take every possible step toward increasing the Council's income between now and March 31.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Williams
President

Cross Reference
Miscellaneous agreements
Waldauer

April 11, 1950

Dr. Charles Johnson
from: JSM
Re: Alfred Starr

Mentions approaching
Mr. Abe Waldauer

CECIL FLOYD, JR.

Harper & Karwisch ○ Printers
351 WHITEHALL ST., S. W.
LAmar 4216 - WAlnut 5890
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SRC = U e.

July 5, 1950

Mrs. Cornoria D. Johnson
Urban League
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

I suppose that you are acquainted with the work of the Southern Regional Council in respect to its efforts to promote better interracial understanding. I do not know if the officers of this organization have contacted you at any time or not. However, as a member of its board of directors representing Oklahoma, I try to find various leads and trace them down to their roots.

You probably know that the Southern Regional Council is the successor to the Interracial Commission which was set up many years ago. Putting these two groups together chronologically, we can say that the Council has a rather long and active history in an attempt to bring about interracial cooperation. It never has been an organization "lousy" with money and at the present time its situation is precarious, although not hopeless. The fact is that it had to absorb a deficit partially in 1949 and began the current year somewhat in the red.

You know, too, that numerous organizations, including some of the endowed universities, have felt the pinch of rising costs and lowered interest rates. High income taxes have impaired the philanthropic proclivities of people who were once supporters of the Council and similar agencies. Our contributors have not been exclusively the wealthier people but have been numbered among people of small means to a large extent. It has been a sacrifice for many of them to give anything.

Since you have had extensive experience in procuring funds for the Urban League, I wonder if you have any suggestions of names of persons whom we could induce to make $10 and $25 contributions, who have not gone their limits already. The Council has decided to try to push as far as possible its efforts to procure a great increase in the number of $10 memberships. If you have such suggestions, we shall be grateful to you for them.

I know that you have your hands full, as do the rest of us. It is always busy people who do things. There are some people, too, who take advantage of small doubtful disputations as reasons for not helping us when otherwise they could. Particularly, we have been criticized by prominent southern people for taking an evolutionary in place of a revolutionary point of attack. We believe in the educational approach, and we think that we have done much to check the practive of lynching, and probably in stemming the rise of terrorism, such as followed the Civil War and World War I through education. We know that others have helped too. Yet some people criticize us, and probably consider us a menace, for having gone as far as

we have. That is to be expected.

Any moral or material support you can muster for the Council will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

O. D. Duncan, Head
Department of Sociology and Rural Life

ODD/abb

cc: Dr. George S Mitchell

Memo FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

50 for 51

Members to be tapped.

Mr. & Mrs. R. E. Cureton
54 Whitehouse Drive, S.W.

Mr. C. H. Gillman Done
72 Fairlie

Rabbi Samuel Glasner Done
1124 Prince Avenue, Athens

Good Reasons

Mr. Ross Groshong
Chamber of Commerce Bldg.

Mrs. E. B. Harrold
920 Hillyer Avenue, Decem

Rev. Waights G. Henry, Jr.
LaGrange College, LaGrange

Dr. Mozell C. Hill — Done
Dept. of Socl, Atl. University

Dr. & Mrs. W.G. Hollister
1170 Hancock Drive, N.E.

Mr. Nelson C. Jackson
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Mrs. Edward B. Martin
636 Milledge Circle, Athens

Mr. A. L. Thompson
250 Auburn Ave., R. 303

Mr. Leo J. Zuber
2794 N. Decatur Road, Decatur

Ed Harrison
Dr. Rufus Clement — Done, by Jordan Griffin
Dr. Benjamin Mays

GEORGIA MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AS OF August 16, 1950

Those members that have a * marked under the year have given in that year $5.00 or more. Those members that have nothing marked under the year have given less that $5.00 or nothing at all during that year. The amount given is listed if it is $25.00 or more.
# indicates $100.00 or more has been obtained by soliciting additional memberships and contributions.

	NAME	ADDRESS	1949	1950
MA	Mr. Joseph L. Abraham	15 Princeton Way, N.E., Atlanta		
	Mr. Morris B. Abram	Connally Bldg., Atlanta		$30.00#
M.Hon	Mr. & Mrs. W. H. Aiken	158 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta		
	Mr. Guy V. Aldrich	706 Standard Bldg., Atlanta 3,		
MA	Mrs. Cecil A. Alexander, Jr.	3482 Peachtree Rd., N.E. Atlanta	*	
	Miss Annette Applewhite	145 Hurt St., N.E. Apt. 2, Atlanta		
	Miss Ellen B. Armstrong	906 Lullwater Rd., N.E.	$38.00	
	Rev. & Mrs. Eugene Askey	Jenkensburg, Ga.		
	Mrs. J. B. Avera	715 Richmond St., Brunswick, Ga.		
GR	Mrs. L. M. Awtrey	Acworth, Ga.		
	Rev. & Mrs. Robert H. Ayers	204 Leconte Hall, Univ. of Ga., Athens		*
HR	Mr. Clarence A. Bacote	Atlanta University, Atlanta		
	Miss Fannie Bame	Bethlehem Center, Augusta		
JG	Miss Tommie Dora Barker	908 Penn Ave., N.E. Atlanta	25.00	
	Dr. Das Kelley Barnett	Mercer University, Macon, Ga.	*	
	Mr. H. Lewis Batts	Mercer University, Macon, Ga.		
	Mrs. Marcus J. Beavers	701 Greensferry Ave., S.W. Atlanta		
	Mr. Henry Birnbrey	715 Peters Bldg., Atlanta	*	
	Rev. E. Bissonnette	222 E. Harris St., Savannah		
	Mr. Horace A. Bohannon	305 Alaska Ave., N.E. Atlanta		
	Mr. H. H. Bowen	Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley	*	
	Mrs. David F. Boyd	Box 4142, Atlanta		
	Miss Margaret Boyd	2560 Habersham Rd.,N.W., Atlanta	25.00	*
	Mr. Harry G. Boyte	848 Peachtree St., N.E. Atlanta	*	
GR-HR	Dr. James P. Brawley	Clark College, Atlanta		26.00
	Rev. & Mrs. J. H. Brown	Fort Valley College Center, Fort Valley	*	
J.G	Prof. & Mrs. P. E. Bryan	1235 Emory Dr., N.E. Atlanta	*	
	Rev. Robert T. Bryant S.J.	St.Joseph's Church, 630 Poplar, Macon		
	Rev. James M. Buckley,S.J.	Sacred Heart Church 1306 Ellis, Augusta		
	Miss Georgianne Bugg	114 N. McDonough St., Decatur		
GR-	Miss Helen Bullard	133 Tenth St., Apt. B-12, Atlanta		
	Mr. & Mrs. Leroy Burns	149 Chestnut St., N.W., Atlanta		
JG	Mrs. W. C. Burns	3916 E. Brookhaven Dr., Atlanta		*
	Mr. H.S.N. Burnside	530 W. Hancock Ave., Athens	*	
	Mrs. R. L. Buxton	Dimon Court Apt., Columbus		
JG	Mr. Lyle E. Campbell	1155 Ridgewood Dr., N.E., Atlanta		*
	Mr. & Mrs. William Campbell	213 E. 3rd St., Rome		
	Rev. & Mrs. E. H. Carruth	1122 E. 54th St., Savannah		
	Mr. & Mrs. Roosevelt Carter	1725 William St., Columbus		
	Miss Loretta Chappell	Route #1, Conley		*
	Miss Sara Christie	64 17th St.,N.E. Apt. 1, Atlanta		*
	Mrs. O. T. Clarke	146 S. Candler St., Decatur		*
	Rev. G. E. Clary	626 Maupas St., Savannah	*	
JG-HR	Prof. Frank W. Clelland	36 Gammon Ave., S.E., Atlanta		*
	Dr. & Mrs. Rufus E. Clement	Atlanta University, Atlanta		100.00
	Mrs. Weona Cleveland	609 S. Conley St., College Park		
	Mr. Robt. C. Commander	Y.M.C.A.- Georgia Tech, Atlanta		*
	Mr. Frank A. Constangy	Box 1921, Atlanta 1,		
	Mr. R. L. Cousins	State Dept. of Education, Atlanta	*	
	Mr. Hayward C. Cox, Jr.	590-A Sherwood Rd., N.E., Atlanta		
GSM	Mr. & Mrs. R. E. Cureton	54 Whitehouse Dr.,S.W., Atlanta	*	
	Mr. Edward L. Daugherty	534 E. Paces Ferry Rd., Atlanta		

	NAME	ADDRESS	1949	1950
	Mrs. John A. Davis	119 North Candler St., Decatur	*	
	Miss Martha Dennison	848 Peachtree St.,N.E., Atlanta		
	Mr. Frank Dix	940 C & S Bank Bldg., Atlanta		
	Dr. J. C. Dixon	918 Cypress St., Atlanta		*
	Mr. Donald K. Dobyns	1575 N.Emory Rd., N.E. Atlanta		
JG	Mrs. F. P. Drake	607 Clifton Rd., N.E. Atlanta,	*	$100.00
	Mr. Wm. C. Duckworth	1302 W. Peachtree St.N.W. Atlanta		
	Mr. & Mrs. Leslie W. Dunbar	2080 N. Decatur Rd.,N.E.Apt.5, Atlanta		
GR	Mrs. Mary Kate Duskin	37 Auburn Ave.,N.E., Atlanta	*	*
	Mr. George L. Edwards	Nat'l Urban League, 158 Auburn Ave.Atlanta		
	Rev. G. S. Ellington	385 N. Billups St., Athens		
JG	Mr. & Mrs. Odum Fanning	2386 Sewell Rd.,S.W.Apt.F-22, Atlanta	*	30.00
	Mrs. D. F. Ferguson	Box 1851, Atlanta 1,		
JR	Mr. R. L. Forman, Jr.	200 W. Pace's Ferry Rd., Atlanta	*	
GR	Mr. & Mrs. Edward Foster	210 North Ave.,N.W., Atlanta		*
HR	Dr. W. A. Fountain, Jr.	Morris Brown College, Atlanta		
MA	Mr. & Mrs. W. H. Frey	1469 E. Rock Springs,N.E. Atlanta		*
	Dr. F. D. Funderburg, M.D.	Box 226, Monticello	*	
	Miss Opal Futch	278 12th St., N.E.Apt.B-2, Atlanta	*	
	Mrs. Lillian B. Garnett	81 Griffin St.,N.W. Atlanta		
FS	Mr. Wright Gellerstedt	1272 Oakdale Rd., Atlanta	*	
	Mr. & Mrs. Wm. V. George	444 Boulevard N.E.,Apt.1, Atlanta		*
MA	Mrs. Harry M. Gershon	1590 Harvard Rd.,N.E.Atlanta	$39.00	$ 30.00
GSM	Mr. C. H. Gillman	75 Ivy St.,N.E., Atlanta 3	*	100.00
	Mr. George H. Gillon	746 N. Highland Ave.N.E., Atlanta		
GSM	Rabbi Samuel Glasner	1124 Prince Ave., Athens		
	Mr. & Mrs. Johnny Glustrom	1865 Piedmont Ave., N.E. Atlanta	*	
	Mr. William Goldsmith	T.W.U.A., 33 Pryor St., Atlanta,		*
	Mr. Dave Gordon	Box 209, Athens	*	*
	Miss Emma C.W. Gray	820 Fair St., S.W. Atlanta, Ga		
MA	Dr. Irving L. Greenberg	816 Grant Bldg., Atlanta		*
	Mr. & Mrs. John A. Griffin	Emory University, Emory University, Ga.	*	#
	Dr. Leah E. Griffin	Box 774, 221 S.Jackson St., Albany		
GSM	Mr. Ross Groshong	TWUA-CIO, 75 Ivy St.,N.E. Atlanta	*	$ 50.00
	Mr. W. M. Grubbs	1830 Peachtree Rd., Apt.5, Atlanta		*
	Mr. Edwin Haas, Jr.	Box 2090, Atlanta,	165.00	110.00
	Mr. & Mrs. Leonard Haas	Haas-Howell Bldg., Atlanta	110.00	100.00#
	Mrs. L. G. Hale	1351 Sharon St., S.W., Atlanta		
	Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	594 University Place,N.W. Atlanta	*	*
JG	Mr. Philip G. Hammer	3592 Roxboro Rd., N.E. Atlanta	*	*
	Dr. F. J. Handy	Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta		
JG	Mr. & Mrs. A. A. Hardy	10 Blea St., Thomaston,	*	*
	Mrs. J. C. Harris	118 Wilton Dr., Decatur		
	Mrs. Lillie B. Harris	1665 Floyd St., Augusta		
GSM	Mrs. E. B. Harrold	920 Hillyer Ave., Macon	*	*
	Miss Margaret C. Hayes	515 College St., Macon		*
	Miss Artholia C. Heard	150 Mildred St.,S.W. Atlanta		
	Mr. J. R. Henderson	816 Playlane N.W., Atlanta	25.00	
	Mr. & Mrs. George Hendricks	162 Fourth St.,N.W. Atlanta		*
GSM	Rev. Waights G. Henry, Jr.	LaGrange College, LaGrange		
JG	Dr. & Mrs. Albert Heyman	2080 N. Decatur St., Atlanta		*
GR	Mr. & Mrs. Joseph K. Heyman	3360 Vermont Rd.,N.E. Atlanta		
	Mrs. Evelyn K. Hill	109 Lamar St., Macon		
GSM	Dr. Mozell C. Hill	Dept. of Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta		
	Miss Jean Hinson	422 Ponce de Leon Ave.,N.E., Atlanta		
GR	Mr. Herman Heyman	1271 Oxford, N.E., Atlanta		
	Mrs. Jean H. Hoerner	514 Glendale Ave., Decatur		
GSM	Dr. & Mrs. W.G. Hollister	1170 Hancock Dr.,N.E. Atlanta 6,		*

NAME	ADDRESS	1949	1950
Mr. David N. Howell	239 Auburn Ave.,N.E.Room 330, Atlanta		
Captain Robert M. Hughes	15-F Pine Circle,N.E., Atlanta, Ga.		
Mrs. Lowry W. Hunt	Madison		
HR Rev. Maynard Jackson	451 Ashby St.,N.W., Atlanta		
GSM Mr. Nelson C. Jackson	250 Auburn Ave.,N.E., Atlanta	*	
MA Mr. Sinclair Jacobs	77 Auburn Ave.,N.E., Atlanta	*	
GR Miss Alma Jamison	130 8th St.,N.E.Apt.5, Atlanta	*	*
Miss Annie Tait Jenkins	309 Henry Grady Bldg. Atlanta		
GR Mr. Emmett S. Johnson	Wesleyan College, Macon		*
Dr. R. O. Johnson	634 Beckwith St.,S.W., Atlanta		
Mr. & Mrs. T. H. Johnson, Jr.	Koinonia Farms, Route #2, Americus		
Mr. Smith L. Johnston	Woodstock	*	
Mrs. Marion Elder Jones	420 Buford Rd., Macon		
JG Dr. G. Ray Jordan	1039 E. Clifton Rd.N.E., Atlanta		
Mr. A. C. Joy	190 Clifton St.,S.E. Atlanta		
Mrs. S. D. Katz	562 Page Ave., N.E. Atlanta		
JG Miss Rhoda Kaufman	678 Park Dr.,N.E. Atlanta		*
Mr. Lyn Keyes	Griffin-Spaulding County Health Dept. Griffin		
Mrs. Lyn Keyes	411 S. 8th St., Griffin	*	
Mr. & Mrs. Calvin Kytle	c/o Calhoun Times, Calhoun		
Miss Emma May Laney	Agnes Scott College, Decatur		
Mr. Earle Lebaron	1337 Lanier Pl.N.E. Atlanta		
Mrs. H. H. Leech	Box 56, LaFayette		
Mr. Eli Leff	Box 4323, Atlanta 2		
Mr. M. A. Lesser,	Athens, Box 649	*	
HCF Mr. & Mrs. Art Levin	890 Argonne Ave.,N.E., Atlanta		
Mrs. George T. Lewis	254 Wilton Dr., Decatur,		
Miss Ellen Douglass Leyburn	330 S. Candler St., Decatur		
Miss Bernice Lippitt	1010 N. Monroe St., Albany		*
Mrs. D. R. Little	302 Lawrence St., Marietta		*
Mr. H. L. Lumpkin	Box 1022, Athens	*	
Mr. C.H.S. Lyons, Sr.	427 Baxters St., Athens		
GR Rev. & Mrs. E. G. Mackay	1221 Clifton Rd.,N.E., Atlanta		
Mr. William C. Macomson	60 Ashby St.,N.W., Atlanta 3,	*	
Rev. G. R. Madson	212 N. Jefferson St., Albany		*
GSM Mrs. Edward B. Martin	636 Milledge Circle, Athens	*	
Dr. David Marx	The Temple, 1589 Peachtree Rd., Atlanta		$55.00
GR Miss Lucy Mason	79½ Poplar St.,N.W. Atlanta	*	*
JG Mrs. Joseph C. Massee	1146 Lullwater Rd.,N.E., Atlanta	*	
GR Mr. Armand May	Box 4056, Atlanta		106.00
Rev. James W. May	School of Theology, Emory University, Ga.	*	*
GSM Dr. Benjamin E. Mays	Morehouse College, Atlanta	$130.00	$100.00
MA Dr. J. R. McCain	Agnes Scott College, Decatur		
Mr. Theodore J. McGee	Assoc. of Christians & Jews, Columbus	*	*
Mr. Ralph McGill	Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta	28.00	*
JG Mr. J. Roy McGinty, Publisher	The Calhoun Times, Calhoun		*
GR Mr. William J. McGlothlin	3134 W. Roxboro Rd.,N.E., Atlanta		*
Mrs. Agnes McKoy	156 7th St.,N.E.Apt. #4, Atlanta		
JG Miss Marjorie McLachlan	35 Wakefield Dr.,N.E. Atlanta	*	
Dr. & Mrs. F. Earl McLendon	1367 Hunter St.N.W. Atlanta, Ga.		
Mr. James McNamara	1102 Ponce de Leon Ave., Atlanta	*	
JG Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. J. McNamara	222 East Harris St.Savannah	*	$125.00
GR Dr. Mildred R. Mell	Agnes Scott College, Decatur	*	*
Rev. D. P. Melson	109 McLendon Ave., LaGrange		
Miss Alma Metcalfe	210 Evans Dr. Decatur		
Mr. & Mrs. Earl H. Metzger	282 Peachtree Hills Ave.,N.E. Atlanta		*
Mr. Sylvan W. Meyer	Gainesville Daily Times, Gainesville		
JG Mr. Alexander Miller	Anti-Defamation League, 11 Pryor St.Atlanta		
Mrs. Mary Ansley Miller	Grant Bldg., Atlanta 3		

	NAME	ADDRESS	1949	1950
GR	Mrs. M. Raoul Millis	377 Tenth St., N.E., Atlanta		
JG	Mr. L. D. Milton	Citizens Trust Co., 212 Auburn Ave, Atlanta	*	$110.00
P.S	Mr. & Mrs. Harold Montag	1198 Oakdale Rd., Atlanta	$ 25.00	
	Dr. John W. Morgan	GSCW, Milledgeville		
JG	Bishop Arthur J. Moore	63 Auburn Ave, Atlanta		103.00
	Mrs. J. S. Morgan	168 Jones St., Cartersville, Ga.		
	Mr. J. W. Morris	260 Miller Reed Ave.S.E., Atlanta - Savannah		*
HR	Mr. S. M. Nabritt, Dean	Arts & Sciences, Atlanta Univ., Atlanta	*	
	Miss M. Mae Neptune	141 Jefferson Pl., Decatur	*	
LH	Mr. Donald Oberdorfer	1173 Briarcliff Rd., N.E. Atlanta		100.00
	Mr. Comer W. Padrick, Jr.	375 Grant Park Pl., S.E., Atlanta		
GR	Mr. & Mrs. C. F. Palmer	Palmer Bldg., Atlanta		
JG	Dr. Raymond Paty	Rich's Foundation, Atlanta		100.00
	Mr. & Mrs. Lester H. Persells	1083 Blue Ridge Ave., N.E. Apt. 6, Atlanta		*
	Dr. & Mrs. E. C. Peters	1235 15th St., Augusta	*	
	Mr. Paul E. Pfuetze	University of Ga., Athens	*	*
	Mrs. C. B. Pittman	174 Clifford St., N.E. Atlanta 3		
	Mr. Herman M. Popkin	701 Peters Bldg. Atlanta		
	Mr. Bem Price	2828 Piedmont Rd., Atlanta	~~*~~	
	Mr. R. L. Pruitt	Albany State College, Albany		
	Mr. Ralph Purcell	2080 N. Decatur Rd., Apt. 29, Atlanta		
	Miss Anne Queen	Lustrat House, Univ. of Ga., Athens	*	
	Dr. W. F. Quillian	63 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta 3		
	Rev. W. R. Ragland	611 Mercer Ave., Albany		
	Mr. & Mrs. Glenn W. Rainey	120 Third St., N.W., Atlanta	*	*#
	Mr. John G. Ramsay	79½ Poplar St., N.W. Atlanta 3		
	Miss Florence M. Read	Spelman College, Atlanta	*	*
MA	Mr. Louis Regenstein, Jr.	Hurt Bldg. Atlanta		75.00
	Mr. John H. Reynolds	Celanese Corp. of America, Rome		
	Mr. & Mrs. H. L. Rhorer	651 East Paces Ferry Rd. Atlanta		
LH	Mrs. Walter H. Rich - Mrs.	330 Argonne Dr. N.W. Atlanta		
GR	Dr. J. McDowell Richards	Columbia Seminary, Decatur, Ga.		
	Dr. & Mrs. H. V. Richardson	Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta	54.00	
	Mrs. Mildred Ridgely	603 Gary St., Augusta		
	Misses Oppenlander & Rieman	859 Juniper St., N.E., Atlanta		
	Mr. Hugh E. Robinson	State YMCA, 512 Peters Bldg. Atlanta		*
	Mrs. J. V. Rogers	22-A Walker Terrace N.E., Atlanta		
	Dr. Lester Rumble	63 Auburn Ave. Atlanta		
LH	Mrs. Calvin Sandison	3025 Nancy Creek Rd., N.W. Atlanta	*	*
	Prof. I. E. Saporta	Dept. of Arch. Ga. Institute of Tech. Atlanta		*
	Mr. Charles D. Saxon	127 Stafford St., S.W. Atlanta	*	
	Mr. & Mrs. Boris Scherbak	1978 Devinney Circle, Chamblee	*	
GH	Mr. C. A. Scott	210 Auburn Ave. N.E. Atlanta 3	*	*
	Mrs. Lucille M. Scott	1377 Hunter St., N.W. Atlanta		
	Mrs. W. A. Scott, Sr.	1355 Hunter Rd. N.W. Atlanta		
	Mr. Wilton C. Scott	Box 81 Ga. State College, Savannah		
	Dr. Robert Scranton	2080 N. Decatur Rd. Apt. #4, Atlanta		
LH	Mr. & Mrs. James J. Selvage	Biltmore Hotel Apts. Atlanta		*
JG	Mrs. Wm. Howland — Howland	295 W. Wesley Rd., N.W. Atlanta		
JG	Mr. & Mrs. Philip Shulhafer	2636 Dellwood Dr. N.W. Atlanta	*	25.00#
	Mr. John E. Simpson	2543 Habersham Rd., N.W. Atlanta		
GR	Dr. W. A. Smart	Box 248, Emory University, Ga.	*	
	Miss Anna Green Smith	Dept. of Sociology, Agnes Scott, Decatur		*
	Mrs. J. D. Smith	Box 107, Rome		
	Mr. [illegible]	[illegible]		

	NAME	ADDRESS	1949	1950
JG	Cmdr. & Mrs. Frank W. Spencer	USCGR/W Box 136, Savannah	*	$ 30.00
	MissSue Standard	1243 Forest Ave. Columbus		
GR	Mrs. A. H. Sterne	132 Westminster Dr.,N.E.		
	Miss Ruth Stone	1811 N. Rock Springs N.E., Atlanta		
	Mr. & Mrs. Geo. C. Stoney	Sout. Educ. Film Service, Athens	*	110.00
GR	Mrs. W. B. Suddeth	1106 Virginia Ave.N.E. Atlanta	*	*
	Rev. Florence D. Sullivan S.J.	Scared Heart Church, 1306 Ellis, Augusta		
	M. V. Carl Sullivan	512½ Third St. Macon		
JG	Dr. Willis A Sutton	930 Drewry N.E. Atlanta		*
JG	Mr. & Mrs. Willis Sutton, Jr.	1661 Woodhaven Dr. Decatur	35.00	
	Mrs. Maggie P. Swain	1273 W. Peachtree Apt. 4 Atlanta		
	Miss M. Virginia Tapp	Box 236 Douglas Co. High School, Douglasville		
	Mrs. A. Louise Taylor	218 Boulevard, N.E. Atlanta		
	Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Taylor	Albany State College, Albany		
	Mr. Robert K. Taylor	Community Planning Council, 11 Pryor St. Atlanta		
GSM	Mr. A. L. Thompson	250 Auburn Ave. Room 303, Atlanta		*
	Mr. Robert A. Thompson	Atlanta Urban League 239 Auburn Ave., Atlanta	*	*
	Mr. W. T. Thompson	Box 769, Fort Valley, Ga.		
	Mrs. M. O. Tibbett	27 Evelyn Way, N.W. Atlanta		
	Mrs. Inez B. Tillison	3321 Myrtle St., Hapeville		
HR	Rev. & Mrs. L. M. Tobin	281 Henry St.S.W Atlanta		
	Mr. George A. Towns	594 University Pl. Atlanta		
	Miss Ashby Tucker	66 Golf Circle N.E. Atlanta		*
	Miss Elleigh Page Tucker	66 Golf Circle N.E. Atlanta		*
	Mrs. Lee Turman	795 Longwood Dr.N.E.Atlanta		
GR	Mrs. R. L. Turman	37 Camden Rd.,N.E. Atlanta		
JW	Miss Wilma Van Dusseldorp	Box 45, Alpharetta		*
	Rev. J. W. Veatch	First Methodist Church, Decatur		
JG	Mrs. C. A. Ver Nooy	997 S. Milledge St., Athens		
GR	Mr. & Mrs. Edward M. Vinson	Gen'l Mills, Inc. 771 Spring St.,N.W.Atlanta	*	
MA	Mr. A. T. Walden	200 Walden Bldg. Atlanta		50.00
GR	Rt. Rev. John Moore Walker	108 E. 17th St.N.E. Atlanta	*	
JG	Dr. Forrester B. Washington	Atl. Univ. Schl of Social Work, 247 Henry, Atlanta	*	
	Mr. A. D. Watson	809 S. Macon St, Fort Valley		
	Miss Annie Belle Weaver	Sanford Library, W. Ga. College, Carrollton		
JG	Mr. Kendall Weisiger	607 17th St.,N.E. Atlanta	*	
	Mr. Morton L. Weiss	45 Valley Rd.,N.W. Atlanta		100.00
	Mrs. C. H. Whetstone	1333 Lanier Blvd.N.E. Atlanta		
JG	Dr. Goodrich C. White	Emory University, Ga.		*
	Mrs. Helen A. Whiting	61 Newcastle St. S.W. Atlanta		
	Mr. Joe P. Whitaker	71 Newcastle St.S.W. Atlanta	*	
JG	Miss Josephine Wilkins	Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta	*	100.00
	Miss Mary Jane Willett	Nat'l Board YWCA, 63 Auburn Ave, Atlanta		
	Mr. Clarence B. Williams	707 State St. Waycross		
	Mrs. Dollie M. Williams	707 State St., Waycross		
	Mr. Harry Williams	c/o Board of Control, 316 Peachtree, Atlanta		
	Prof. Richard Wilson	Schl of Arch. Georgia Tech, Atlanta		*
	Mr. & Mrs. J. B. Wright	Ga. State College, Savannah		
JG	Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.	Morris Brown College, Atlanta		150.00
	Mrs. Dorothy Otis Wyre	708 GladstoneRd., N.W. Atlanta		
	Mr. Ray E. Young	436 Second St., Macon		
GSM	Mr. Leo J. Zuber	2794 N. Decatur Rd., Decatur		

Underwood

~~Found~~ Fundraising
Misc. — Unitarians

CC: Dr and Mrs. W. G. Hollister

Enclose:

What Kind of South Do You Want
Both Herald Tribune stories
Memorandum

October 5, 1950

American Unitarian Association
45 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear The Unitarians:

Here is a useful Southern organization much in need. I know it will take some time to unravel all that would be required to get some financial help from the Church, but I would like to put in this letter to ask for us to be thought about.

I could send you reams about the Council. For convenience, here is a leaflet, What Kind of South Do You Want, with a little, and a couple of good newspaper stories with more, and a fresh memorandum with a lot.

We had a backlog of support for many years from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Ordinarily it was about $25,000.00 a year. That is gone, as you know. We have always had an important amount reaching us from some of the national Church bodies. The Methodists put in nearly $3,000.00 a year. The Southern Presbyterians and the Southern part of the Episcopal Church give us small but welcome amounts. We have had substantial personal support from two leading Catholic dignitaries. This year the American Friends Service Committee has unprecedentedly helped this non-Quaker organization.

We are at work at many of the things which the Unitarians in their slender Southern membership are also at work upon.

I would be grateful for reference of this letter to whatever Board would be appropriate and for word from them as to when and how I should get our case before you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

Original has been sent on to PDW —BR

Foundations
Misc. Requests —
Hiram Walker

COPY

HIRAM WALKER-GOODERHAM & WORTS LIMITED

Walkerville, Ontario, Canada

October 13, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Your description of the work of the Council was very interesting. As Mr. Walton indicated to you we feel obliged to limit the company's contributions to a very few national philanthropies such as the Red Cross and a carefully screened list of projects centering in our plant towns. As you are very likely aware most publicly owned companies make contributions only by vote of their boards and boards usually feel the necessity of some policy to guide their actions in this regard.

The thoughts that were expressed to you on your visit continue to prevail and we find ourselves unable to make the donation that you request. We were pleased to see you here and regret that we cannot satisfy the purpose of your visit.

Yours very truly,

/s/ Carleton Healy
Assistant to President

AD

November 16, 1950

Mr. Dameron Black, Secretary
The Emily and Ernest Woodruff Foundation
Trust Company of Georgia Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Black:

As President of the Southern Regional Council, I wish to appeal to the Emily and Ernest Woodruff Foundation for a grant of $5,000.00 to the Council.

I attach a memorandum which sets out in considerable detail the organization and work of the Council. The personnel of its Board of Directors and officers you will find listed in the leaflet called "What Kind of South do You Want". I am having the Atlanta office deliver the various publications to accompany this letter.

In addition, you will find a copy of the audit for last year and of the U. S. Treasury's letter establishing tax exemption.

Our Council tries to deal soberly and constructively in areas of Southern life where agitation is great. It is not easy to get support for the middle course which the Council pursues. I appeal therefore the more earnestly to your Board for the invaluable aid they can give to a statesmanlike cause.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Williams
President

PDW:er
Encls.

November 22, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I have done the best I could about the letters to Dameron Black. I just forgot to get it moving before I went to New York. Then there was nobody in the office (all gone to the Florida meeting) and I had to delegate to John Griffin. As soon as I got back, I jumped on it myself.

Bishop Moore. He has a request before the same meeting for the Woodruff Foundation to assist Young Harris College in North Georgia, a Methodist college. That makes it difficult for him to write on our behalf at this time. But he is almost every day in conversation with Dameron Black. The Bishop promised John Griffin several days ago, and me today, that he would within the course of this week talk with Dameron Black on our behalf, and talk urgently.

Patterson at Tuskegee. He is abroad, but the Institute is being run in his absence by Mr. Gomillion, who promised us by telephone several days ago that he would write forthwith strongly on our behalf to Dameron Black.

Ralph McGill. Promised me in person ten minutes ago that he would at once write a strong letter.

Goodrich White. John Griffin has been working on it and finally got to him this morning. White has a large request before them for Emory and has besought them on behalf of two or three non-Emory causes lately, so is most skittish. John will talk to White again tomorrow and try to get something done, but it is difficult for John, sometime White's Executive Assistant, to move John's boss, and, John having done what he can, it is likewise most difficult for me to intervene. I doubt that we will end up with a

letter from Goodrich White.

So we deliver two and a half out of four.

I have heard from Brooks Hays that he has written Governor McMath.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

RECEIVED NOV 21 1950 Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
VIRGINIA MEMBERS

WILSON M. BROWN
RICHMOND

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
RICHMOND

J. M. ELLISON
RICHMOND

GORDON B. HANCOCK
RICHMOND

LUTHER P. JACKSON
PETERSBURG

LOUIS I. JAFFE
NORFOLK

J. G. POLLARD
SOMERS

ARTHUR RAPER
ARLINGTON

P. B. YOUNG
NORFOLK

Nov. 18, 1950

Dear George,

Delighted at the good news from Marshall Field. This will help our printing bill for next year.

I got off the material to the Woodruff people today. Tomorrow I'll get Spaulding's letter off after dictating a personal letter to him. I think you assembled the stuff admirably and I hope your material plus my visit with Spaulding pays off. I have a friend in N. Y. who knows Spaulding quite intimately and he has promised to write an urgent letter.

It is urgent that we get fervent letters endorsing our request for help from the Woodruff Foundation from the people Spaulding recommended, namely, Bp. Moore, Ralph McGill, and the Pres. of Emory. Please implore all of them to write

(over)

urgent letters. I will drop a note myself to Ralph McGill. If you can see these people personally I am sure it will help. You can tell them that Spaulding told me our chances would be enhanced if I could get their recommendations. Time is of the essence so the letters must be mailed pronto. Please tell me how you fare with them. I have a feeling, I hope I'm right, that Spaulding will support our request.

Heard Card. Spellman would be in Washington last week so I went up hoping to see him. I succeeded and I feel hopeful that he will give us the same contribution, $1000, again next year. If it comes, it should come in January. On the strength of Card. Spellman's contribution I believe Card Stritch will also come across, but, probably not until later in the year.

Please send the material I requested concerning Chas. Johnson of Fisk. I'll be home all this week, until Nov. 26.

I had a good talk with Wheeler during our meeting and begged him to get busy on Independent Aid. Glad something

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
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NORFOLK

J. G. POLLARD
SOMERS

ARTHUR RAPER
ARLINGTON

P. B. YOUNG
NORFOLK

is stirring there again. Lets hope.

Best always.

Sincerely,
Paul

P.S. A letter to Hal Fleming is enclosed.
P.

EMILY AND ERNEST WOODRUFF FOUNDATION

POST OFFICE BOX 4418

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

November 21, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of November 16th requesting a grant of $5,000.00 from this Foundation. This matter will be presented to the Trustees for consideration at their next meeting.

Yours very truly,

Dameron Black

Dameron Black
Secretary

DB/hd

SPALDING, SIBLEY, TROUTMAN & KELLEY

HUGHES SPALDING
ROBT. B. TROUTMAN
SUMTER KELLEY
WILLIAM K. MEADOW
FURMAN SMITH
HUGHES SPALDING, JR.
JAMES M. SIBLEY
ROBT. B. TROUTMAN, JR.
JAMES A. BRANCH, JR.
ANTHA MULKEY
JOHN IZARD, JR.

434 TRUST COMPANY OF GEORGIA BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

ALEX C. KING
1885-1926
JACK J. SPALDING
1885-1938

November 22, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thanks for yours of November 20 with the enclosures. I have read them and the job is well done. Perhaps your application has been received too late for immediate consideration. The endorsements that it receives from the persons I mentioned to you and the sincerity of their endorsements or, should I say, the strength of their endorsements will have quite a bearing on the matter.

I return the clipping from the Columbia State.

Personal wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Hughes Spalding

Hughes Spalding.

HS:RM
Enclosure

CC: Mr. John Long
Mr. Frank W. Fager

Sent: Honest answer
Negro police -- 1950
Greenville's big idea
Race in the news
Race in the news progress /report
Housing in the south
Professional association & color bar
What kind of south do you want
Yellow jacket

December 4, 1950

Mr. Lawrence A. Henninger
President
Strutwear, Inc.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Henninger:

My friend, Frank Fager, tells me you are a good and understanding person and are about to put a new enterprise in Mississippi.

He would like for you to know about the point of view and work of the Southern Regional Council. To that end, I send you a small bundle of things which you may possibly find time to look through.

The Council has a substantial membership in Mississippi, organized as the Mississippi Division of the Southern Regional Council. The Chairman is Mr. John Long, who is president of an excellent school for Negro boys some distance outside Jackson. I am sure that Mr. Long and any of the other members of the Mississippi Division would be happy to be of any possible service to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er/Encls.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

City of Minneapolis

MAYOR'S COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

ERIC G. HOYER
MAYOR

COUNCIL MEMBERS

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Chairman
The Spring Co.

RAYMOND CANNON
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Attorney

HYMAN EDELMAN
Vice-Chairman
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DOUGLAS HALL
Secretary
Attorney

JUDGE E. F. WAITE
Treasurer
Retired Judge District Court

STANLEY BALLARD
Minneapolis Musicians Assn.

MELVIN BISSON
Intertribal Chippewa Band, Inc.

DR. BERNHARD CHRISTENSEN
Augsburg College

NEIL M. CRONIN
Attorney

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Electric Machinery Corp.

MICHAEL FINKELSTEIN
ILGWU-AFL

LOUIS GROSS
Robitshek-Schneider Co.

MRS. KYLE HASELDEN
1815 Colfax Ave. So.

MRS. F. PEAVEY HEFFELFINGER
Wayzata, Minn.

LAWRENCE A. HENNINGER
Strutwear, Inc.

MARVIN C. JOHNSON
Minneapolis Public Schools

REV. DAISUKE KITAGAWA
Minneapolis Church Federation

CHRIST LEGEROS
Rainbow Cafe

LESTER J. LeVOIR
IUE-CIO

BRADLEY L. MORISON
Minneapolis Tribune

CECIL E. NEWMAN
Minneapolis Spokesman

DR. ARNOLD M. ROSE
University of Minnesota

MRS. ANDREW B. SHEA
University of Minnesota

MRS. LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL
2808 West River Road

W. GLEN WALLACE
Minneapolis City Council

REV. REUBEN K. YOUNGDAHL
Mt. Olivet Lutheran Church

•

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
FRANK W. FAGER

COUNCIL OFFICE
607 Third Ave. So.
MA. 8111, EXT. 139-140

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1950
Southern Regional Council

November 27, 1950

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

There is a member of my Board by the name of Lawrence Henninger, who is president of Strutwear, Inc., which is a manufacturer of hosiery and lingerie.

I understand Strutwear is opening a plant in Mississippi. Among other things, I thought you might like to do would be to send Mr. Henninger some copies of the "New South". I think he would be willing to subscribe after you send him a few teasers. If you have the occasion to meet him, I know you will find a very forthright and cooperative person with whom to work.

Yours very sincerely,

Frank

Frank W. Fager,
Executive Secretary
Mayor's Council on Human Relations

RECEIVED

9th
December
1950

Mr. Edwin G. Seibels
Columbia
South Carolina

Dear Mr. Seibels:

I suppose that the Southern Regional Council, like the Red Cross or any other good cause, will be forever passing the hat among its friends, in which number you are conspicuous for sustained interest and generosity.

The Council barely keeps its head above water and travels from day to day largely upon faith in the devotion which intelligent men have to its principles.

I am to attend a meeting in Atlanta on December 16, at which stock will be taken of the situation and work for the ensuing year planned. Would it be possible for you to help again? Of course you know such contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

As a purely personal note, I should like for you to know how thankful the alumni are that you continue to serve on the University's Board of Trustees.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:L

M. A. Wright

bc -

Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell

Foundation -
Misc Appeals

December 20, 1950

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
1520 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

You will remember that I wrote to Mr. Harold C. Letts to ask about some help to the Council from the Lutheran Church as a whole. He was kind enough to send me a list of head people in the various synods and to review a draft of a letter which I have subsequently sent to the President and the Chairman of the Social Missions Committee in each of the synods in the South.

Mr. Harold A. Wolff has very kindly replied under date of December 8 from Laurel. He was doubtful that his synod could do anything immediately, but was interested in recommending a contribution. He said he would be in touch with you for further information about the Council.

I know that you know we will all be grateful for whatever it may be possible for you to do.

Though 50 for '51 has been disappointing so far, I hope that the first report sent you the other day will stimulate others. How sweet a thing for Mississippi to be at the head of the list. And so far ahead. Yet still, the goal, you remember, was $50,000.00 from 50 for '51.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

The Mississippi Synod

United Lutheran Church In America

Office of the President
612 Eighth Ave
Laurel, Mississippi

December 8, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.;
Atalanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Yours of the 30th of November received, and wish to state that I shall bring the matter before the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Synod of the United Lutheran Church, when it meets on January 17, 1951.

I doubt very seriously that we shall be able to do anything in a tangible way to bring forth immediate results in the form of a contribution, but will have to make a recommendation to the Synod, for such. We have such a limited budget to operate on, and have no provisions for such work, important and beneficial as they maybe.

You can rest assured that I will do all in my power to make some kind of contribution to the work that is being done so effectively by the Southern Regional Council, and you will know of the progress made along that line, before the end of the month of January 1951.

Thanks for the literature, and I shall confer with Mississippi's representative, the Rev. Dr. H.B. Schaeffer about this matter, to be better prepared for presentation to the Executive Committee and others that might be available for a contribution in some way and form, to the Council.

With best wishes for success,

I am,

Yours truly,

Harold A. Wolff

Harold A. Wolff

RECEIVED
DEC 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

SRC-1/c

H. T. Anton
Rev News
was sent to
nearly all of
them.
RTM.

LIST OF $250 CONTRIBUTORS.

1950:

Jan. 25 - Division of Home Missions and Church Extension (Church not indicated)

Mar. 23 - Sigmund Silberman Foundation, 117 W. 35th St., Chicago 9, Illinois

April 17 Mrs. David R. Coker, Hartsville, South Carolina

Div. of Home Missions & Church Extension, Methodist Church, 1701 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

1949:

Mar. 28 - Donald Comer, Avondale Mills, Birmingham, Ala.

Jan. 24 - Edgar Stern, New Orleans, La.

" Mrs. Edgar Stern, New Orleans, La.

Dr. Howard Odum, U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Mr. C. C. Spaulding; Mr. Asa Spaulding; Mr. J. H. Wheeler - Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.

Charles Smith, Arlington, Va.

Paul Williams, 3320 Gloucester Rd., Richmond, Va.

(Mar. 16 Miss Ruth B. Hawes, 207 Seminole Avenue, Richmond, Va.)
(Apr. 11 Miss Julia Hall, 360 ~~Seminary~~ Seminary Ave., Richmond, Va.)

Spencer Love, Burlington, N. C.

D. W. Uzzle, Durham, N. C.

~~Szx Tx z Marcusx z Frankfortz x Kx~~
S. T. Marcus, Frankfort, Ky.
R. M. Hanes, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Mrs. Gertrude Weil, Greensboro, N.C.

Leonard Haas, Morris Hirsch, Mrs. Edwin Haas - Atlanta, Georgia

May be each gave $250 - can't tell

Reuben R. Robertson; James P. McGuire - North Carolina

James L. Coker, South Carolina

McCormick & Co., Maryland

Wilbert J. O'Neill, Ohio

1948:

G. D. Rogers, 1416 North Boulevard, Tampa, Fla.

FUND RAISING SUGGESTIONS MADE AT THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, 3/3/51.

Mr. Williams proposed that at some time when a large pamphlet is to be issued, Mr. Palmer, of the Kingsport Press, should be asked to print it for the Council free of charge, or at least at cost; he has done that for other organizations in lieu of making contributions. Mr. Williams further offered to write Mr. Palmer about it when the time came. Mr. Christopher said he was sure that Lucy Mason, who knows Mr. Palmer well, would be glad to call or write him.

Mr. Christopher suggested approaching the Industry-Union Councils, whose director is Allen Heywood. He thought that individual Councils would give small donations to SRC. He suggested that Dr. Mitchell see Jack Kroll, who could get him in to see Heywood. The proper procedure would be for Heywood to send letters to all the offices of the Councils saying that SRC is on the list of approved organizations; an appeal by letter should then be sent from SRC to all Councils. When the time came to write the letters, Mr. Christopher offered to help, and also promised to write a personal note to all the Councils.

Mr. Christopher suggested appealing for contributions to the Ford local at Memphis, Firestone at Memphis, International Harvester, and the Alcoa local at Maryville (Tenn.). Some of them, he said, have as much as $50,000 in the treasury.

Dr. Charles Johnson inquired whether the Council had any approach to college community funds. Dr. Mitchell told of the success of the Emory University Community Chest in raising money for the Council. He thought that Mr. Gardner, who had headed the Emory campaign, might write to other colleges if the Council would type the letters for him.

Dr. Charles Johnson suggested an approach to the Marshall Field Fund on the basis of their "causelessness" since the closing do n of the ACRR.

Dr. Clement mentioned the existence of a Rosenwald Family Fund in Philadelphia, headed by Lessing Rosenwald, which recently gave $10,000 to the NAACP. Mr. Lessing Rosenwald has been working with the Displaced Person program.

Dr. Clement mentioned Mr. Thomas Morgan, of Sperry Gyroscope.

Dr. Charles Johnson spoke of the effectiveness of dinner meetings as fund-raising devices, particularly in New York. He thought it would be possible, with the right kind of backing, to raise a considerable sum by this method; he offered to help plan such a meeting.

The consensus of the Committee favored exploring the possibility of such a meeting, perhaps for Southerners living in New York. It was thought that Marshall Field would be willing to sponsor it, either in Chicago or New York, or at least to cooperate. Dr. Clement suggested getting two or three noted people to make the after-dinner speeches.

Mr. Will ams proposed, in addition, that prominent people who have their roots in the South be asked to call a smaller meeting of Southern-born New Yorkers to hear about the Council's work. The name of Stark Young was suggested by Chas. Johnson as a possible sponsor.

Mr. Haas suggested approaching Mr. Albert Lasker for a contribution. He is a Texan, the son of Morris Lasker, whom Mr. Haas knew before his death.

Mr. Haas also agreed to write Mr. Alfred May, of Ford, telling him

of his acquaintance with the Council.

Mr. Wright inquired whether the Southern Society of New York, and similar groups in other cities, might be approached on the possibility of inviting Dr. Mitchell to address them on the Council. Dr. Mitchell undertook to follow up this suggestion.

Dr. Guy Johnson said that there was available at Chapel Hill a list of Southerners in Who's Who. It was thought that they might be approached for contributions.

It was suggested that International Harvester be approached for a grant. Dr. Charles Johnson said that Sara Southall (4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago) would be able to get Dr. Mitchell in to see Fowler McCormick, who he thought would be well disposed toward the Council.

Dr. Charles Johnson mentioned that a vice-president of Intl. Harvester, named Archer, was a friend of Mr. Palmer of the Kingsport Press. Mr. Archer is probably closer than anyone else at Intl. Harv. to the development of Southern plants. He thought that he would be a good person to reach, along with Fowler McCormick.

Mr. Haas mentioned the Alfred Sloan Foundation.

Mr. Wright mentioned Mr. ---------- (the man in N. C. who had been thought to be dying.)

Mr. Williams mentioned General Mills. Dr. Mitchell said that the Council had had some contact with them, but had not succeeded in getting any money from the Atlanta office.

Dr. Charles Johnson suggested that in Chicago Mr. Williams see

General Wood, of Sears Roebuck, who controls a fund given through Sears Roebuck stores in various communities.

Another person recommended by Dr. Charles Johnson was Mr. Sloan, president of the Metropolitan Opera Company.

Mr. Williams suggested the name of Charles Taylor, the new president of the Metropolitan Insurance Company, who is the brother of Mr. Williams' next door neighbor.

Dr. Clement said that the NAM has a committee of industrialists and educators to examine what can be done to aid private education.

Mr. Williams said that his own company maintains a fund of $200 a year. For the past five years the grant has gone to Mercy Hospital in Chicago. This year, on his recommendation, the fund was transferred to the Council.

Mr. Christopher mentioned an official of Allis-Chalmers (name not specified) as a University of Alabama graduate.

Dr. Charles Johnson said that the new president of the Chrysler Corporation is a Texan. Mr. Kelly, of Chrysler, who brought him to the company, is a member of the Fisk Board of Directors. Dr. Johnson promised to find his name.

People Mr. Wms. was to see in New York:

ILGWU - to see them about the grant SRC has applied for.

Mr. Christopher said that Jacob Potofsky would be in Atlanta shortly, and promised to see him in Knoxville about the Council.

Mr. Williams thought the NCCJ would be willing to let the $500, originally granted for the Rock Hill Survey, be applied to a survey in another community, and promised to talk with NCCJ people about it.

Dr. Clement suggested writing Mr. John Fox, a Southerner living in New York, who he thought would give the Council $500. Mr. Wms. promised to see Mr. Fox if GSM woild write him. Dr. Clement also suggested Mrs. Lillian Manger, a Kentuckian, who owns the Vanderbilt Hotel, and Mr. Wms. undertook to see her.

Mr. Wright suggested that Mr. Wms. see Archer M. Huntington in New York (owner of the Newpoert News Shipbuilding Company). He has done much for the Negro people in his neighborhood. He is the son of Collis P. Huntington, who was a great friend of Hampton and other Negro colleges.

SRC - fund raising

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1951
Southern Regional Council

21st June 1951

Dear Mrs. Smith:

I am sure that you must be familiar in a general way with the work of the Southern Regional Council. It was created some ten years ago; its membership is composed of Negro and white citizens of the South; it has never practiced segregation in its meetings or office personnel, and it has consistently and successfully striven to create a public opinion in the South which would provide a sure base upon which the equal rights of all citizens may rest.

Since the liquidation of the Rosenwald Fund, which had given the organization a considerable part of the funds which made its work possible, it has had to rely upon individual contributions from liberal friends of the cause of legal and political equality of all citizens.

Even enemies and critics of the organization, of which there are many in high Southern political circles, give it credit for having greatly aided in securing employment of Negro policemen and firemen throughout the South; bringing about repeal of the poll tax; having the Democratic primary thrown open to Negro voters; accomplishing the appointment of Negroes to important policy-making boards and commissions; eradicating lynching; improving conditions of employment and housing and, generally, bringing the status of the Negro more nearly to the level of the white citizen.

It is a matter of some pride to me that I have been for some time a member of its board of directors and, consequently, am familiar with its financial needs. Indeed, my embarrassing non-attendance on board meetings of the Penn School has been largely due to my feeling that the work of the Southern Regional Council was of such importance that it should occupy a primary position in my loyalties.

I hope that the program of the Council, as well as its necessities, may appeal to you as justifying as large a contribution as you feel in position to make. Contributions have been ruled to be deductible for income tax purposes. If such is your feeling, your check may be made payable to Southern Regional Council, Inc., and forwarded either to me or to the Atlanta office, which is located at 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

With appreciation in advance for any contribution which you may feel in position to make, I am,

MAW:L

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

Mrs. W. W. Smith II
Poughkeepsie, New York

bc: Dr. George S. Mitchell, Ex.Sec.
This lady is one of the Smith cough drop family, who is a fellow member on the board of trustees of Penn Normal Industrial & Agricultural School. I hope she may do something. Please let me know at once if she sends in check direct to you.

M. A. W.

9th
December
1950

RECEIVED
DEC 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Peter C. Kelly
Conway
South Carolina

Dear Dr. Kelly:

I remember with a great deal of pride what fine work you did last year in raising funds for the Southern Regional Council, as well as in making your and Mrs. Kelly's own personal contribution.

The Council, like the Red Cross, Tuberculosis Association and churches, must be supported by voluntary contributions from those who believe in the things for which it stands. I know only too well that you are included in that number.

On December 16 I am to attend a meeting in Atlanta, at which the situation will be canvassed and the work of the Council mapped for the ensuing year. It would be heartening to all of us if you and your friends could repeat your splendid contributions of last year.

It must be obvious to any intelligent observer that there have been substantial accomplishments in all of the enterprises in which the Council has been engaged. The appointment of Negro policemen at Conway was a rather bold step when it was taken by Dr. Busbee and city council. Now you will note that it is being done as a matter of course throughout the South. Accomplishments elsewhere, while not so concrete, may be directly traceable to the influence of this group.

You no doubt know that such contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:L

bc - Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell

9th
December
1950

Mr. E. C. Wall
Conway
South Carolina

Dear Mr. Wall:

I press upon you again the claims of the Southern Regional Council, contributions to which are, by the way, deductible for income tax purposes.

Surely no salesmanship is required. If you have been an ordinarily consistent reader of the daily papers (particularly The New York Times or such magazines as Time, Newsweek or The New South), you have had borne in upon you the sane and constructive work which the Council is doing in the most delicate of all fields - that of race relations in the South. Its voice and influence have done much to dissipate the impression created by the Klan and Southern demagogues.

I think, largely because of your mother's influence, and unlike so many of your colleagues in the timber industry, you were able to admire Mr. Roosevelt because you realized that, by keeping to the left of center, he gave us a peaceful revolution instead of one which might have been accompanied by violence. The Council, as I view its work, has contributed to securing the same result in the field in which it operates, recognizing that change must come and trying to make the change a relatively painless process. Appointment of Negro policemen, members of school boards and the like are now made naturally by Southern cities and towns, whereas a few years ago such a course struck terror to official hearts.

The Council is always up against it for funds. It has no large benefactors and must depend upon enlightened Southerners of means to see that its work does not lag.

I am to attend a meeting in Atlanta on December 16 and hope to be able to report at that time contributions, yours included, which will enable it to plan its work for the ensuing year.

With my thanks in advance for whatever you may feel able to do, and with kind personal regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:L
bc - Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell
(practically same letter to
E. E. Burroughs

SRC 2-e

Sept. 24, 1951

GSM TO GSM:

George Goodwin called Sept. 18. A friend of his who is a member of the Board of the L&N Railway, hearing from Goodwin that we had been lately aided and needed money, told Goodwin that a mighty good name to work on was Smith Richardson. He is, I believe, a vice president of the Vick Chemical Company and divides his time between Greensboro and New York. He is a member of the National Interracial Committee of the Boy Scouts of America and very active in that particular end of BSA work. He has plenty of money and is giving it away lavishly. Lately gave Davidson College a handsome gymnasium

September 19, 1952

Mr. & Mrs. George Stoney
1832 Biltmore St., NW, Apt. 23
Washington, DC

Dear Mary and George:

All is arranged. The Y.W. is holding its third assembly room, whatever that is, Friday evening, November 14.

Here is proposed, being-pondered, strictly-to-be-revised language for invitations. Please revise.

Small dinner party before general meeting. 6:30 Friday night, Y.W. Present: the Stoneys, Flannie Kittrell, Ralph Rose from Philadelphia, G. Mitchell, Mr. and Mrs. George Wolfe. Any other few intimates that may be useful to add later on.

Kack is getting her wings on for coming up.

We think it's going to be a sure-'nuff occasion!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Mr. and Mrs. George C. Stoney of 1832 Biltmore Street, N. W., and Dr. Flemmie Kittrell of Howard University cordially invite you to a meeting of the friends and members of the Southern Regional Council, to be held on Friday evening, November fourteenth, at eight o'clock at the Y.W.C. A., 17th and K Streets, N.W.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council will speak briefly.

RSVP (Card enclosed)

Telephones
The Stoneys - Mich. 5892
Dr. Kittrell - DUpont 6100

MEMO TO K. S. Sept. 23, 1952

I have said nothing to the MW about the ~~[illegible]~~ dinner party at 6:30 the night of the meeting. Entirely up to you to work out the details of that.

People I would expect:

Mary and George, George and Beatrice Wolfe, Flemmie Kittrell, G. Mitchell, two or three friends of the Wolfes, three or four other people that will be accrued by natural processes, probably Ralph Rose.

GSH

Do go and see early in your Washington stay Margaret Garrity, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Mass. Ave. She is compiling a list of her friends suitable to be invited. She is an action gal, and you will like her. She's their Interracial Secretary.

GSH

MEMO ON WASHINGTON MEETING Sept. 18, 1952

Mr. & Mrs. George Wolfe are at 7901 Carroll Ave., Takoma Park, Md. Phone, Shepherd 2974.

Invite Dean Charles H. Thompson, Journal of Negro Education, Department of Education, Howard University.

Arthur Raper works for Mutual Security and is now abroad. Invite his wife.

Dallas Johnson's phone, Oliver 6594. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Home address, 3303 Elm St., Chevvy Chase, Md. Nick Read's daytime telephone is Hudson 6620, Branch 46.

George Stoney's home phone is Michigan 5892.

Fred Mott, UMW of A, 1427 Eye St., NW.

The approved Unitarian parson is A. Powell Davies. His church is at 16th & Harvard. Interracial church.

Charlotte Coker Aiken works for the State Department. ~~Powell~~ Smith Davis works for the Farmer's Home Administration. So does Frank Henagen.

Inspected Davis House and met Mabel Ridpath, in charge, 1822 R St., NW. Not big enough. In any case, Davis House there to make friendly home for visiting foreigners, and too many meetings destroy the sought-for homelikeness, though Ridpath was willing, if need be.

2—Memo on Washington Meeting

Re Florida Avenue Friends Meeting, see Herbert Hadley, using Ralph Rose's name.

Ralph Rose will be in Washington November 15, and could be there the night of the 14th.

Dr. Flemmie Kittrell, Home Economics Bldg., Howard University.

Margaret Garrity, Republic 3553, Branch 259.

The 'Piscie Bishop, Angus Dunn, 1702 Rhode Island Ave., NW—a sort of office he has.

See also Felix Morley, 1323 M St., best place to reach him. A Quaker and unpopular.

Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, 2329 California St., NW. Very influential with his people.

Dallas Johnson spoke with the warmest praise of the Negro woman, Mrs. Marjorie McKinsey Lawson, who did the business about the Florida 100 for the NCNW meeting at Daytona Beach that Mrs. Tilly was in on. Did it for Mrs. Mary Bethune Patterson. Dupont 6250 or DuPont 2143. Should be invited.

A possible aid—Mrs. Luke Wilson, daughter of Woodward, of Woodward & Lothrop. Extremely rich, home in Bethesda. Unfortunately, a great Wallaceite.

Maybe Milton Starr, brother of Alfred Starr, would be a proper sponsor. What does George Stoney say?

3—Memo on Washington Meeting

At AAUW, Flemmie Kittrell arranged for me to consult Dr. Helen Bragdon, who is executive director. 1634 Eye St., NW. Bragdon shooed me to Mrs. Edith H. Sherrard, queen lady of their Social Studies. The Lady Edith thought my plans wise, and had not much advice.

Confirm early with Flemmie Kittrell the date tentatively put down on her book as Friday, November 14.

An active and liberal-spirited Jewish lady—Mrs. Wabnig. Worked with WILPF. Flemmie Kittrell.

A top lady to arrange meeting—Mrs. Lester Newman—a Jewess, praised by Flemmie Kittrell.

Mrs. Dorothy Robinson, from the eastern shore of Maryland, and therefore faintly Southern. Influential with wealthy people. Husband pastor of a progressive Methodist Church. Flemmie Kittrell agreed that Mrs. Robinson is so identified with particular causes, as, for instance, peace, that she would not be the most useful one to summon. A longtime resident of Washington.

The Unitarians have an excellent Meeting House.

MEMO TO KS Sept. 18, 1952

Invite Mr. & Mrs. James A. Bayton, 3719 Oakview Terrace, NE, Washington, DC.

He teaches social psychology at Howard, and his wife is a psychologist at St. Elizabeth's Hospital. Good friends of Shelby Robert.

SRC - Fund Raising

RECEIVED
SEP 30 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. and Mrs. George C. Stoney of 1832 Biltmore Street, N. W., and Dr. Minnie Kittrell of Howard University cordially invite you to a meeting of the friends and members of the Southern Regional Council, to be held on Friday evening, November fourteenth, at eight o'clock at the Y.W.C.A., 17th and K Streets, N.W. (1)

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council will speak briefly. (2)

RSVP (Card enclosed)

Telephones
The Stoneys - Mich. 5892
Dr. Kittrell - DUpont 6100

We need to highlight the use which they can make of the money

Dear George -
Plans for working fine. Suggest 2 changes in invitation:
(1) Say a few words about purposes of SRC
(2) Where it says "... will give an illustrated (or graphic) talk on the South," sth. Something like that, with possible emphasis on current situation

wash.

November 4, 1952

Mrs. Mick Read
4303 Elm St.
Chevy Chase, Md.

Dear Dallas:

Hi! Thanks for your letter. I am sure you and Mick are lining up the very best eggs for supper and for the meeting afterward. We all thank you.

I will be up yonder in Washington beginning Tuesday, the 11th, and will call you mighty soon after I get in.

The dinner ought to be a real occasion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Dallas Read
4303 Elm Street
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Oct.31,1952

Dear George M.,
This silence, on Nick's and mypart, does not imply non activity on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. But fitting that in, with the other things, has caused us to postpone writing a letter. Also, we wanted to have more to report. I felt too, that we ought to wait until close to the first of November to send the invitations, which we have done. We are not through yet, but to date we have nabbed Albert Deutsch who we will bring to dinner with us, and have asked Carroll Kilpatrick, who is now editorial writer for the Washington Post, to attend the dinner. He is to let Nick know tomorrow whether he can come. Otherwise, our guestslist is for the meeting only, and includes a motly crew of liberals, Southerners, newspaper and radio people. Nick asked Martin Agronsky and Alfred Friendly, and we will add Marquis Childs and Alan Barth and M.L. Wilson--doing a telephone call and an invitation on each. People ought to know more about the work you are doing. Of course, asking them doesn't mean they will get there, but it's worth a try, we think, since one or the other of us knows each of them.I think your timing for it is excellent, in that with the election out of the way, the load of meetings will be lessened, and people ought to be ready to get back to things that have to go on whether the Republicans or the Democrats win. Darn this paper. I had to buy it from a little neighborhood boy who was solicit-

ting orders in order to save for a bike. Speaking of children, ours are fine. It seems to me that Nash, especially, gets more responsible and responsive every day. He is out in front now sweeping the walks and porch as part of his household assignment, and for a whole month now , he has done all of the things he is supposed to do like make his bed and pick up the bathroom etc. without complaint. Little did I think, a few years ago, that I would ever regard such performance as a major victory. I do now, believe me. Which brings me to another household matter that I have long wanted to write to Alice about. The Osnaburg (if that's the way you spell it) arrived, and is simply excellent for the purpose. I shrunk it and ironed it, and just yesterday got to the point of cutting the pieces off for curtains. I expect to finish one pair today. I am glad I bought so much. A friend in Garr ett Park and another in New York are using the rest. Please tell Alice how very much I appreciate her efforts, and apologize for my delay in writing. I am sorry. I keep thinking that eventually, I will learn how to do all of these household things more efficiently, and that there will be more time. I hate to wait until the children are 18 before reading another book! Herblock (who I shall also ask to your meeting) gave me a copy of his wonderful new one, and so far I am on page 22! I start to read it at night in bed and can never stay awake beyond 3 or 4 pages! We will report all of our final information on your meeting to Mary Stoney, who is compiling the full list of guests. I will bring this letter to a close, and we all look forward to seeing you the 13-14. Please give my very best wishes to Alice, and to the girls,

Dallas

November 5, 1952

Miss Dorothy Huneycutt
2122 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC

Dear Dorothy:

Thanks a whole lot for the list. Exactly what I wanted. We've sent them each a letter asking them to show up.

I'm so glad you will come. A special joy to see you. Bring some Creeks!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Charlotte C. Aiken (Mrs. Tom T) ✓ - Sent to Dept of State
1205 Biscayne Dr., Alexandria

RECEIVED
NOV 5 1952
National Council

Della Young (Mrs. Marion E.)
1437 44th St., N.W.

Ernelln S. Davis (Mrs. C. B.) — sent to Farmers Home Adm.
4926 Just St., N.E.

David L. Crawford
5607 N. Fairfax, Arlington

Carl N. Gibboney
3123 7th, S
Arlington

Jack H. Bryan
5700 Wyngate Dr.
Bethesda

Mason Barr
608 Juniper Lane
Falls Church

Samuel Liss
114 Shepherd
Chevy Chase

Mrs & Mrs. R. E. Lippincott (Ann Steelman)
McLean, Va.

Jas. A. Squire
1724 T St., N.W.

Dr. M:

Please forgive the delay. Received your note asking about addresses just before I left on vacation.

Hope it isn't too late. I hope to hear you on Nov 14.

Best wishes to you all,

Dorothy H.

September 18, 1952

Miss Dorothy Hunecourtt
The State House
2122 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, D. C.

Miss Dorothy:

I intend to have a meetin', like I told you, in November, to which you must come.

Could you scare me up the home addresses of such lost members of the colony as Charlotte Coker Aiken (State Department nowadays) and Bella Young and such other faithfuls as you think of? Ernell Smith Davis, for one. And how about the long-legged mountainy gal who still runs personnel in Farmers Home? You know, the good eggs that are left.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 18, 1952

Mr. and Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park, Md.

Dear Pee and George:

We all have the warmest gratitude to you both for kind arrangings and much help in connection with the Washington meeting. It was a delight to see so many friends, new and old. Seventy-seven was a whopping audience. And the $450-odd the meeting raised was a tremendous contribution to our work.

Truly nice to have the dinner and the rest of the evening with you. I only wish there could have been more time for real visiting.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 18, 1952

Miss Margaret Garrity
National Catholic Welfare Conference
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

Dear Margaret:

Hi! What a tough business to take you away at the last minute. I hope you got along all right.

We thought the meeting was pretty good. Some 77 people came (though, Washington-wise, half were late), and they chipped in $1.50 or so. I think some more will come later. I poured the usual speech on them, and they all had a good time chatting together afterwards.

The whole occasion would have been much less successful without your warm help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ERC - 2 e.

December 15, 1952

Mr. H. L. Mitchell
National Agricultural Workers Union
825 Victor Bldg.
724 9th St., N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear H. L.:

John Rust came by on Friday, December 12, on his way down to Pine Bluff. I was in Raleigh for a meeting of our North Carolina people, but our secretary-treasurer, Katherine Stoney (George's sister) had a good, long talk with John Rust and, I am sure, gave him a clear idea of the Council. My acquaintance with Rust goes eighteen years back, and I haven't seen him since, but I remember him as a mighty good guy.

I do hope he will help us. According to Katherine Stoney, he seemed well disposed, but, as you said, he's got immediate legal problems that hold him up.

I will try to plan things so that I get to see him in the next two or three weeks.

I don't see my way to putting before the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust a project that would have much chance of arousing their interest. This is really race relations, and I can't warp a considerable part of it around to fit what they would almost certainly want. But I thank you greatly for talking to Pat and for making the suggestion.

Do stop when you are down this way. There are so many things we could helpfully talk about.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION

AFFILIATED AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

825 Victor Building 724 9th Street, N. W.

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Phone: REpublic 7-6613 H. L. MITCHELL, President

December 10, 1952

RECEIVED DEC 12 1952 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I hope that John Rust got by Atlanta to see you. He did indicate that he was fearful of making any sort of grant that might be considered controversial until after a case in court is decided in Pine Bluff early in January. However, maybe you can work out something that will provide some money for your work. If he fails to get by Atlanta, I would suggest that you see him some time soon.

I happened to mention to Pat Jackson that I was trying to get Rust to make a grant to the Southern Regional Council and he said that if you had a project that was concerned with civil liberties, it might be possible for the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust to make you a grant for that purpose. However, they have a narrow interpretation of civil liberties so such a proposal would have to be directed solely on that angle. So far they have refused to make grants to underwrite economic action leading to defense of civil rights.

While I do not know enough about your program to suggest a project, perhaps an expansion of the work the church women do in prevention of lynchings, etc., if fully described, might be considered. Of course there may be other angles you could work out. At least if the Trust made a grant, the results would be what counted as far as they are concerned, not just how you spent the money.

Pat says the Trustees are to meet between the 15th. and 31st. of December. The address of the Marshall Civil Liberties Trust is 150 Broadway, New York, Mr. James Marshall, Chairman. They require 5 copies of an application. Gardner Jackson (Pat) is a Trustee and if he gets an advance copy he will support your request. His home address is - 1410 29th. St. N.W., Washington, D.C.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. L.

H.L. Mitchell
President

SRC - Fund Raising

January 14, 1953

Rev. Lewis H. Deer
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Deer:

Back in 1949 Brooks Hays told me that a friend of his in Little Rock, Mr. David Grundfest, might possibly be brought around to sufficient interest in the Southern Regional Council to make a money contribution to it. I wrote Mr. Grundfest a couple of times; but though my letters were courteously treated, the correspondence did not end in a contribution. I have conferred once or twice with Brooks Hays about the matter, and Brooks told me finally that the effort had not been wasted and that if we would continue to cultivate Mr. Grundfest, we might in the end be helped by him.

Now that we have a going Arkansas Division, I thought I would turn this matter over to you. It may be that by careful cultivation you could get Mr. Grundfest to make some contribution to the Arkansas Division.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
CLAUD D. CURLIN

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

January 10, 1950

RECEIVED
JAN 12 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I quote the following paragraph from Dave Grundfest's letter:

> " Concerning Mr. Mitchell's letter, truthfully, Brooks, we have so many requests of this nature that we cannot get around to them all. I gave this matter a lot of consideration and discussed it with Jim Hewitt, but Jim felt that this was one we should pass and because of that, we took no action. I hope you understand. I wanted to, but sometimes you have to acquiesce to the thinking of your associates -- and particularly when you are as close as Jim and I are."

I am disappointed, of course, but this has not been wasted time. When you are in Little Rock I want you to call on Mr. Grundfest, because this is a contact you should cultivate, and I think will lead to substantial assistance.

When will you be coming up to Washington.

Sincerely,

Brooks -

src = V-e

February 3, 1953

Mr. Shea West Thomas
Olney Paint Co.
Box 589
Spartanburg, S. C.

Dear Mr. Thomas:

The Southern Regional Council has never heard of P. Sanders and/or R. L. Jackson, and certainly has not employed them in soliciting funds for the Council. Some years ago we employed a fund-raiser named Thomas F. Byrd from Burnsville, North Carolina (white); but except for that one experience have never employed anyone in fund-raising.

Neither am I able to obtain any information about a publication called the NEGRO EDUCATIONAL DIGEST. It is unknown to the secretary of the association for Negro teachers in this State and is unknown to the reference librarian of Atlanta University, who consulted the 1950 volume of Aldrich's List of Periodicals. If you obtain any additional information pointing toward a claim by Sanders and Jackson that they represent our Council, I would like to know of it, because I would certainly like to stop anybody from doing that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

"YOU GET THE BEST OF IT"
IN
GILMAN PAINTS

157 ST. JOHN STREET
DIAL 3-1461

OLNEY PAINT COMPANY

Textile Mill Paints

P. O. BOX 589
SPARTANBURG, S. C.

February 2, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 3
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Will you please advise us if you have two men in this area soliciting funds by the names of P. Sanders and R. L. Jackson.

If you find you do not have these men employed, kindly advise us any information you may have on the publication of the "NEGRO EDUCATIONAL DIGEST".

Thanking you in advance for this information, we remain

Very Truly Yours,

OLNEY PAINT COMPANY

By Shea West Thomas
Shea West Thomas

SWT/vp

DISTRIBUTORS FOR GILMAN PAINT AND VARNISH CO.

WWA

S.T.M.
Area
WWA over
April 53

May 1, 1953

Dr. Will W. Alexander
New Hope Farm
Route 3
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Will:

Warmest thanks for your letter of April 21 and all your most helpful planning. We would greatly like for Dr. Lawless and the A.M.A. to work the matter out.

You remember you asked two specific questions: (1)"Could this same group of women who propose to work on the ballot matter also, if necessary, work to help meet the result of a Supreme Court decision which might throw the whole school situation into great confusion?"

The answer is, yes, almost certainly. Mrs. Tilly would be greatly disposed toward doing that in any case. She did more than a year ago, at the expense of the Fellowship of the Concerned, journey herself, in company with three or four other key Southern white church women, to Charleston to sit in the court which heard the Clarendon County Case, and she and the other church women reported fully on it to their groups.

It must be stated, however, that, for the moment, the listed concerns of the Fellowship of the Concerned do not include the matter of the schools. And therefore it will be needful to summon within a few months' time (probably quite soon, in order to get ahead of the summer doldrums) another Southwide meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, in order that this interest can be officially added to the other interests of the body. In any case, what will need to be done is related to law enforcement anyway, and Mrs. Tilly anticipates no difficulty in picking up a subject which will be of pressing interest naturally.

(2) Does the Fellowship of the Concerned include Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic women?

The Fellowship of the Concerned has had only two Southwide meetings. At both we were all at the greatest of pains to be sure that a wide variety of denominational groups was represented. Several women unofficially

representing the Catholic Women of the Diocese of Savannah-Atlanta were present at the first meeting, and I believe at the second. Both meetings had substantial representation from among Jewish women. Both meetings had wide representation from all the leading Protestant denominations. Thus, the organization centrally has always been inclusive of Catholic and Jewish women.

It must be said in all fairness that in small back communities in the South, where much of the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned is done, they use the women who are available and are interested. In many such communities there are very few Catholic or Jewish women, and in such communities those who have been asked to take action have been Methodists or Baptists or Presbyterians or members of some other Protestant group. Increasingly, however, the Fellowship of the Concerned, in all its local actions, springs into a wider circle of religiously inclined women, and it wishes centrally to be fully inclusive in all its local action.

I might say in passing that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has long worked in frequent consultation with Mrs. Tilly and the Fellowship of the Concerned, and the Council and Mrs. Tilly have for years worked closely also with the Catholic Committee of the South. I myself received only last Friday the 1953 award of the Catholic Committee of the South for helpfulness to good causes.

We are all delighted to have received over the last week a grant of $1,500 from the John Hay Whitney Foundation for Mrs. Tilly's work. That is a single grant whose expenditure in rapid order Mrs. Tilly has planned already, and if this wider program is to go through, she will need just about the four-year program of $4,000 a year which you and I discussed.

For other news, I report with pleasure also that the Field Foundation has renewed for 1953 its grant of $2,500 to underpin the publication of NEW SOUTH.

I am satisfied that Mrs. Tilly and her friends represent a great potential energy of helpfulness in the transition that is on us just now.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

NEW HOPE FARM
ROUTE 3
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

April 21, 1953

RECEIVED
APR 28

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George,

I passed through Atlanta yesterday en route from New Orleans and attempted to reach you by phone before I left New Orleans with the hope that we might have a little talk at the airport.

Several weeks ago you sent me some material about the work of Mrs. Tilley. I had a preliminary talk with the Sterns about this and they seemed doubtful about their undertaking it. I think I could have persuaded them, but I decided to follow another course.

I was in New Orleans over the weekend attending a meeting of the Board of Trustees of Dillard University. We have, on that Board, Dr. T. K. Lawless and Dr. Widenhouse, the Secretary of the American Missionary Association. I showed this material to each of these men. Dr. Lawless promptly agreed to put up $1000 for the travel item in the budget. Dr. Widenhouse said that this was a matter in which he and his Board was very much interested. He expressed a willingness to present to his Board a recommendation that they put up an additional $4000 to match Dr. Lawless's $1000 to cover this budget. Lawless is a member of that Board. Dent, who has great influence with them, urged the matter, and I fully expect that the Board will act favorably on it at an early meeting. Unfortunately, I did not find out the date when it will be officially possible for the Board to consider this.

In the meantime I wish you would send to me some additional clarifying information. 1. Could this same group of women who propose to work on the ballot matter also, if necessary, work to help meet the ~~confusion~~ result of a Supreme Court decision which might throw the whole school situation into great confusion. 2. You letter did not make it sharply clear that this group of women included protestant, Jewish, and Catholic. It would help if Dr. Widenhouse had information on these two points.

Of course I can't guarantee the additional $4000, but I have a basis for a very firm conviction that it will be forthcoming. If it does, I think this will be a much better way to have financed it than from the Edgar Stern Family Fund. I made it clear to each that it was for a four year period.

Greetings and best wishes,

Sincerely,
W. W. A.
Will W. Alexander

March 13, 1953

Dr. Will W. Alexander
RFD 3
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Will:

There is a real opportunity to do something about spreading the use of the franchise in the Southern States. We were all impressed with the interest shown in the Council's January issue of NEW SOUTH on Negro voting. Here is a photostat carrying merely such clippings as happened to reach us. Now what follow-up in the next few years?

There are two problems: collecting the facts and getting action in local areas. We've got a plan for meeting both. I do wish you would see whether means can be found to get them under way.

For actual work at the problem out in the counties, I propose that we rely mainly on the church women. You are fully familiar with what the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching accomplished. That impulse continues today, organized as the Fellowship of the Concerned. Shortly after the report to President Truman on civil rights was made, we convened church leaders from all over the Southern States to talk about the import of that document. The following year at a similar meeting (at which Mrs. Roosevelt was the principal speaker) the women established the Fellowship of the Concerned to implement their interest in this field. It's a queer organization, without officers, with scarcely a treasury, but with remarkable interest and allegiance by the women. One of its programs has been to get women to sit in the local courts. They make their presence known to the judge, take notes if they wish, and do what they can to increase the dignity and even-handedness of local justice. A good many thousands of local church women have signed undertakings to do this, and many reports of members have come in of improvements resulting from so simple a practice.

The other more recent activity has been in connection with the Council's pamphlet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. The Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, for both the Southeastern and Southcentral Jurisdictions, somewhat over a year ago made it an official part of their

program to have local committees of women carry RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT to sheriffs and police chiefs and discuss it with them. We have had written reports from 143 such visits, widely scattered in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. You get the flavor of the visits when I report what came in from three ladies from Claiborne County in South Mississippi: "Dear Mrs. Tilly. We took the little blue book to our sheriff. He said everything is all right. He is nice to colored, and all his deputies are nice to colored. But, Mrs. Tilly, could you send us one more copy of that little blue book to give to the night watchman at the jail?"

Recently, at the Conference of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church (Southeastern Jurisdiction, Jackson Mississippi, February, 1953) the recommendations for Christian Social Relations in local church activity included the following:

IN THE COMMUNITY

It is recommended that:

1. Methodist women work unceasingly to eradicate prejudice and intolerance based on race, color, or religion which leads to humiliation to the individual and injustice to the group to which he belongs.

2. Local groups work to insure protection and justice for all peoples in their communities by:
   a. Supporting the principle of adequate training for law-enforcement officials.
   b. Becoming cognizant of court practices and procedures, particularly as they affect minority races and dependents.

IN THE NATION

It is recommended that:

1. We restudy and restate our beliefs concerning the basic foundations necessary to secure civil rights and civil liberties for all peoples. Conference and local secretaries may then plan the approach most applicable to their own situation.

These recommendations were adopted by the jurisdictional meeting. This program has its counterpart in that of the Fellowship of the Concerned, as will be seen in the attached leaflet. Under the heading "What We Can Do in Our Communities about the Vote" are listed:

1. Do our part to see that opportunity for registration and voting is legally and actually secure for all.

2. Oppose State re-registration measures that threaten the security of any voters.

Thus, there is both official and unofficial sanction among Methodists and those other church women reached by the Fellowship of the Concerned for direct local activity in increasing the use of the franchise.

This most useful and effective form of local implementing activity can be called into vigorous life at the expense of some travel and of numerous local conferences of the officers of the women's groups concerned. We propose that modest funds be provided to enable such travel by Mrs. M. E. Tilly of our staff and, at her discretion, the calling of such area and district conferences as would be best calculated to move the program ahead in selected parts of the South. Such a program would bring out quite widespread local effort. The women would make it their business to visit their boards of registrars and to influence them otherwise in extending the franchise to all groups within their counties. Nobody claims that efforts of this kind would show up in a matter of months. But carried forward during several years, it would have remarkable effect. No outsider coming into the counties with thin franchises could possibly produce the changes in local opinion and action that these locally resident women could make. And the effect in training local leadership would be not the less remarkable and valuable. This, then, gives a field force already rooted in local communities and willing to go to work in a most resultful way.

Willingness to go to work needs to be backed with facts. It would be the function of the Southern Regional Council to supply the facts. The late Dr. Luther Jackson, in Virginia, over a long period published annually an exact account of Negro voting, county by county, in that State. Professor Pierce, at Alabama State College at Montgomery, is compiling a similar record, county by county, for Alabama. We think that a reasonable amount of travel and diligence could obtain a similar county breakdown as to the extent of the franchise for most, if not all, of the Southern States. These figures, put on a map and shown to a district conference of church women, would start corrective programs in the areas most in need. The Council has the staff which could collect these facts and needs only some contribution toward sustaining the modest research and travel involved.

These two things could be done together for the following annual budget:

Travel for Mrs. M.E. Tilly, on behalf of the Fellowship of the Concerned	$1,000.00
Expenses of area conferences	1,500.00
Expenses of SRC in compiling the needed facts	2,500.00
Total	$5,000.00

We would like to be able to follow through on such a program for four years. The total cost, therefore, would be $20,000. We would be perfectly happy to have each year's renewal of such a grant be conditioned upon review of accomplishments and plans.

I enclose as exhibit material the photostat referred to above, some leaflets about the Fellowship of the Concerned, and various issues of NEW SOUTH which have, from time to time, touched upon related problems.

One further word. Various university groups are engaged upon long-range research in the field of Southern governmental reform. It would be our purpose to be periodically in touch with this work and to make possible such modifications in the program of the church women as would, from time to time, accord with the findings of the research study.

I do hope you will inquire about and see whether this proposal could be financed. Whatever else may be needed from the Council we would be glad to supply.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

SRC-2 file.

MEMO TO GSM RE FLORIDA FUND RAISING May 12, 1953

Gilbert McLemore, in charge of the housing office from Emory, called me while in Jamie Mackay's office and described two individuals in Florida who could be helpful:

1. Kendrick Guernsey was once asked to serve the Council in some way and is interested in our purposes. Executive Vice-President of Gulf Life Insurance Co. Past international president of Rotary. Chairman of the governors' committee on higher education a few years ago. (GSM thinks this was the group Mrs. Havens, and somewhat the Council, worked with.) Was one of the three directors of the State Highway Commission and is generally regarded as one of the most powerful men in the State. In 1947 called the first interracial meeting ever held in Jacksonville, relating to USO volunteer leadership. Has integrity and power. McLemore saw him December, '52, and Guernsey helped McLemore in a matter relating to the Protestant radio station. McLemore is a friend of the Methodist Bishop John Brancombe, who is attentive to McLemore's wishes. Bishop Juhan and Bishop Louthit both respect him. Lives in Orlando. Louthit knows him well.

2. Judge John Murphree, aged about 50. Lives at Gainesville. Says SRC was in touch with him in 1947. Was circuit judge for Northern Florida. His father was Chancellor Murphree, distinguished in Florida juridical history. Episcopalian, weighty man. Believed considerate on racial matters.

3. Bailey Odham of Sanford. 36 years old, young businessman and past State commander V. F. W. Ran against McCarth for governor and gave McCarty a very hard race indeed. Bailey Odham had the reputation of being fair on matters racial.

SRC = 1-e.

Sept. 18, 1952

NOTES ON CONVERSATION WITH ALPHONSE MILLER, WHO RAISES MONEY FOR AFSC.

A Baltimore man, J. Jefferson Miller, of the Hecht Co. Busy, but generous.

Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, 2329 California St., Washington.

Ernest W. Green, 15th & K Sts., NW. Protestant guy. Works with some Hawaiian concern.

A Washington Catholic broker. Very powerful. Couldn't recall name.

Corcoran Thom, president of a big bank, 3244 Nebraska Ave., NW.

Mrs. Luke Wilson, of Woodward & Lothrop.

The man Sims, rector of St. Paul's. A good egg.

Also G. Cheston Carey, of Baltimore. Prominent Quaker, but hard to interest. But good guy if he is interested.

SRC = 1-e.

GSM TO GSM

May 27, 1952

Stuart Dudley told me that the man Richardson, who has within the last year bought the Charlotte Observer, is an Ohio Quaker and has good instincts. GSM should use Dudley's name in going to see Richardson.

August 21, 1953

Dr. Will W. Alexander
RFD 3
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Will:

I looked up our correspondence in April and May about Dr. Lawless.

Don't you think that if you poked Widenhouse again they might come through with their part, which Lawless would match?

The day after I phoned you some weeks ago Alex Heard came through with a most satisfactory telephone call, and we got all things straight, I think. I conclude that what is now to be quickly done by the Fund for the Advancement of Education will need to be followed up by what we could do with help from the Fund for the Republic.

I saw the portrait at Fisk. I was under much pressure to praise it, but liked it only tolerably.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC 2 9

NOTES ON CONVERSATION WITH WILL ALEXANDER Dec. 16, 1952

Have Virginius Dabney write Hutchins, urging that the transition is on and the SRC is the one agency which can help it come.

Write to Edgar Stern, copy to Kabacoff. Put in the school business. Tell Stern I need enough to live through, $2,500. Transition to come normally and naturally.

Woodruff likes Bennie Mays, or we could use Rufus or Patterson or McGill to reach Woodruff.

The link between Edgar Stern and the Atlanta head of Sears Roebuck.

On Forrester Washington, ask him to submit a plan on how he would raise money, largely from Northern foundations.

Dr. Will has an old association with Dr. Lawless of Chicago, young Negro Doctor, whose father, Rev. Lawless, worked for AMA for many years in the South. The young man has a rare intellect. New Orleans man. It was through the father that Dr. Alexander got his early contact with the Congregationalists. The son graduated in medicine at Northwestern, went to Vienna, and then to the faculty at Northwestern. Young Dr. Alfred Lawless has become Chicago's outstanding dermatologist. Earns $150,000 or $200,000 a year. General Leonard Wood's family are his patients. Very generous, and to miscellaneous causes. Young Dr. Lawless purchased for Dillard an adjoining piece of land, on which he helped finance a housing project that greatly helps the Dillard faculty. My Congregationalist friend could assist in an approach to Lawless. The young doctor is on Dillard's Board. GSM to write Dr. Will a high-lights letter, and Dr. Will will write Lawless and ask for a thousand dollars for SRC.

GSM should tell Theobald about the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. Young Phil Stern could give HCF five hundred. Has a million. At 26, is director of research for Democratic National Committee. GSM should have young Phil Stern have lunch at the Cosmos Club.

SRC - Fund

December 15, 1952

Dr. Will W. Alexander
RFD 3
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Will:

Here is a note meant for you to send on to Dr. Lawless. I didn't want to make it a great long thing; in any case, it's going to be word from you that would get the help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. You saw the announcement of the Board for the Fund for the Republic. Among others, Zellerbach, Alvin Roper, Charlie Cole at Amherst, who was a fellow instructor at Columbia; Malcolm Bryan; etc. Will you cogitate and advise me?

GSM:ec
Encls.

December 15, 1952

Dr. Will W. Alexander
RFD 3
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Will:

Our Council is in desperate need of a thousand or two dollars at this tag end of the year.

Here comes the whole business of the schools. Whatever the decision of the Court, the South has a crisis in its public school system on its hands. And in the coming weeks and months much has to be done to get the best of the South to make its views known and followed. The people who can speak rightly are our members and friends, and I can't reach them for lack of money to pay telephone bills and buy railroad tickets and pay our people.

We both know the things that need to be done.

Do you think you could from somewhere get us help at this particular time?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

MEMORANDUM October 28, 1957

FUND-RAISING ASPECTS OF NEW YORK TRIP
October 20-25, 1957

I. The Field Foundation

Talked with Max Hahn. He was both discouraged about the South and about the internal affairs of the Foundation. He said he literally didn't know whether they would have any funds for grants of any kind in the near future. However, he said that he was scheduling a board meeting very soon and that an application from SRC would be considered along with everything else. He is much concerned with projects that will influence the power structure without creating any controversy. I spent some time trying to interpret to him how some of SRC's activities do just this, but I'm not sure how much of it really registered. In any case, we should get a request in as soon as possible. Several of my advisers thought that it would be a great mistake to ask for less than $20,000 or $25,000, even though the prospect of getting such a grant at this time is practically non-existant. One suggestion was that we should ask for such an amount and state in the application that we realize that it may not be possible for the Foundation to give that much now; but, even though a much smaller grant would be all that is possible now, we would hope that the Foundation would consider the larger amount as soon as its circumstances permit.

II. The New York Foundation

Talked by telephone with David M. Heyman, who is a member of the family that established the Foundation, he is a trustee, and serves as an un-paid executive for the Foundation. Heyman was most friendly and encouraging. He is a good friend of Ken Clark's and knew that Ken is doing a research job in Little Rock for us. He suggested that I talk to Clark, but I was unable to reach him before I left New York. After some discussion of SRC's activities, Heyman suggested that we submit an application for general support. The application should be in duplicate, with two copies of our budget, showing expense and income for the last year and some of our foundation contributors. We should also send a copy of our tax exemption letter. The Board meets monthly, so that our request would receive early consideration. No amount was discussed. However, the Foundation is relatively well endowed, and we might realistically ask for $10,000 or $15,000. My guess is that, assuming favorable action, $10,000 is what we would get.

III. The Ittleson Family Foundation

I talked by telephone with Dr. Nina Ridenour, the executive secretary. She was polite but firm in her refusal to see me. She said that I should write her what SRC had in mind and she would then advise me whether there was any likelihood of a request from SRC being considered. She said that she was doubtful that our work would fall within the scope of the Ittleson Foundation. Altogether, pretty discouraging.

IV. West Coast Foundation Known to Hugh Moore of the AFSC.

In a talk with Alphonse Miller, fund-raiser for the AFSC, he mentioned a West Coast foundation that likes to give to controversial efforts. The idea seems to be that this foundation is really action-minded. He said that we would have to get the name of the foundation from another AFSC fund-raiser, Hugh Moore, who has handled negotiations with it. Frank Loescher said that he would undertake to get this information for us.

V. Katharine Taylor has two friends who are close to foundations with which we are dealing. One is Miss Helen Ross, a lay analyst of prominence in the psychiatric field, and a member of the Field Foundation board. The other is Paul McGhee, Dean of NYU General Education Division, 1 Washington Square North. He serves as a consultant to the New York Foundation and, according to Katharine Taylor, is in general an extremely likeable and sympathic person. Katharine can be expected to say a good word for us to both of these friends when she sees them.

VI. The Chace Fund

This is the Anna M. and Elizabeth H. Chace Fund, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia. Harold Evans is chairman and Frank Loescher is on the board. This foundation is very close to the AFSC and most or all of its board members are Quakers. It gave $3,000 to Penn Community Services recently. Marion Wright is friendly with Harold Evans. Frank Loescher cannot play any active or initiating role, though of course he would support our request when it came before the board of the Fund. He suggests that the request might be signed by Marion Wright and sent by him to Harold Evans. Our request should stress that we work closely and cooperatively with the Southern office of AFSC, giving such illustrations as our cooperation on the North Carolina school project, that we exemplify reason and good will in our approach, that we are close to the Penn Community Center, and that we serve the religious groups in the South as coordinator, information center, supplying consultants,

planning joint educational efforts by the various agencies, and so on. We might consider asking Tartt Bell to write a supporting letter. The next meeting of this foundation is on November 14th, which would require a request in by November 6th. The next meeting after that is January 9th, for which the request should be in no later than December 31st. The request should be submitted in 8 copies.

VII. The McGregor Fund, 2486 National Bank Building, Detroit 6, Michigan
William J. Norton, President (Beach, Consultant)

This foundation gave $20,000 to NAIRO for the internship project. They are apparently interested in professionalization of the human relations field. Frank Loescher thinks that perhaps they might be willing to consider an application for support of our interagency coordinating efforts. What is called for is an exploratory letter inquiring about the suitability of our submitting an application.

VIII. The Ella Lyman Cabot Trust

Dr. Gordon Allport of the psychology department, Harvard University, is the secretary. This trust gives to individuals rather than to groups or organizations. Some years ago, Emory Via received a fellowship from them to do labor education in the Atlanta area. Frank feels that they might entertain a request that was geared to the work of some individual, notably Mrs. Tilly. Richard Hocking of Emory University is close to this fund. We should discuss this with Emory. Loescher also stressed the desirability of our developing closer ties generally with Allport.

IX. The Richardson Foundation

This is the Richardson connected with the Vick Chemical Company. There seems to be no immediate proppect of our getting any help from the Foundation, since the Richardson who runs it is very conservative and has conservative Southern ties in North Carolina. However, Frank talked with a Mr. Frank R. Barnett, the director of research, who was personally sympathetic and suggested that at some later time the Foundation, under new leadership might help. Frank suggests that I write Barnett, send him background on SRC, and say I would like to see him the next time I am in New York. The address is: 122 East 42nd Street, Room 1708, New York 17, New York.

X. The Aaron Norman Family Foundation

David Freeman is serving as consultant to this foundation, the object being for him to systematize their giving. One of the

things he is trying to do is to develop for them a comprehensive program in the field of human relations. He was to see last Friday members of the Norman family who live in Atlanta. I am personally acquainted with two of them - Mr. and Mrs. DeJongh Franklin. Several years ago, when the SRC was in dire shape, Franklin arranged for the Foundation to make a small emergency grant to SRC. Freeman will advise us of the possibilities here and of what we should do and when.

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At Frank Loescher's suggestion, I got an appointment with Edmund A. Rosenthal, President of the Foundation, 600 Fifth Avenue, New York. Frank had talked with Rosenthal about another matter and had mentioned SRC to him. The Foundation gave $10,000 toward the support of the AFSC's North Carolina school project. Rosenthal was friendly and listened well, but expressed himself as doubtful of the importance of any voluntary activity in so big and complex a problem as segregation in the South. I gave him all our arguments. In the end, he agreed that I should write him what we have in mind and send him full particulars about SRC. He would consider the matter and advise as to whether a full blown application would be considered.

XII. The William C. Whitney Foundation

Mike Straight called just before I went to New York to ask whether we intended to request renewal of their present grant. He suggested that this be submitted within the next month or so and cautioned me that Roger Baldwin feels that the Fund for the Republic's grant to us makes it unnecessary for the Whitney Foundation to give further aid. Therefore, we should stress the needs of our organization.

XIII. The Fund for the Republic

I paid a courtesy call to the Fund and talked to Ed Reid, Ping Ferry, Frank Kelly, and Hallock Hoffman. Henseforth, Hoffman will be our liaison man at the Fund; he should receive all regular reports, correspondence pertaining to our grantee status, and so on. I discussed with Hoffman the question of the Arkansas emergency grant. There is a thousand dollars remaining which can be claimed for Arkansas, having been approved by the Fund's board for special work with the Western Arkansas counties. Hoffman said that it would be possible to obtain the additional thousand for other work in Arkansas, namely in Little Rock. But I must write (or call) Hoffman to this effect by November 1st. (Their board is meeting shortly thereafter.)

XIV. The Farfield Foundation

I had an interview with John Thompson, the executive secretary.

He expressed doubt that the Foundation would regard SRC's work as within its scope. However, the Foundation is interested in international matters and I talked at some length of our work with foreign visitors and the need for support of that function. Thompson suggested that I write him what we would do with additional funds, as well as what we have been doing in this area. He also suggested that I send a list of foreign visitors we have served for the last year or some such period. While he was not too hopeful, he said he would explore the matter with board members and see if their interest could be aroused. The Farfield Foundation is at 37 West 57th Street, New York.

XV. The Jacob R. Schiff Fund

The three trustees of this Fund are Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, P President, City College, New York 31, New York; Dr. Grayson Kirk, President, Columbia University, New York 27, New York; and, Mr. Edwin Wolf II, Curator, Pennsylvania Library, Ridgeway Library, Broad and Christian Streets, Philadelphia 47, Pennsylvania. I Talked with Dr. Gallagher, giving him a fairly full picture of SRC and its current activities and also leaving with him the voting study and South of Promise. He was noncommittal about our chances of getting aid from the Schiff Foundation, but was perfectly agreeable to the idea of our submitting an application and supplied me with the names and addresses of the other trustees. He said the application should be sent to each of them. In answer to my question, he said that there were no special policies about grants, except that they must be made within the continental United States. The Schiff Foundation is a liquidation job - that is, the trustees are spending all of the capital as quickly as they can find worthy objects to whom to give it. Gallagher said that there was very little of the money left. He, himself, is a former president of Talladega College and long identified with a liberal position on racial questions. I was left with the feeling that, if we submit a good application, he will support it.

XVI. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund

I spent a good deal of time with staff members of this Fund, mainly Montgomery Bradley and Harry Meserve. I also talked more briefly with the director, Dana Creel, and York Allen. They are considering a request for $8,000 from the Arkansas Council, which is supposed to have the blessing of Winthrop Rockefeller. They are concerned about their investigations in Arkansas, which seem to indicate that many people there feel that the Arkansas Council is lacking in leadership and imagination. The Arkansas request will be separately disposed of by the Fund. However, I was told

in my second interview that the staff had decided that a request from the Southern Regional Council would be considered. This should be in by about December 15th. It should probably be a request for support to one or more specific projects rather than for general support. Bradley mentioned specifically consultant work with educators and with law enforcement authorities as areas in which he felt their board might be interested, though we may request aid for something else if we wish. Meantime, we should send earlier full information about SRC, including financial data, biographical data on board, our budget and other sources of support, including Southern. This may have to be sent in two installments, since our new board won't be complete for at least several weeks. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund is at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York

XVII. The Phelps-Stokes Fund

I spent a good deal of time with Wilton Dillon discussing project items that are of mutual interest and might involve some support for SRC. Of immediate importance is the fact that the Phelps-Stokes board meets on November 20th and should have before it at that time a request of renewal of aid to Mrs. Tilly's program. This means that we should get this request in as soon as possible.

XVIII. The Christopher Reynolds Foundation

Unfortunately, I was not able to see Jack Clareman, the executive of this Foundation. We must sometime soon ascertain from him when our request for renewal of grant should be submitted and what SRC activities they would be likely to consider favorably. He wrote sometime back to say that they liked other activities of SRC better than our work with foreign visitors and would prefer that our next application be based on some other activity.

-END-

GSH Fund 250 contrib
app $2500 total

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

November 12, 1957

Subject: Notes on the 1957 Fund-Raising Efforts.

1. During the calendar year 1956 the Central Office income, exclusive of all projects, was approximately $95,000. Of this amount $31,369 was the amount raised from [redacted] fund-raising sources. The remainder was provided by the Fund for the Republic either directly or indirectly. (app. 64,000)

2. For the fiscal year, October 1, 1956 - September 30, 1957, the Southern Regional Council income was $98,431. Of this amount $82,452 represents income from ~~former~~ fund-raising sources ~~situations~~. This increase over 1956 reflects considerable expended incomes from former sources and a substantial increase in new sources. For instance:

   FFR only 16,000

   A. Of the funds raised from foundations, 49% was contributed from new sources.

   B. Support from labor, while still small, has been increased by 22%.

   C. ~~10% of~~ Our 1957 church income ~~is from new sources~~. has increased 10%.

   D. Individual contributions to the Council have increased only approximately 10% over 1956. However, of the $4,434 contributed from individuals 70% of this amount represents new sources. Fund Drive [illegible] only

3. To continue the operation of the Council at the present level, it will be necessary, during 1958, to have a central office budget of approximately $112,000. Our estimation of expectable income during 1958 indicates that we will have to raise a minimum of $33,000 from sources now unforeseen. → This figure represents the minimum. To it must be added any aid to the state organizations after October 1, 1958.

4. On February 1, 1957, the Central Office had on hand $378.00. Thus, our fund-raising effort during the year has been under

the unfortunate pressure of the absence of reserve funds. In essence, each month's payroll had to be raised before it could be met. This has led to some unfortunate economies and to under staffing. It is essential that we not operate under such pressures during 1958 if a stable program is to be maintained. During 1957 the emphasis was of necessity all too often on fund-raising rather than program. Substantial help is needed by the staff if this situation is to be avoided during 1958.

-:-

File

M E M O R A N D U M

October 28, 1957

FUND-RAISING ASPECTS OF NEW YORK TRIP
October 20-25, 1957

:

Push

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✓ Spon

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Hopkins Charities Fund, 1920 Garden St., Santa Barbara, Calif.

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XV. The Jacob R. Schiff Fund

Soon

The three trustees of this Fund are Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, President, City College, New York 31, New York; Dr. Grayson Kirk, President, Columbia University, New York 27, New York; and, Mr. Edwin Wolf II, Curator, Pennsylvania Library, Ridgeway Library, Broad and Christian Streets, Philadelphia 47, Pennsylvania. I Talked with Dr. Gallagher, giving him a fairly full picture of SRC and its current activities and also leaving with him the voting study and South of Promise. He was noncommittal about our chances of getting aid from the Schiff Foundation, but was perfectly agreeable to the idea of our submitting an application and supplied me with the names and addresses of the other trustees. He said the application should be sent to each of them. In answer to my question, he said that there were no special policies about grants, except that they must be made within the continental United States. The Schiff Foundation is a liquidation job - that is, the trustees are spending all of the capital as quickly as they can find worthy objects to whom to give it. Gallagher said that there was very little of the money left. He, himself, is a former president of Talladega College and long identified with a liberal position on racial questions. I was left with the feeling that, if we submit a good application, he will support it.

Expand now Dec 15

XVI. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund

I spent a good deal of time with staff members of this Fund, mainly Montgomery Bradley and Harry Meserve. I also talked more briefly with the director, Dana Creel, and York Allen. They are considering a request for $8,000 from the Arkansas Council, which is supposed to have the blessing of Winthrop Rockefeller. They are concerned about their investigations in Arkansas, which seem to indicate that many people there feel that the Arkansas Council is lacking in leadership and imagination. The Arkansas request will be separately disposed of by the Fund. However, I was told

in my second interview that the staff had decided that a request from the Southern Regional Council would be considered. This should be in by about December 15th. It should probably be a request for support to one or more specific projects rather than for general support. Bradley mentioned specifically consultant work with educators and with law enforcement authorities as areas in which he felt their board might be interested, though we may request aid for something else if we wish. Meantime, we should send earlier full information about SRC, including financial data, biographical data on board, our budget and other sources of support, including Southern. This may have to be sent in two installments, since our new board won't be complete for at least several weeks. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund is at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York

XVII. The Phelps-Stokes Fund

I spent a good deal of time with Wilton Dillon discussing project items that are of mutual interest and might involve some support for SRC. Of immediate importance is the fact that the Phelps-Stokes board meets on November 20th and should have before it at that time a request of renewal of aid to Mrs. Tilly's program. This means that we should get this request in as soon as possible.

XVIII. The Christopher Reynolds Foundation

Unfortunately, I was not able to see Jack Clareman, the executive of this Foundation. We must sometime soon ascertain from him when our request for renewal of grant should be submitted and what SRC activities they would be likely to consider favorably. He wrote sometime back to say that they liked other activities of SRC better than our work with foreign visitors and would prefer that our next application be based on some other activity.

XIX New World Foundation check with Eugene re support

XX - Write Mrs. Freedman re: Sonstein Fund (daughter + architect)
Mrs Abraham L. Freedman, 1017 West Hortter St. Phila

~~END~~

Program ideas...

1. Development of a network of lawyersin South with opportunity to specialize in the legal and administrative complexities within which human relations groups must work. A possible full-time coordinator. Advisory service to religious, intergroup, and other social action organizations that do not have a legal arm -- or none that includes this kind of specialty. Sympathetic local lawyers can't give sufficient time to this gratis. Grant to ACLU, AJCongress, or other suitable organization for this purpose? Southern interagency group to advise. Cooperation with NAACP and labor lawyers.

2. Whole function of secretariat for interagency cooperative effort in South. Demands on staff time, communications, preparation and distribution of materials, travel, and meeting arrangements.

3. Separate coordination of merit employment (AFSC, Urban League, NAACP, unions). Case development for PCGC, distribution of information on PCGC and practices, applicant recruitment and training for new opportunities, compiling record on extent of equal opportunity in federal employment.

4. Concerted (interagency) mapping out of fact-finding projects, each to be directed by an appropriate agency, but with cooperative support and evaluation of findings. Action-oriented, with special reference to Civil Rights Commission ~~and~~ Justice Department, ~~and~~ mass media, and agencies. Examples: Voting follow-up, violence and intimidation, jury selection, pro-segregation groups, press handling of desegregation story, followup of integration survey, police practices in desegregation situations, advance fact-finding on communities approaching desegregation.

5. Some way to increase constructive interpretation (enlightened self-interest) to power structure figures in South and their interactors nationally.

6. Official Southern propaganda. ~~Ann~~ Preparation of analyses and distribution of counter-material. To editors. Through mass media publicity. Through organizational channels.

7. Study of newspaper handling
8. Sr. [illegible]

Schiff Fund Committee

Dr. Grayson Kirk, President, Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Mr. Edwin Wolf, 2nd, Curator, Pa. Library
Ridgway Library
Broad & Christian Sts.
Philadelphia 47, Penna.

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, President
The City College
New York 31, New York

December 7, 1957

FAVORABLE ACTION:

Chace Fund

Phelps-Stokes

Benjamin Rosenthal

FORMAL PRESENTATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION:

Danforth

Ford

Harkness

Lilly

New World

Prynce Hopkins

Reader's Digest

Richardson

Schiff

CORPORATION POSSIBILITIES:

Berkshire Knitting Mills

California Texas Oil

Charles Engelhard Industries

Norton-Behr-Manning

FOUNDATION SOUNDINGS: (Mailed in October)

William Benton

Farfield

General Services Foundation

Gullabi Gulbenkian

Adel R. Levy

Littauer

Old Dominion

Lessing Rosenwald

RECENT SOUNDINGS: (Mailed November 5th)

Altman

Fischback

J. M. Kaplan

Leon Levy

Pfizer

(Mailed November 16th)

Harold A. Hatch (Deering Milliken & Co.)

Nathan Hofheimer

Richard King Mellon

Dunlevy Milbank

Swope Gift Corp.

(Mailed December 1st)

Max and Leola S. Epstein

John A. Hartford

Payne Fund

Howard Phipps

Lawrence Phipps (Continued on page 3)

RECENT SOUNDINGS: (Continued):

Dorothy H. and Lewis Rosenstiel

Rubicon

Lea Rubin

Samuel Rubin

Salomon

Van Hummel - Howard

Bernard Van Leer

Victor

Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney

John Hay Whitney

CORPORATION SOUNDINGS: (Mailed November 8th or before)

Bethlehem Steel

Bristol-Myers

Coca-Cola International

Farrell Lines

Firestone Tire and Rubber

General Motors,

Ingersoll-Rand

Insurance Company of North America

International General Electric

International Harvester

Kennecott Copper (interviewed Milliken; support doubtful)

Masonite

Pepsi-Cola

Westinghouse Electric International

(Mailed November 16th)

Armstrong Cork

(Continued on page 4)

CORPORATION SOUNDINGS: (Continued):

Dixie Cup

Merck & Co.

(Mailed December 1st)

American Motors

Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton Corp.

Chrysler Corp.

Irving Trust

Lykes Line Steamship

RCA International Division

Standard Brands

Sterling Drug Co.

J. Walter Thompson

Twentieth Century - Fox

Union Carbide International

Warner Bros. Pictures

FORMAL PRESENTATIONS REJECTED:

Rockefeller Brothers

FOUNDATION SOUNDINGS REJECTED:

Marion Ascoli

Astor

Buhl

Catherwood

Columbia

Division

Cleveland H. Dodge

Donner

(Continued on page 5)

FOUNDATION SOUNDINGS REJECTED:

Doris Duke

Falk

Fleischmann

Freuauff

Grant

Greenfield

Hobby

H. L. Hunt

Ittleson Family Foundation

Robert Wood Johnson

Kansas City Association of Trusts and Foundations

W. K. Kellogg

Kresge

Lavanburg

McGregor

A. W. Mellon

Moody

New York

Olin

Pew Memorial

Philadelphia

Pitcairn-Crabbe

San Francisco

Schwarzhaupt

Felix M. and Frieda Schiff Warburg

Edgar Stern Family Foundation

William C. Whitney

(Continued on page 6)

CORPORATION SOUNDINGS REJECTED:

American Express

Colgate-Palmolive International

Douglas Aircraft

Eastman Kodak

Johnson and Johnson

Kellogg Co.

Newonont Mining

Parker Pen

Pittsburgh Plate Glass

Singer Mfg. Co.

Standard Vacuum

Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada

Sun Oil

U. S. Steel Export Co.

Allied Chemical Internat'l Corp.
61 Broadway
New York 6, N. Y.
ATTN: James Sheridan, Pres.

Allis-Chalmers International
50 Church Street
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Paul Dietz

American Brake Shoe Co.
530 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, N. Y.
ATTN: H. Parsons
Dir. of Exports

American Export Lines
37-39 Broadway
New York 6, N. Y.
ATTN: J. Quattrone,
Asst. to Vice President
Freight Traffic

American Foreign Insurance Association
161 William Street
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: James O. Nichols

American Machine & Foundry Co.
261 Madison Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.
ATTN: General W. E. Chickering,
Vice President,
Export Sales Division.

American Optical Company
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, N. Y.
ATTN: Robert J. Dairs,
Vice President,
International Operations

American Steel Export Co. Inc.
347 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.
ATTN: M. O'Grady, Pres.

Anaconda Wire and Cable Co.
25 Broadway
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: H. Donn Keresey

The Armco International Corp.
Chrysler Building
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: E. A. Emerson

Armour & Company
120 Broadway
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: John J. O'Connor

Bank of America N. T. & S. A.
40 Wall Street
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Russell G. Smith

Bankers Trust Company
16 Wall Street
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Frank P. Shepard

Bell & Howell Company
7100 McCormick Road
Chicago 45, Illinois
ATTN: E. L. Schimmel, Vice President

Burroughs Corporation
219 Fourth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.
ATTN: Harold Walters,
Export Director

Campbell Soup Company
100 Market Street
Camden, N. J.
ATTN: J. Paul Stecht, Vice President
International Operations

Carrier Corporation
International Division
385 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.
ATTN: John M. Rachal, General Manager

Caterpillar Americas Company
630 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: J. Q. McDonald

Chemical Corn Exchange Bank
165 Broadway
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Clinton C. Johnson

Columbia Pictures Corporation
Columbia Pictures Building
711 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.
ATTN: Louis J. Barbano,
Vice President

Dayton, Price & Company, Ltd.
1 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.
ATTN: H. H. Herts, President

Decca Records, Inc.
50 West 57th Street
New York 19, N. Y.
ATTN: Hubert J. Stone
Assistant General Manager

E. I. duPont de Nemours Co. Inc.
Wilmington, Delaware
ATTN: John K. Jenney

Fairbanks, Morse & Company, Inc.
Export Division
Fair Lawn, New Jersey
ATTN: C. W. Linscheid, Manager

The First National Bank of Boston
Boston, Mass.
ATTN: W. Latimer Gray

The First National City Bank of N.Y.
55 Wall Street
New York 15, N. Y.
ATTN: Walter Wreston, Vice-President

General Tire & Rubber Export Company
Akron 9, Ohio
ATTN: J. Andreoli,
Executive Vice President

Goodyear International Corporation
120 Broadway
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Frank T. Magennis

Guaranty Trust Company of New York
140 Broadway
New York 15, N. Y.
1. ATTN: Kent C. Colwell,
Vice President
~~2. ATTN: William R. Strelow~~

IBM World Trade Corporation
590 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: John E. Brent

Internat'l B. F. Goodrich Company
230 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Willard C. Gulick

Internat'l Telephone & Telegraph Co.
67 Broad Street
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Sydney W. Morrell

Intertype Corporation
1230 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Willis H. Booth

Johns-Manville Internat'l Corp.
22 East 40th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
ATTN: Dudley T. Colton
Vice-President

Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.
405 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.
ATTN: Park B. Turner, Manager
Export Sales

McGraw-Hill Internat'l Corp.
330 West 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Eugene P. Warner

McNeil Laboratories, Inc.
2900 No. 17th Street
Philadelphia 32, Pa.
ATTN: Clark H. Johnson,
Director of Distribution

Mine Safety Appliances Co.
201 No. Braddock Avenue
Pittsburgh 8, Penna.
ATTN: H. E. Redenbaugh, Manager
International Division

Monsanto Chemical Company
445 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Marshall E. Young

Otis Elevator Company
260 Eleventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: W. J. W. Reid

Paramount Internat'l Films, Inc.
1501 Broadway
New York 36, N. Y.
ATTN: George G. Hoff, Counsel

Philco International Corp.
C & Tioga Streets
Philadelphia 34, Penna.
ATTN: Frederick J. Willard,
Vice President

Pillsbury Mills, Inc.
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: A. B. Sparboe

The Procter & Gamble Company
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Walter L. Lingle, Jr.

Remington Arms Co. Inc.
Bridgeport 2, Conn.
ATTN: W. R. Scott, Manager
Foreign Sales Division

Robin Line
39 Courtlandt Street
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: C. McGuire

Scripto, Inc.
P. O. Box #4847
Atlanta 2, Ga.
ATTN: W. H. Berg, Vice President
International Sales

Smith, Kirkpatrick & Co. Inc.
46 Beaver Street
New York 4, N. Y.
ATTN: H. M. Sweeney,
Vice President, Sales

Socony Mobil Oil Company, Inc.
150 E. 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Paul V. Keyser, Jr.

Sperry Gyroscope Company
Div. of Sperry Rand Corp.
Great Neck, N. Y.
ATTN: Richard J. Ash,
Co-ordination of Export Sales

States Marine Corporation
90 Broad Street
New York 4, N. Y.
ATTN: C. S. Walsh

The W. S. Tyler Company
3615 Superior Avenue, N.E.
Cleveland, Ohio
ATTN: A. E. Reed, Vice President

United Aircraft Export Corp.
135 E. 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: J. M. Barr

Wayne Pump Company
122 E. 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: George Guthrie

Wm. Wrigley, Jr., Co.
410 N. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Ill.
ATTN: B. E. Wrigley, Jr.
Vice President

Young & Rubicam, Inc.
285 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.
ATTN: Sigurd S. Larmon,
Chairman of the Board

Zenith Radio Corporation
6001 W. Dickens Avenue
Chicago 39, Ill.
ATTN: John A. Miguel, Jr.
Vice President in charge
of Exports

MEMORANDUM April 18, 1961

To: LWD

From: HCF

Re: FUND-RAISING

FOUNDATIONS

Marion R. Ascoli Fund. -- Mrs. Ascoli is one of the Rosenwald daughters and the wife of Max Ascoli, publisher of the Reporter. Since the Rosenwald Fund was the first and for several years the principal benefactor of SRC, one basis for Mrs. Ascoli's interest is clear. Her assistance to the Council, however, was sporadic and token until I got to know her in 1957. My entree was through two friends -- Doug Cater and, separately, Ken Clark. (I think she and Ken have since fallen out over some factional dispute concerning child welfare in New York City.) Marion Ascoli is a very liberal and intelligent woman, sophisticated in the ways of philanthrophy. She likes straight-forward presentation and business-like accounting of expenditures and needs. Although her pledge of $1,000-a-year through 1965 is a modest one, keep in kind that she and her late sister gave major and unusual support to SRC for several years through the New York Fund for Children. If the need arose, and if she were properly approached, Marion Ascoli would probably do more, either through her personal foundation or through one of the other philanthrophies in which she is a principal. In any case, she should be kept informed, written to personally once and awhile, and perhaps visited every year or so.

The Field Foundation. -- There are several keys to this Foundation, of course. Morris Abram is on the board, as is Lloyd Garrison. Justine Wise Polier and Mrs. Field herself are the other two most influential board members. Adlai Stevenson is now virtually inactive, and may disappear from the scene entirely. The Field Foundation is undergoing re-organization, under which the Chicago and New York wings will be severed. This is suppose to mean a more dynamic and more liberal performance on the part of the New York Foundation, which is the one with which SRC is concerned. Although Maxwell Hahn, the Executive Vice President, is often described as a peculiar fellow, he is sympathetic to SRC, and a good relationship with him should be maintained. All formal approaches to the Foundation should be through Max. He has a very lively distaste for what he calls "end runs" -- that is, efforts to push a grant through by way of a board member. So, while Morris Abram can and should be briefed on requests, this should be

done privately and confidentially, and all things proper should be done through Max. I hope that by the time this is typed we will have had word that the $25,000 grant for state councils has been renewed for two years. That will mean that both $25,000 grants will be up for renewal in two years. There is every reason to work for and hope for continued support on this scale. Incidentally, Max is one of the persons who often turn to me for advice or information on other grant requests. It would be good if you developed the same relationship with him.

Hopkins Charities Fund. -- We first learned of this one through Frank Loescher, who has received a small grant or two from it for his South Africa Exchange Program. The more important factor in our original grant, however, was a recommendation that Harry Ashmore gave in response to an inquiry from one of the Hopkins' board members. In any case, since that time we have used no intermediaries, but have dealt directly by correspondence with Prynce Hopkins himself. While I have never met him, he seems to be a queer duck, and it is well ~~&&&&~~ nigh impossible to predict the reaction to any given grant request. You can get the flavor of our dealings through the correspondence files. The only thing to do with this one is to keep putting in requests every year and not to write the Fund off if you get a turn-down.

The Adele R. Levy Fund. -- This is Marion Ascoli's sister, another daughter of Julius Rosenwald. Shortly after she made her pledge of $1,000-a-year for five years, beginning in 1960, she died. What will happen to her personal foundation at the end of this period, I have no idea. But, meanwhile, the pledge will be honored.

New World Foundation. -- I need say little about this one, exeept to make sure you know who some of the principals are other than Vernon Eagle. Nancy Harrison (wife of Gill Harrison, publisher of the New Republic) is the heiress and thus the major figure in the Foundation. She is a very unpretentious and liberal gal. Katharine Taylor, now a board member, was a consultant at the time we were first considered

for a major grant. She visited the Council and several of us developed a warm friendship with her. If occasion arises Paul Anthony can brief you. The main thing, however, is to keep in close and friendly touch with Vernon. With Vernon, personal friendship and confidence are everything. He likes to be kept informed, to visit the South once a year, in short to be considered part of the family. Our grant -- normally $20,000 this year $25,000, plus the contingency fund -- is a remarkably large proportion of the total granted each year by New World. In fact, scrutiny of the Foundation's annual reports may well bear out that we are its largest single grantee.

New York Foundation. -- The two key men here are John Heyman, secretary for the Foundation, whose family established it, and Saul Markoff, the executive director, who is a close friend of Kenneth Clark's. We owe a great deal to Ken's support in this quarter, so for this reason as well as others I hope you will soon have opportunities to get to know him well. The New York Foundation has a lot of money, most of which it gives away in the City. We have continued to hope that the $5,000 might be increased, and this may still be a possibility if all goes well.

Aaron E. Norman Fund. -- This is a fairly closely held family foundation. Two of the principals -- grand-daughters of Aaron -- live here in Atlanta. They are Phoebe (Mrs. DeJongh) Franklin, and Lucinda (Mrs. Dr. Robert) Bunnen. I originally had two entrees here, Dejongh Franklin, whom I have known since grammar school days and who is a well-to-do lawyer, active in the local chapter of AJC; and Dave Freeman, who consulted with the Foundation for a while and plugged for us with Frank Weil, another family member who serves as secretary of the Foundation. This one is also unpredictable, though Weil is a very cordial correspondent. I have customarily kept Franklin fully informed of our intentions and requests. When and if you get a chance -- perhaps with the advice and help of Charles Wittenstein -- you might arrange to meet DeJongh. Note that we are invited to submit financial data in October or November in support of our request for an increased grant this year.

The Ottinger Foundation. -- We got on to this one exclusively through Dave Freeman. I don't really know who Richard Ottinger is, though he is apparently a contemporary and is doing something or other in Washington now. He was very much interested,

through Dave, in our study of the Federal Executive and Civil Rights. Our 1961 grant was slightly increased in consideration of this. The only thing to do here is to enlist Dave Freeman's continuing help and support. As you will see from the file, our requests are made through Dave.

MEMORANDUM May 1, 1961

To: L. W. D.

From: H. C. F.

Re: Fund-Raising Memo - Part II

:

Phelps-Stokes Fund. -- This one is probably at an end, unless Mrs. Tilly can once again touch Fred Patterson's conscience. The Fund went out of the grant-making business over a year ago, and the 1961 grant came through only because of a special appeal which Mrs. Tilly made to Dr. Patterson.

Christopher Reynolds Foundation. -- This one gave the Council $5,000-a-year over a period of several years, beginning in George Mitchell's time. The 1960 request was turned down, but at the end of the year the Foundation sent $400 as an unsolicited year-end distribution. It was through Frank Loescher's intervention that the Reynolds grants first began. But it is well to remember that our Board member Irving Carlyle, of Winston-Salem, has connections with the Foundation through the family business interests and that he is an old personal friend of one of the Board members, Mr. Bennett Polikoff, who is a law partner of the Foundation's secretary, Mr. Jack Clareman. You should read the exchange of letters between Carlyle and Polikoff, At the time the Council's request was turned down in 1960. There is a good chance that this grant can be re-activated after a reasonable "fallow," period.

The Rockefeller Foundation. -- You know all about this one. It is well to keep in mind that it started by Josephine Wilkins' approach to Dean Rusk, whom she knew when he was a very young and humble man starting out in Atlanta. I later had an interview with Rusk and, at his request, with Miss Flora Rhind, the secretary to the Foundation. As far as I know at this point, the two people in the Foundation to whom we owe special thanks are Miss Rhind and Leland DeVinney. I suggest that we keep Josephine Wilkins fully posted on everything pertaining to Rockefeller, since she has a deep and abiding interest here. Also, of course, Dave Freeman may again be in a position to be helpful.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund. -- As you know, Dave Freeman is our contact man here, and is unquestionably our most important ally. The top man is Dana Creel, originally from Atlanta and a graduate of Emory, and I should hope that you will have an opportunity to meet him. It may be worth recalling that the RBF grant was approved before Dave Freeman joined

the Foundation. It resulted from a series of intensive talks with other staff members there and a lengthy request for the Leadership Project which we submitted. We are indebted for this early support and championship by another staff member of the Foundation, Montgomery Bradley, who was at one time on the staff of the Fund for the Republic. Monty has turned over all staff handling of this to Dave Freeman, but he has a continuing interest, I think, in SRC and you may have occasion to meet him. He and Dave are close co-workers. The chances of a renewal of RBF support, on some terms or other, should be excellent. When the time comes, you can lean hard on Dave Freeman.

The Taconic Foundation. -- The $25,000 grant for general support runs through 1962, but the grant of like amount for aid to state councils expires at the end of 1961. A request for a renewal of this, possibly on a two or three year basis, should be submitted next fall. Let's talk further about this before that time.

John Hay Whitney Foundation. -- All of the personal negotiation with this Foundation has been done by Mrs. Tilly. It began through her personal approach to Mr. & Mrs. Whitney. My only role has been to write a formal letter of request and a letter of thanks every year. Possibly some direct cultivation by you would be helpful. You may want to discuss this with Mrs. Tilly.

William C. Whitney Foundation. -- Our principal friend in this one has been Michael Straight. The Foundation was set up with money from his mother's side of the family. The members are few, consisting of Mike, his sisters, a lawyer friend named Milton Rose, who serves as secretary, and Roger Baldwin. Baldwin is a frugal soul and doesn't like continuing grants. He probably is responsible for the terminal nature of the 1961 grant.

fund raising

Harold L. Oram
8 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Tel: LA 4-6700

Paul Zillman
(Negro College Fund)

October 23, 1961

Memo to: Leslie W. Dunbar From: Paul Anthony

Re: SRC Finances and Fund Raising

The Council's financial needs - general operations - will be about 15% greater in 1962 than in 1961. (From approximately $155,000 in 1961 to $175,000 in 1962.) This trend, and roughly the same percentage of growth, have occurred since about 1955.

The growth is modest and, at least in part, reflects the organization's increasing ability to effeciently use additional funds. It is of some significance that the Council has maintained a continuing controlled growth rather than trying for dramatic increases that an agency in our position might have been tempted to do during the past few years.

At this point there seems to be several relatively obvious but significant points that we should keep in mind; these might determine internal control of spending as well as fund raising policy.

(1) The amount of funds involved is becoming sufficiently large that we need stronger internal control in spending, and rate of spending within the staff. This I mention while knowing that it is something you have wanted since becoming director. To achieve it we must have tighter supervision-by departments-in funds spent with a heavier responsibility assumed by each department. More than in the past, activities - travel, printing, use of consultants, etc. - must be measured not only in terms of value, but relative value within the contex of total annual funds available.

The other requirement is that we have tighter and more immediate cost accounting procedures. The secretary-treasurer will probably need some help if this is to be done adequately. Her responsibilities have increased roughly at the rate of our expenditures, and her's is the only department that has not received additional help.

(2) In 1962 we need to raise from new sources at least $20,000 to $35,000. This, even in light of having added, and hoping to keep the support of the Rockefeller Foundation. Had we kept all of our former support there would be little, if any, new funds to be raised. But, we continue to lose many of our foundations and sources of small, through recurring support.

This too is in keeping with the inevitable philanthropic process that sooner or later long-time supporters lose interest. Several years ago SRC had five or six foundations giving from $2000 to $5000 annually. Next year we have the prospect of renewing only one or two of those. In addition, Mrs. Tilly's program this year loses the support of both the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the J~~ulian~~ Hay Whitney Foundation (adding $4000 to $5000 to our expenses). Support from labor is rapidly diminishing. The UAW in the past three years has not even acknowledged our requests. Since the early 50's the Steelworkers have promptly given us $1000 a year. This year we received $500 only after late prodding from Paul Christopher.

Therefore, in addition to looking to major foundations we should give special attention to finding new sources of support within this category. Much of this may have to be done through the project method since SRC's reputation for solid-major support is running ahead of the fact.

(3) While our base of support is as large, if not larger, than in the past we have a potentially dangerous reliance on three foundations - Taconic, Field, and New World. And, this reliance is growing as we look at these sympathetic sources for increasing assistance. Yet, within each of these there are small but clear indications that eventually the philanthropic pattern of disinterest may assert itself. We should consider very carefully before going to these foundations for additional support unless absolutely necessary.

Since it is a long process, we need, therefore, to begin serious cultivation of new sources that can be brought into the picture when necessary. (As a beginning of this we should try to establish some stronger indications of the possibilities of the Stern Family Fund, the San Francisco Foundations, and any of the foundations that Josephine Wilkins feels, or finds, are serious possibilities.)

(4) We need to give much more creative (if you'll pardon the expression!) thinking to the policies of aid to state councils. Contrary to popular belief, this is not an appeal on my part for cutting off this aid. Rather, it is to urge that we stop the practice of creating a policy by default in which we continue to give, and try to increase this support, with little as an objective other than the giving.

The state councils were created with the idea that they would - by 1957 - flourish and SRC would cease to exist. This thinking was so wrong, the program so poorly administered, and the phenominal amounts of money so wasted, that it probably represents the sorriest chapter of SRC history.

Partly because of this - to keep from having to bury the corpse at public funeral - the grants-in-aid program was

inaugurated; the Councils could not yet exist without outside support. Four years, and more than a quarter of a millions dollars later, no state council can yet exist without SRC assistance.

In 1962 we seem destined to give the worst of the councils as much support as ever, and the best of them as much support as can be mustered.

The state councils are a good and needed effort. I heartily support the idea. The effort should be extended to those Deep South states where no councils now exist. (Please note that I say these things.)

But, to give without more creative effort at establishing these groups as independent, self-supporting councils is a dis-service to them, and a trap for SRC. Specifically, what virtue is there in continuing to sustain a weak, poorly led, group (Florida) which in 1962 is no closes to creative program or financial independence than when it was first assisted in 1954?

The ugly and unfortunate truth is that SRC is not a foundation. No program of assistance - and the ensuing obligation of raising twenty per cent of the total funds spent by the council - should be undertaken without a self liquidation of objective firmly in mind.

My views on this subject might not be so strong but that I firmly believe these worthwhile groups can - in time, and properly directed - pay their own way. Critics to this opinion might consider that less than 1/10 th of 1% of more than a million dollars spent in this program has been spent in efforts toward this end.

(5) Finally, the Reserve Fund. Our reserve fund is now $60,000 plus any interest earned during the second half of 1961. We should budget a small amount to this fund each year, and place any earnings from it back into it. SRC finances are sufficiently precarious that deliberate efforts should be made to increase this reserve at every opportunity.

Our Finance Committee probably made a sound organizational decision - and/or unwise financial decision - in placing the management of this fund with the Trust Company of Georgia. After the results are known of the earnings under this management during 1961, this decision should be reviewed.

May 9, 1962

Mrs. Eugene E. Meyer
Seven Springs Farm
Mount Kisco, New York

Dear Mrs. Meyer:

In October 1960 you made a very generous contribution to the Southern Regional Council. We are hopeful that you may be able to renew it this year.

You may have read in the press that the Council is filling a central administrative role in a voter registration drive in the South which, over the next two years, will combine the energies and resources of the principal civil rights organizations. Although this Project itself is substantially financed, it will add heavily to the costs of our central operations, because Project funds are allocated tightly to voting programs. The solicitation of our friends, which we were able to avoid last year, we must undertake again.

I hope, however, that you have been able to draw some satisfaction from your support of the Council. The work we do is exciting and gratifying, and we wish for our contributors a share of these rewards.

I am enclosing a copy of my Annual Report for 1961, together with a recent study of executive action.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

Same letter to: Sen. Herbert H. Lehman
Mrs. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, N.Y., N.Y.
Mr. William M. Roth, San Francisco
~~Mr. Levi Strauss, San Francisco~~
Mr. Walter A. Haas, Jr., Pres.,
Levi Strauss & Co., San Fran., Cal.

May 10, 1962

Mr. Walter A. Haas, Jr.
President
Levi Strauss and Company
98 Battery Street
San Francisco 6, California

Dear Mr. Haas:

In December 1960 the Levi Strauss Foundation made a contribution of $1,000 to the Southern Regional Council. We are hopeful that you may be able to renew it this year.

You may have read in the press that the Council is filling a central administrative role in a voter registration drive in the South which, over the next two years, will combine the energies and resources of the principal civil rights organizations. Although this Project itself is substantially financed, it will add heavily to the costs of our central operations, because Project funds are allocated tightly to voting programs. The solicitation of our friends, which we were able to avoid last year, we must undertake again.

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With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.
Same ltr. to Mr. Wm. M. Roth, San Francisco

Feb - SPC - Fund Raising

from J. P. Assing
Pensacola, Fla.

A DIRECTORY OF MEMBERS

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FUND-RAISING COUNSEL, INC.
500 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 36, N. Y. — TELEPHONE • LACKAWANNA 4-5468

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Fund-raising, 1962

REGARDING

Letters of appeal to Labor Organizations

DATE(S)
July 2 - 5, 1962

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Folder marked: "Labor - Fund-raising, 1962"

file
See - Fund-raising

August 3, 1962

Mr. Peter E. Haas
Executive Vice President
Levi Strauss and Company
98 Battery Street
San Francisco 6, California

Dear Mr. Haas:

On behalf of the Council I wish to thank you for your generous contribution in the amount of $250. It means a great deal to us to have this renewal of your confidence and support.

Please let me know if we can ever be of service to you.

We are returning the signed receipt, as requested, to the San Francisco Foundation.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LEVI STRAUSS AND COMPANY

98 BATTERY STREET, SAN FRANCISCO 6

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

August 2, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Replying to your letter of May 10, we are happy to enclose a contribution of $250 in support of your fine work.

CR 250.00
8/3/62
RHA

Sincerely,

Peter E. Haas

Peter E. Haas
Executive Vice President

SINCE 1850

THE SAN FRANCISCO FOUNDATION

A Charitable Community Trust

351 California Street, San Francisco 4

This gift to the payee named below is made at the suggestion of

LEVI STRAUSS AND COMPANY

who donated the funds from which this contribution is drawn.

Payee:
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
c/o Mr. Peter E. Haas
98 Battery Street
San Francisco 6, California

Date: August 1, 1962

Amount: $250.00

John R. May
Executive Director

(Please sign and return the enclosed copy as a receipt)

file - fund raising

Philanthropy Tax Institute

Make file: Fund-raising

Tax Encouragement to Charitable Giving

3-DAY FORUM

Modern Tax Techniques in Fund-Raising

October 23-25, 1967 • New York City

December 4-6, 1967 • San Francisco

Modern Tax Techniques in Fund-Raising

Equip yourself to obtain more and larger gifts for your institution by learning to present the income, estate and gift tax saving inducements the Federal Government offers to donors who invest in educational, religious, health and philanthropic organizations.

Philanthropy Tax Institute—conducted by Sydney Prerau and Conrad Teitell—meets a real need of development officers and fund-raisers. A practical working knowledge of the Federal tax laws' encouragement to charitable donors is fundamental for all who seek additional resources for their institutions. Of extreme current interest is the increasing use of deferred giving programs in obtaining "the big gift"—and also broad-based support.

You learn step-by-step about both the usual and unusual tax-encouraged ways of giving and the most modern techniques of implementing them. You become aware of and learn to avoid the pitfalls which can result in denial of the charitable deduction and in other adverse tax consequences.

The lectures are presented in a simple and completely comprehensible manner so that even a novice acquires substantial orientation. The in-depth treatment of the subject also meets the needs of those who already know the fundamentals but wish to up-date and expand their knowledge and skills. You can immediately incorporate the functional techniques you learn into your development program—thereby increasing the resources vital to your institution.

The results obtainable from attendance at Philanthropy Tax Institute have been enthusiastically attested to by those attending prior Institutes. A partial list of institutions sending one or more representatives to previous sessions appears in this brochure.

PROGRAM FACULTY

SYDNEY PRERAU

Member of New York Bar; consultant, Committee on Taxation and Philanthropy, American College Public Relations Association; consultant, Tax Committee, Commission on Stewardship, National Council of Churches of Christ; member, Committee on Catholic Charitable Giving; member, Tax Policy Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly; editor, TAXWISE GIVING; lecturer on tax-encouraged giving.

CONRAD TEITELL

Member of New York Bar; editor, TAXWISE GIVING—a monthly guide to tax aspects of interest to development officers, stewardship leaders and fundraisers; Director, PHILANTHROPY TAX INSTITUTE; lecturer before fundraisers, bar and other professional groups on the tax aspects of philanthropic giving; author on tax-encouraged giving and estate planning; arbitrator, American Arbitration Association.

FEE: $250 includes lectures and 208 page Tax Manual containing comprehensive course outline, tax forms, tables, charts, citations of authority. Included are forms for the various life income plans and computing their tax consequences, for reporting income to donors, aiding donors in claiming contribution deductions and reporting income. *Course outline is designed to minimize note taking so that you concentrate fully on the lectures.* Tax Manual serves as a desk book for your day-to-day guidance. Fee also includes group luncheons on 2nd and 3rd days.

ENROLL NOW. Since enrollment must necessarily be limited, may we suggest you act promptly by returning the enrollment form with a $25 deposit. We will bill you for the balance.

NEW YORK CITY SESSIONS

The Summit Hotel, Lexington Avenue at 51st Street, New York City, October 23, 1967, 2:00 p.m.-6:00 p.m.; October 24, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.; October 25, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO SESSIONS

St. Francis Hotel, Union Square, San Francisco, December 4, 1967, 2:00 p.m.-6:00 p.m.; December 5, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.; December 6, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

SAME PROGRAM IN EACH CITY

PHILANTHROPY TAX INSTITUTE
122 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017 Tel.: (212) 867-4916

PROGRAM H

TAX BASICS—INCOME, ESTATE AND GIFT

A working knowledge of all you need to know to "talk taxes" with potential donors. These complicated laws are translated into simple English.

OUTRIGHT LIFETIME GIFTS

Complete discussion of income, estate and gift tax savings on gifts by individuals, partnerships and corporations; how tax savings enable donor to make a bigger gift; taking maximum advantage of the five-year carryover and ceiling limitations; when contributions are deductible; how property contributions are valued; avoiding ordinary and capital gains taxes; gifts of securities, inventory, depreciable property, preferred stock, works of art, life insurance, crops, oil and gas interests, real estate, copyrights, close corporation stock, bargain sales; Treasury reporting requirements.

LIFE INCOME CONTRACTS

The charitable contribution deduction; techniques of presentation to potential donors; advantages to your institution and donor; income, estate and gift tax consequences; avoiding ordinary and capital gains tax on gifts of appreciated property; endowment and unit plan life income contracts; avoidance of gift tax on two-life contracts; obtaining gifts by increasing donor's percentage return on present investments; comparison with other life income plans; pitfalls and how to avoid them.

TRUSTS FOR THE BENEFIT OF CHARITY

Trust terminology made simple; why a trust; lifetime, testamentary charitable remainder and short-term trusts; income, estate and gift tax savings to donors; benefits to your institution and donor; avoidance of gift tax on two-life trusts; increasing donor's spendable income; comparison with other life income plans; pitfalls to avoid in trust instruments; obtaining "the big gift" with a trust.

HIGHLIGHTS

CHARITABLE GIFT ANNUITIES

Income, estate and gift tax advantages to donor; techniques of explaining the capital gains tax on the transfer of appreciated property; maintaining donor good will and generating future gifts by furnishing donor with proper information for tax returns; avoidance of gift tax on two-life annuities; avoiding pitfalls; comparison with other plans; "on the spot" estimating of tax consequences (contribution deduction, amount taxable, capital gains implications) using aids furnished at lectures.

WORKSHOP ON LIFE INCOME PLANS

Step-by-step computation of charitable contribution deduction and other tax consequences for each life income plan using government tables and Philanthropy Tax Institute forms and aids; reporting to donor and his reporting on tax returns; tested techniques of presenting plans to prospective donors showing tax savings and increase of spendable income; acquiring information needed to present tax incentives; how to help donor choose taxwisely among the life income plans; tax implications of donor's contribution of his interest under life income plan.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Thorough discussion of recent court cases, revenue rulings, legislation, proposed legislation, anticipated restrictive legislation, regulations, and proposed regulations. You become current on all developments affecting the contribution deduction.

QUESTIONS ARE ANSWERED FULLY DURING THE LECTURES AND AFTER EACH SESSION

Opportunity is furnished to have your particular problems discussed, get technical information, suggestions, etc., together with the benefit of the practical experience of all participants.

PARTICIPANTS AT PRIOR SESSIONS

University of Akron
Alliance College
Alma College
American Baptist Assembly
American Baptist Board of Education & Publication
American Baptist Home Mission Societies
American Cancer Society
American Friends Service Committee
American Humanics Foundation
American Medical Association
American Red Cross
Amherst College
Antioch College
Ashland College
Athens College
Atlantic Union Conference—Seventh-day Adventists
Augsburg College
Augustana College
Aurora College
The Baby Fold
Back to the Bible Broadcast
Baldwin-Wallace College
Baptist Foundation of Alabama
Baptist Foundation of Texas
Baptist Homes and Hospitals, Inc.
Barrington College
Beaver College
Beloit College
Berry College & Berry Academy
Bethel College
Bethesda Lutheran Home
Bible Meditation League
Blackstone College
The Blake School
Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church
Boston University
Bowen & Gurin, Inc.
Boy Scouts of America
Brooklyn Museum
Brown University
Bresica College
Bryn Mawr College
Buena Vista College
University of Buffalo
Butler University Foundation
California Institute of Technology
Capital Universiy
Care, Inc.
Carleton College
Carnegie Institute of Technology
Carnegie Institution of Washington
Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, Inc.
Central Y.M.C.A. Community College
Chicago College of Osteopathy
University of Chicago
Choate School
Christian College of Georgia, Inc.
Cincinnati Province of Franciscan Fathers
University of Cincinnati
Clark University
Clarkson Memorial College of Technology
The Claretian Fathers
College of the Holy Cross
College of St. Francis
College of St. Teresa
Columbia Union Conf. Assoc. of Seventh-day Adventists
Columbia University
Columbia University School of Law
Columbia University College of Physicians
Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of The United Presbyterian Church
Connecticut College
Cooper Union
Council on World Service & Finance
The Cumerford Corporation
Dartmouth College
Decatur & Macon County Hospital
Deerfield Academy
Development Direction, Inc.
Dickinson College
Dominion College
Drew University
Drexel Institute of Technology
Duquesne University
Earlham College
Eastern Nazarene College
Edmundite Missions
Elmhurst College
Emerson College
Fairleigh Dickinson University
Fairview General Hospital
Faith Theological Seminary
Findlay College
First Community Church
Florida Baptist Institute
Florida Southern College
Foundation for Human Ecology
Franklin & Marshall College
Friends of Psychiatric Research
Friendship Haven, Inc.
Furnam Universtiy
G. A. Brakeley & Co., Inc.
Gannon College
Garland Junior College
George Peabody College for Teachers
Georgia Institute of Technology
Good Samaritan Hospital
Goodwill Industries of America, Inc.
Greater New York Conf. of Seventh-day Adventists
John Grenzeback & Assoc., Inc
Hampden-Sydney College
Hartford Seminary Foundation
Harvard University
Highland Park Methodist Church
Hiram College
Holy Cross College
Howard University
Illinois Disciples of Christ
Illinois Institute of Technology
Illinois Wesleyan University
Indiana Central College
Indiana University Foundation
Jacksonville College
John Carroll University
Johns Hopkins Fund
John Price Jones Co.
Kansas University Endowment Association
Kemper Military School and College
Kendall College
University of Kentucky
Ketchum, Inc.
Lake Erie College
Lake Forest College
Lancaster Theological Seminary
Lesley College
Le Tourneau College
Lexington Theological Seminary

S OF PHILANTHROPY TAX INSTITUTE

Lincoln College
Loma Linda University
Louisiana Baptist Foundation
Loyola Academy
The Lutheran Bible Institute
Lutheran Church in America Foundation
Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary
Macalester College
Mackinac College
MacMurrayville College
Manhattan College
Marest College
Maria Regina College
Marts & Lundy, Inc.
Mary Baldwin College
Marycrest College
Maryknoll Fathers
Maryland University
Maryville College
McKendree College
McPherson College
Messiah College
The Methodist Church—General Board of Lay Activities
Methodist Hospital
Methodist Old Peoples Home, Inc.
Miami University
Mills College of Education
Missouri Baptist Foundation
Moody Bible Institute
Morton F. Plant Hospital
Mount Mercy College
Mount St. Scholastica College
Nasson College
National Benevolent Assoc.
National Council of Churches
National Fund-Raising Services, Inc.
National Recreation & Park Association
National Society for Crippled Children & Adults
National Society for the Prevention of Blindness
National Travelers Aid Assoc.
University of Nazareth
New College
New Haven College
New Mexico Baptist Foundation, Inc.
New York Theological Seminary
New York University
New York University Medical Center
Northern Conference of Seventh-day Adventists
North Park College and Theological Seminary
Northwest Christian College
Northwestern College
Northwestern University
Universtiy of Notre Dame
Oberlin College
Orange Memorial Hospital
College of Osteopathic Medicine & Surgery
Overlook Hospital
Pacific Northwest Conference Seventh-day Adventists
University of Pennsylvania
Pennsylvania Junior Republic
Petersburg General Hospital
Phelps Memorial Hospital
Philadelphia College of Art
Richard Pontz—Fundraising Consultant
Presbyterian Foreign Missions
The Presbyterian Foundation, Inc. (U.S.)
Princeton University
Psychology for Living
Queens College—N.Y.C.
Randolph-Macon Women's College
Reformed Church in America
Reinhardt College
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints
Research Hospital and Medical Center
Ripon College
University of Rochester
Rockford College
Rollins College
Rosary College
Samaritan Foundation, Inc.
Sarah Lawrence College
Siena College
Simpson Bible College
Sisters of Mercy
Smith College
Society for the Divine Savior
Society for the Propagation of The Faith
Southern Baptist Convention
Southern Baptist Foundation
Southern Illinois University
Southern Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists
Springfield College
Spring Hill College
St. Anthony Hospital
St. Francis College
St. George Hospital
St. Joseph College
St. Lawrence University
St. Louis College of Pharmacy
St. Mark's School of Texas
St. Olaf College
Starr Commonwealth for Boys
The Swedish Covenant Hospital
S.V.D. Catholic Universities
Syracuse University
Tamblyn & Brown, Inc.
Temple University
Texas Baptist Home for Children
Texas Conference Association of the Seventh-day Adventists
Trevecca Nazarene College
Union College
United Christian Missionary Society
United Church of Christ
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Villanova University
Virginia Methodist Homes, Inc.
Wake Forest College
Washington & Lee University
Wesley Theological Seminary
Western College for Women
West Coast Independent Schools
Western Reserve University
West Georgia College
Westminster College
Wheaton College
Whitworth College
Wichita State University
Wilmington College
Winebrenner Theological Seminary
The Women's Medical College
Worcester Polytechnic Institute
World Gospel Mission
Y.M.C.A.—Hammond Area
Y.M.C.A. of Greater Indianapolis
Y.M.C.A. of Greater Kansas City
Y.M.C.A. of Metropolitan Chicago

Philanthropy Tax Institute

INCREASE YOUR INSTITUTION'S RESOURCES

Learn About Tax-Encouraged Giving

ENROLLMENT FORM

PHILANTHROPY TAX INSTITUTE

122 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

Tel.: (212) 867-4916

☐ **New York Sessions:** Enclosed is our check for $25 as a deposit for the October 23, 24, 25, 1967 lectures on the tax encouragement to charitable giving. You may bill us for the $225 balance.

☐ **San Francisco Sessions:** Enclosed is our check for $25 as a deposit for the December 4, 5, 6, 1967 lectures on the tax encouragement to charitable giving. You may bill us for the $225 balance.

YOUR NAME _____

PLEASE PRINT

INSTITUTION _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

...at the labor move-
...eared to move ahead "in
...weather as well as fair," if that
proved necessary.

PA

Fashion Center Gets Dubinsky Fund Grant

New York—A grant of $50,000 to the Fashion Institute of Technology here, a center of learning for the garment industry, has been announced by the David Dubinsky Foundation.

The grant is among the first of nine awards made by the foundation, established by the Ladies' Garment Workers to help worthy projects in the name of the man who headed the union for 34 years.

A fund of $1 million was set up to make awards over a period of 12 years. AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany is foundation chairman and he also serves on the awards committee along with ILGWU Pres. Louis Stulberg and prominent labor and civic leaders.

The money for the institute, granted in two awards of $25,000 each, is earmarked for a David Dubinsky Student Center. The center, previously endowed by management leaders, is part of the school's expansion program.

Other awards announced by the foundation ranged from $3,000 to $16,000. They included grants to:

The National Council of Negro Women and the North Carolina College at Durham for scholarship aid to poor students; the National Catholic Social Action Conference; the Bund Archives for microfilming rare materials on the Jewish labor movement of Eastern Europe; and to the David Shub Book Committee for publication of a book on the early days of the ILGWU.

The foundation also announced an award to cover the cost of the 1968 Conference on the Immigrant and the Labor Movement, which is sponsored by the Center for Migration Studies at Brooklyn College.

Fee Fund in review, 1969

AFL-CIO News 12/21/68

RABBINICAL NOTES

TEMPLE ISRAEL, 137 NE 19th st., Rabbi Colman Zwitman, Reform. Friday service, 7:15 p. m.

MIAMI HEBREW SCHOOL AND JUNIOR CONGREGATION, 1101 SW 12th ave., Rabbi Simon April, Orthodox. Friday service, 5 p. m. Saturday service, 9 a. m. Mishna, 4:30 p. m. Sunday school, 10 a. m. Daily services, 7:30 a. m. and 5:30 p. m.

CONGREGATIONAL BETH TFILAH, 935 Euclid ave., Miami Beach, Rabbi Joseph E. Rackovsky, Orthodox. Friday service, 5 p. m. Saturday service, 8:30 a. m. Mincha, 4:30 p. m. Daily service, 7:30 p. m. Daily Mincha, 5 p. m. Maariv, 6 p. m.

BETH JACOB, 301 Washington ave., Miami Beach, Rabbi Moses Mescheloff, Orthodox. Friday service, 5 p. m. Saturday services, 8:30 a. m. and 10 a. m. Mincha, 5 p. m. Sunday school, 9:30 a. m. Daily school, 3:30 p. m.

TEMPLE BETH SHOLOM, 4144 Chase ave., Miami Beach, Rabbi Leon Kronish, Liberal. Friday service, 8:15 p. m. Saturday service, 10:45 a. m. Sunday school, 9:45 a. m. Hebrew school, 3:15 p. m.

TEMPLE ISAIAH, 4925 Collins ave., Miami Beach, Rabbi David Raab, Reform. Friday service, 8:15 p .m.

CONGREGATION BETH EL, 500 SW 17th ave., Rabbi Murray Grauer, Orthodox. Friday service, 5:15 p. m. Saturday services, 9 a. m. and 10 a. m. Mincha, 4:45 p. m. Sunday school, 10 a m. Daily school, 3:30 p. m.

MIAMI BEACH JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER, 1701 Washington ave., Rabbi Irving Lehrman, Conservative. Friday services, 5:30 p. m. and 8:15 p. m. Saturday services, 9 a. m. and 9:30 a. m. Youth breakfast, 9:15 a m. Sunday. Prekindergarten school, 9 a m. Sunday school, 10 a. m. Hebrew school, 3:30 p. m.

BETH DAVID, 135 NW 3rd ave., Rabbi Max Shapiro, Conservative. Friday service, 8:15 p. m. Saturday services, 8:30 a. m. and 10:30 a. m.

SRC - Fund Raising

The Rt. Rev. E. Hamilton West,
Bishop-Coadjutor, Dio. Fla.
325 Market St.,
Jacksonville, Fla.

Bishop Roy H. Short,
Methodist, Fla. and Cuba,
1835 Challen Ave.,
Jacksonville, Fla.

Rev. Harold R. Barnes,
Supt. Methodist Children's Home,
Enterprise, Fla.

Rev. A.R. Buhrman,
Grace Methodist Church,
St. Augustine, Fla.
(charter mem. attended
Atlanta conference pre-SRC)

Rev. George A. Foster,
508 East Fort King St.,
Ocala, Fla. (Methodist)

Rabbi Isreal L. Kaplan,
Laura St.,
Jacksonville, Fla.

Bishop John Gowdy (retired)
235 Knowles Ave.,
Winter Park, Fla.
member of old Commisional
on Interracial Cooperation.

Rev. Edward H. Harrison
St. Paul's By The Sea,
Jacksonville Beach, Fla.
Episcapol

Rabbi Julius A. Leibert
1015 North Reus St.,
Pensacola, Fla.

The Rt. Rev. John D. Wing,
228E Central Ave.,
Orlando, Fla. Bishop Dio So. Fla.

The Rt. Rev. Henry I. Louitt
228 E Central Ave.,
Orlando, Fla.
Bisop-Coadjutor, Dio. So. Fla

The Rev. Wm. F. Mpses
417 East Lemon St.,
Lakeland, Fla. Epis.

Rev. E. F. Montgomery,
Pres. Church,
Lake City, Fla.
President, Pres. Synod.

The Rev. G. P. Reeves
655 W. Jefferson St.
Tallahassee, Fla. Epis.

The Rev. Gladstone Rogers,
3635 N. E. First Ave.,
Miami, Fla. Epis.

The Rev. John H. Soper
Sarasota, Fla. Epis.

Rev. Bernard A. Tonnar,
118 N.E.2nd St.,
Miami, Fla. Cath.

Rev. Melton Ware,
Vero Beach, Fla. Meth.

Rabbi David L. Zielonka
819 So. Edison Ave.,
Tampa, Fla.

Rev. Clayton Calhoun,
Quincy, Fla. Meth.

Rev. Richard Broyles,
Methodist,
check files for new address.

Rev James Howard.
First Pres. Church,
Fort Pierce, Fla.

The Rev. Henry Bell Hogkins,
Christ Church,
Pensacola, Fla.

Negro ministers....

The Rev. John E. Culmer
1732 N. W. Third Court,
Miami, Fla. Epis.

The Rev. L.E. Terrell
Bethel Baptist Inst. Church
1058 Hogan St.,
Jacksonville, Fla.

For other Baptist connections, contact Crawford Soloman.

Mrs. Norwood M. Phelps .....Field Sect'y, Pres. Synod.
2405 Pineridge Road,
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dr. Ludd M. Spivey .....member of the old Commission on
Southern College, Interracial Cooperation and
Lakeland, Fla. well known in Methodist affairs.

John Perry newspapers,
Mr. Harold S. Cohn and Mr. Marion T. Gaines
209 Clark Bldg., Pensacola News-Journal
Jacksonville, Fla. Pensacola, Fla.

Mrs. Louis Glasser, American Jewish Conference and
3168 Prairie Ave., Jewish Community Affairs.
Miami Beach, Fla.

Mr. A. W. Gottschall Fla. Area National Conference of
1010 PanAmerican Bank Bldg., Christians and Jews.
Miami, Fla.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

On the basis of work already done in the past few years, it seems the Southern Regional Council merits general support from the public at large and organized philanthropy.

How to make the public conscious of the work done and how to present it to the public and philanthropic organizations so as to get money, it appears, is the immediate task of every one of its officers, Board of Directors, members, and friends. To this end a suggested procedure is somewhat loosely outlined below.

A. SOURCES OF EXPECTED SUPPORT

1. Membership of the Council
2. Far-seeing, public-spirited citizens and friends
3. Specially selected individuals in the higher income brackets
4. National church groups
5. Special groups, societies, and associations.
6. Business and manufacturing firms in the South
7. Foundations

B. NEEDS OF THE COUNCIL

The needs of the Council may be classified in three divisions:

1. Immediate needs, which includes money to pay salaries, rent, general office expenses, and publications.

2. Needs for the year 1950. These needs should be included in a carefully thought out budget to cover the year (1) to at least keep the Council at its present level of activities and (2) to do a real job of intensified work.

3. Ultimate needs. An assured budget for a period of years sufficient to do a job that is really worthwhile in the southern section of the country.

C. MONEY FOR IMMEDIATE NEEDS: HOW SECURED

1. Follow up immediately and complete the effort already launched to secure $250 from a selected list of 100 individuals. (only 18 have responded.)

2. Double this list of 100 prospects and contact them as soon as possible. This job should be done by personal calls by the members of the Board of Directors, the officers, or by those who submitted the names. They should be assisted by Mr. Byrd, Dr. Mitchell, Mrs. Tilly, Mrs. Havens, Mr. Williams, and other interested people. In no sense of the word should they be written to and solicited

through the mail. It should be stressed in the interviews that it is absolutely necessary to have contributions if this Council is to stay alive and properly function in the future.

3. A special effort should be made to double the membership in the next six months. This, of course, is not a great source of financial income but it is necessary to keep the work of the Council before the people.

D. MONEY FOR 1950 NEEDS: HOW SECURED

1. From annual gifts of those who have subscribed $250 this year. They should in some way be interested to the extent that they would make this an annual offering.

2. National church bodies should be contacted and induced to make subscriptions and gifts from their annual budgets--such as Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, etc.

3. Societies and groups should be sought out and asked to make donations from their treasuries.

4. Business and manufacturing groups, especially those manufacturers who own plants in the South and who live in the West or East. They should be asked to make grants from their treasuries.

ULTIMATE NEEDS

Foundations: A large selected list of foundations should be carefully compiled and an organized approach made to them for a commitment over a number of years. It appears that the Council has entre to a number of these through some of its members. This is a fine prospective source that must be handled with a great deal of delicacy and planning, and with information to be submitted at the proper time, by the proper people.

Certain individuals with high income should be approached by certain people to make yearly donations over a period of years, or to give a large amount in a lump sum.

Publicity

The Council has a large amount of bulletins and pamphlets covering the whole field of its activities. It may be necessary, however, to get up some very inexpensive pamphlets to be given away in large quantities where it might be expected small amounts of money could be secured. This kind of material might serve also to get the work and the need of the Council into the conscience of a large amount of people throughout the South. This is not the kind of an effort which lends itself to wide publicity in the press, except in a very general way. All of this that could be had, of course, would be all to the good.

Organization

It does not appear that too much organization will be needed at this stage of our effort to secure money. The state organizations and the membership and officers of the Council, with some additions, might be all we would need at this particular time.

Time of this Special Work

It is hard to separate and imagine any specific dates, as this whole program will naturally be tied into and worked as we go along. However, the immediate need section should be completed as soon as possible. Perhaps we should make a drive to have all the present prospects of $250 disposed of by the 15th of November. This work could be continued right along with the additional $250 prospects. Time, then, could be devoted to clarifying organizing approach for larger sums. Future outlines will be made after immediate needs have been taken care of.

Process for Dobbs

Private Pavillion - Room 409 Telephone: JU 2-1700

August 10, 1960

Dear Miss Corr:

Attached is a suggested list of invitees for the buffet supper Mrs. Roosevelt is giving for the Southern Regional Council on September 20. She said she would invite 22 people, allowing for some declinations.

Also enclosed is a draft of a suggested note for approval or revision.

I am quite sure you will understand my feeling of inadequacy in preparing the list - especially since my mishap has prevented my getting around to seek advice. I trust Mrs. Roosevelt will make extensive changes in the list as she sees fit.

I understand you will indicate the proper salutation by each name. And when you return the list with blank stationery and envelopes, may I ask that you include a few extra sheets of stationery with envelopes in case of stenographic error. Kindly have these sent to me by messenger collect. A return envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

The notes will be prepared promptly and returned for Mrs. Roosevelt's signature.

Thank you, my dear Miss Corr.

Sincerely,

Josephine Wilkins

Enclosures

P. S. On a second page you will find a "reserve" list. If agreeable, I would like to have letters typed and signed for these which I would like to hold and mail around September 1st, only to fill vacancies up to a total of 20 guests.

Miss Maureen Corr
55 East 74th Street
New York 21, New York

RESERVE LIST

(Invitations will be mailed to these only as declinations occur from the attached GUEST LIST, and only to fill vacancies up to a total of 20 persons.)

Sent

Mr. ~~and Mrs.~~ Nathan Straus
150 East 72nd Street
New York 21, New York

? Mr. and Mrs. Robert Sarnoff
350 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

Mr. and Mrs. William Paley
Kiluna Farm
Manhasset, New York

Mrs. Ogden Reid
834 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Mr. and Mrs. John A. Coleman
812 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

Mr. and Mrs. Norman Tishman
14 East 75th Street
New York 21, New York

Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Goodman
754 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Mr. and Mrs. Roger Stevens
745 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, New York

Mrs. Elinor Gimbel
163 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

Mr. and Mrs. Howard S. Cullman
480 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dr. and Mrs. Frank Stanton
5 East 92nd Street
New York 28, New York

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Hirshon
Willow Pond
Mattingtown Road
Glen Cove, New York

Mr. and Mrs. James Scheuer
410 West 24th Street
New York 11, New York

Mr. Frederick Richmond
743 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

GUEST LIST
Mrs. Roosevelt's Buffet Supper
Tuesday evening, Sept. 20, 1960
7:30 p.m.

(These invitations to be mailed on Aug. 18)

Senator and Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman
820 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

Governor ~~and Mrs.~~ Averell Harriman
16 East 81st Street
New York 28, New York

Mrs. Albert Lasker
29 Beekman Place
New York 22, New York

Mrs. Eugene Meyer
Seven Springs Farms
Mount Kisco, New York

~~Mr. and~~ Mrs. Rudolph Sonneborn
133 East 64th Street
New York 21, New York

Dr. and Mrs. Frank Graham
310 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Mr. and Mrs. David Susskind
1125 Fifth Avenue
New York 28, New York

Mr. ~~and Mrs.~~ Jacob M. Kaplan
53 East 80th Street
New York 21, New York

Mr. and Mrs. Spyros Skouras
2 Shore Road
Rye, New York

Mr. and Mrs. J. David Stern
880 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

~~Mr. and~~ Mrs. Arthur H. Sulzberger
1115 Fifth Avenue
New York 28, New York

Representatives from the Southern Regional Council who will attend:

Mr. James McBride Dabbs, President
Miss Josephine Wilkins, Vice President
Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director

Suggested Guest List for Mrs. Roosevelt's
Buffet Supper for the Southern Regional
Council, Tuesday evening, Sept. 20, 1960

1. Senator Herbert H. Lehman
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

2. Dr. Frank Graham
310 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

3. Governor Averell Harriman
16 East 81st Street
New York 28, New York

4. Mrs. Albert Lasker
29 Beekman Place
New York 22, New York

5. Mrs. Eugene Meyer
Seven Springs Farms
Mount Kisco, New York

6. Mr. David Susskind
1125 Fifth Avenue
New York 26, New York

7. Mr. Irving M. Engel
525 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

8. Mr. J. M. Kaplan
55 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

9. Mr. Roy Larson
TIME, Inc.
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

10. Mr. Frederick Richmond
743 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

11. Mr. Robert Sarnoff
350 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

12. Mrs. Dorothy Schiff
(Address will be supplied)

13. Mr. Spyros Skouras
233 West 49th Street
New York 19, New York

14. Dr. Frank Stanton
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

15. Mr. J. David Stern
880 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

16. Mr. Roger Stevens
745 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, New York

17. Mr. Nathan Straus
415 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

18. Mrs. Arthur S. Sulzberger
(Address will be supplied)

19. Mr. Arthur K. Watson
821 United Nations Plaza
New York 17, New York

Representatives from the Southern
Regional Council:

20. Mr. James McBride Dabbs, President

21. Miss Josephine Wilkins, Vice President

22. Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director

* Affectionately (Mrs. FDR)

Reserve List

Mrs. Louis Gimbel
163 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

Mrs. Ogden Reid
(Address will be supplied)

(Affectionately)

Mr. John Coleman
(Address will be supplied)

Mr. Howard S. Cullman
480 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

Mr. Walter Hirshon
Willow Pond
Lattingtown Road
Glen Cove, New York

Mr. James H. Scheuer
4 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York

Mr. Marvin Rosenberg
260 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Mr. Andrew Goodman
754 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Mr. Maurice Tishman
(Address to be supplied)

MF - Hold

Room 409
Private Pavilion
Roosevelt Hospital
59th Street at 9th Avenue
New York City
August 16, 1960

Dear Miss Corr:

Here are the invitations for the buffet supper on September 20th, sent, as you will see, in two envelopes.

The first envelope contains the invitations, dated August 18, to be mailed out initially to twenty persons. These, I assume, will be mailed from your office.

The second envelope contains the reserve invitations, undated, to be mailed only to fill vacancies up to the twenty guests. I feel so keenly the responsibility for letting no one of the reserve invitations get out - except to fill a vacancy - that I would like to hold them myself for any such mailing, since you will be away.

Therefore, if this is satisfactory, kindly return the reserve invitations to me, after they have been signed and franked, by messenger collect.

Need I tell you how my heart has gone out to Mrs. Roosevelt, and to those of you close to her, over this past week-end.

Sincerely,

Miss Maureen Corr
c/o Roosevelt
55 East 74th Street
New York City

August 18, 1960

Dear Marie and Averell:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Affectionately,

Governor and Mrs. Averell Harriman
16 East 81st Street
New York 28, New York

August 18, 1960

Dear Mary:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Affectionately,

Mrs. Albert Lasker
29 Beekman Place
New York 22, New York

August 18, 1960

Dear Agnes:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Affectionately,

Mrs. Eugene Meyer
Seven Springs Farms
Mount Kisco, New York

August 18, 1960

Dear Dorothy:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you and your husband will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your convenience.

Affectionately,

Mrs. Rudolph Sonneborn
133 East 64th Street
New York 21, New York

August 18, 1960

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Graham:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Dr. and Mrs. Frank Graham
310 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

August 18, 1960

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Susskind:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. David Susskind
1125 Fifth Avenue
New York 28, New York

August 18, 1960

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Kaplan:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Jacob M. Kaplan
53 East 80th Street
New York 21, New York

August 18, 1960

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Skouras:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Spyros Skouras
2 Shore Road
Rye, New York

August 18, 1960

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Stern:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. J. David Stern
880 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

August 18, 1960

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Sulzberger:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur H. Sulzberger
1115 Fifth Avenue
New York 28, New York

August 18, 1960

Dear Edith and Herbert:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Affectionately,

Senator and Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman
820 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
55 East 74th Street
New York 21, New York

August ~~12~~ 18, 1960

seven

Dear Mr. Doe:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at 7 o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area. There will be no solicitation of funds during the evening.

I hope very much you will be able to come and will appreciate your letting me know at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. John Doe
000 Blank Street
New York 00, New York

Roosevelt Hospital
New York, N. Y.
September 18, 1960

Dear Miss Corr:

Welcome back -- although to a staggering desk, I fear!

I am returning the replies to the invitations for Tuesday evening, which were sent over by Miss Gutkind, and returning also the unused reserve invitations.

Summer absences, Labor Day, etc., resulted in the replies coming back very slowly. On last Monday, the 12th, five of the initial invitations were still unanswered. Since I felt it was the final day that any of the reserve ones could be sent, I took the liberty of following up on these five. I phoned saying I was calling in Mrs. Roosevelt's absence to make sure the invitation had been received. Then made a final mailing to bring the number up to twenty.

You will see from the attached list that as of now there are nine acceptances, exclusive of Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Fleming, and five invitations are still unanswered. The weekend mail may bring further replies. But even the acceptances thus far hold very real potentialities for consideration of the situation in the South and its wider meaning.

I will phone tomorrow morning.

Sincerely,

Josephine Wilkins

Miss Maureen Corr
c/o Roosevelt
55 East 74th Street
New York, N. Y.

Acceptances -

Mrs. Sulzberger
Mrs. Meyer
Mr. & Mrs. Stern
Senator & Mrs. Lehman
Dr. & Mrs. Graham
Mr. Richmond

SRC: Mr. Dabbs
Mr. Fleming

Unanswered -

Mr. & Mrs. Skouras - sent 8/18
Mr. & Mrs. Susskind - sent 8/18
Mr. & Mrs. Kaplan - sent 8/18
* Mr. & Mrs. Tishman - sent 9/12
Mr. & Mrs. Cullman - sent 9/12

Regrets -

~~Mr. &~~ Mrs. Sonneborn
Mr. Sulzberger
Mrs. Lasker
Gov. & Mrs. Harriman
Mr. & Mrs. Straus
Mr. & Mrs. Coleman
Mrs. Reid
Mr. & Mrs. Goodman

* Regrets received after
This letter was written

N.Y. Trip - Sept. 18 - 21, 1960 HCF

Brief Biographies of FDR Dinner Invitees

MRS. ALBERT LASKER

Holds honorary LL.D degree from Univ. of Wisconsin. Connected with Reinhardt Galleries, New York, arranging benefit loan exhibitions of outstanding old and modern French masters and selling pictures to collectors and museums, 1924-31; established with husband, Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation, educational and medical research foundation wich gives awards through various health agencies for contributions to psychiatric and medical research and administration, 1942; now serving as president Trustee Museum Modern Art, Inst. Psychoanalysis, Chicago, Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas.

MR. AND MRS. JACOB KAPLAN

Mr. Kaplan spent 10 years in semitropical Latin American sugar producing countries; organized Oldetyme Molasses Co., 1920 and served as pres. until company merged into Dunbar Molasses Co., 1924; Pres. and chmn. bd. Hearn Dept. Stores, Inc., 1932-36, presently pres. J. M. Kaplan Fund, Inc., Ronier Corp., Nivelle Corp., Dir. Freedom House. Trustee of New School for Social Research.

MR. AND MRS. SPYROS SKOURAS

Mr. Skouras was born in Skourohorion, Greece. Is in the motion picture business. Organized chain of theatres, St. Louis (sold to Warner Bros); successively gen. mgr. Warner Bros. Circuit; also with Paramount Pictures; pres. Nat. Theatres Amusement Co. and pres. Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation.

MR. AND MRS. J. DAVID STERN

Mr. Stern is and editor and publisher. Purchased New Brunswick Times, 1912, Springfield News, 1914, Springfield Record, 1915, Camden Evening Courier, 1919, Camden Morning Post, 1926, and the Philadelphia Record, 1928; Pub. New York Post, 1933-39; suspended publn. of all newspapers in 1947.

MR. AND MRS. ARTHUR H. SULZBERGER

Mr. Sulzberger is a newspaper publisher. Holds Litt.D degree from Brown University and Univ. of Chattanooga; Pres., director The New York Times Co. 1935-57, Chmn. bd. 1957...; Chmn. bd. Times Printing Co., Chattanooga, 1957...; Trustee, New York Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation (1938-57).

MRS. EUGENE (Agnes Elizabeth) MEYER

Wife of Eugene Meyer, newspaper executive. Mr. Meyer was appointed by Pres. Hoover as member of Federal Reserve Board, 1930, resigned May 1933; also served as first chmn. of the board of Reconstruction Finance Corp., Feb. - July 1932; pub. The Washington Post, 1933-40; editor and pub., 1940-46, chmn. bd. Directors The Washington Post Company since 1947.

MR. AND MRS. DAVID SUSSKIND

(Not listed in Who's Who. However, connected with Columbia Broadcasting System)

MR. AND MRS. NATHAN STRAUS

Mr. Straus is a business executive. Connected with R. H. Macy and Co., 1910-13; Member, N. Y. Senate, 1921-26 (chmn. Com. on Agriculture; mem, Committees on Conservation, Taxation and Finance); Administrator, U. S. Housing Authority, 1937-42.

DR. AND MRS. FRANK GRAHAM

United Nations Representative.

SENATOR AND MRS. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

GOV. AND MRS. AVERELL HARRIMAN

MRS. ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER
ROCK RIMMON ROAD
STAMFORD, CONN.

September 21, 1960

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Please accept my renewed thanks for the delightful time I had at your home last Tuesday evening. It was a pleasure and a privilege to meet Mr. Dabbs and to hear about the work of the Southern Regional Council.

One point is not quite clear to me. Does the Regional Council wish to be composed of and supported entirely by southerners, or are they seeking financial assistance from New Yorkers?

Arthur asks me to again express his regrets at not being able to join your party last Tuesday. We both send warmest regards to you.

Sincerely,

Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
55 East 74th Street
New York City 21

WILKINS

SEVEN·SPRINGS·FARM
MOUNT·KISCO
NEW·YORK

September 27, 1960

Dear Eleanor:

I want to remind you that when I said that I would give a contribution to the Southern Regional Conference, two of whose members I met at your enchanting supper party, I meant it.

One of the rewards of the party for me was that, for the first time, I had the chance to have a real conversation with Dr. Gurewitsch.

If you will let me know what the speakers want to achieve and to whom I'm to send the check I shall be glad to fulfill my promise.

With affectionate greetings,

Devotedly

Agnes

via air mail special

September 28, 1960

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Private Pavillion
Roosevelt Hospital
Room 409
9th Avenue at 59th Street
New York, New York

Dear Josephine:

After the executive committee meeting yesterday, I went over the follow-up business with Mr. Dabbs. I had some language in draft -- nothing too inspired -- but Dabbs felt, understandably, that the letters should be more or less in style. Here are the two drafts he produced. He and I both want you to edit or revise them in any way you think best. I'm enclosing a return envelope.

As you may recall, I'm heading for San Francisco and more rabbit-skin hunting this Sunday (Oct. 2) and will return Monday, October 10. Meanwhile, if you get a chance to go over the Dabbs letter, I'd like them to get on out and am so instructing Paul Anthony and Mildred Flowers. If there are any changes so basic that they should be checked with Dabbs -- which I greatly doubt -- Paul and Mildred will see to it.

The meeting was a good one -- well attended, good discussion, and general pleasure with the new quarters. Your ears should have been burning; the telegram was pale compared with the warm and admiring things that were said about you.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

September 30, 1960

Dear Dr. Graham:

I am so glad that you and Mrs. Graham could be with us last week, and I want to thank you for the great contribution you made to the evening's discussion.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in the South, I share with you the hope that some substantial assistance to the Southern Regional Council will grow out of the occasion.

Cordially,

Dr. Frank P. Graham
310 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Agnes:

I am so glad you could be with us for the small supper last week and for part of the discussion of the South with several of its leaders.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, may I express the hope that you will seriously consider giving substantial assistance to the work of the Council. I am asking the organization to tell you of its long range needs.

Affectionately,

Mrs. Eugene Meyer
Seven Springs Farms
Mount Kisco, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Averell:

I am so sorry that you and Mary could not be with us for the small supper last week and the evening's discussion of the South with some of its leaders.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, I have taken the liberty of asking the Southern Regional Council to put you on its mailing list for some of its interpretative material.

Affectionately,

Governor Averell Harriman
16 East 81st Street
New York 28, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Dorothy:

I am so sorry you and your husband could not be with us for the small supper last week and the evening's discussion of the South with some of its leaders.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, I have taken the liberty of asking the Southern Regional Council to put you on its mailing list for some of its interpretative material.

Affectionately,

Mrs. Rudolph Sonneborn
133 East 64th Street
New York 21, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Mary:

I am so sorry you could not be with us for the small supper last week and the evening's discussion of the South with some of its leaders.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, I have taken the liberty of asking the Southern Regional Council to put you on its mailing list for some of its interpretative material.

Affectionately,

Mrs. Albert Lasker
29 Beekman Place
New York 22, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Edith:

I am so sorry you could not be with us for the small supper last week and the evening's discussion of the South with some of its leaders.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, I have taken the liberty of asking the Southern Regional Council to put you on its mailing list for some of its interpretative material.

Affectionately,

Mrs. Ogden Reid
834 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Mr. Straus:

I am so sorry that you and Mrs. Straus could not be with us for the small supper last week and the evening's discussion of the South with some of its leaders.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, I have taken the liberty of asking the Southern Regional Council to put you on its mailing list for some of its interpretative material.

Sincerely,

Mr. Nathan Straus
150 East 72nd Street
New York 21, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Mr. Coleman:

I am so sorry you and Mrs. Coleman could not be with us for the small supper last week and the evening's discussion of the South with some of its leaders.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, I have taken the liberty of asking the Southern Regional Council to put you on its mailing list for some of its interpretative material.

Sincerely,

Mr. John A. Coleman
812 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Mr. Goodman:

I am so sorry you and Mrs. Goodman could not be with us for the small supper last week and the evening's discussion of the South with some of its leaders.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, I have taken the liberty of asking the Southern Regional Council to put you on its mailing list for some of its interpretative material.

Sincerely,

Mr. Andrew Goodman
754 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Mr. Tishman:

I am so sorry you and Mrs. Tishman could not be with us for the small supper last week and the evening's discussion of the South with some of its leaders.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, I have taken the liberty of asking the Southern Regional Council to put you on its mailing list for some of its interpretative material.

Sincerely,

Mr. Norman Tishman
14 East 75th Street
New York 21, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Mr. Kaplan:

I am so sorry you and Mrs. Kaplan could not be with us for the small supper last week and the evening's discussion of the South with some of its leaders.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, I have taken the liberty of asking the Southern Regional Council to put you on its mailing list for some of its interpretative material.

Sincerely,

Mr. Jacob M. Kaplan
55 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Mrs. Sulzberger:

I am so glad you could be with us for the small supper last week, and it is gratifying to hear that you, too, found the evening's discussion rewarding.

Replying to your question about the Southern Regional Council, its financial support must of necessity come largely from the North, though it has seemed wise for its membership to be confined to Southerners.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, may I express the hope that you will seriously consider giving substantial assistance to the work of the Council. I am asking the organization to tell you of its long range needs.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Arthur H. Sulzberger
1115 Fifth Avenue
New York 28, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Herbert:

I am so glad that you and Edith could be with us last week for the evening's discussion of the South, and I hope you share my feeling that the evening was rewarding.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, may I express the hope that you will seriously consider giving substantial assistance to the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Affectionately,

Senator Herbert H. Lehman
820 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Mr. Richmond:

I am so glad you could be with us last week for the evening's discussion of the South and the work of the Southern Regional Council in relation to it. It is gratifying to hear that you, too, found the evening rewarding.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, may I express the hope that you will seriously consider giving substantial assistance to the work of the Council. I am asking the organization to tell you of its long range needs.

Sincerely,

Mr. Frederick Richmond
743 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

September 30, 1960

Dear Mr. Stern:

I am so glad you and Mrs. Stern could be with us last week for the evening's discussion of the South and the work of the Southern Regional Council in relation to it. It is gratifying to hear that you, too, found the evening rewarding.

In view of the far-reaching effect of what is happening in that troubled area, may I express the hope that you will seriously consider giving substantial assistance to the work of the Council. I am asking the organization to tell you of its long range needs.

Sincerely,

Mr. J. David Stern
880 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

October 3, 1960

Mr. Frederick Richmond
743 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Fred:

As a man of your discernment will have perceived, the evening at Mrs. Roosevelt's was partly inspired by the hope that some or all of those present might be interested in contributing to the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Although I understand that your energies, and very likely your charitable giving as well, are pre-empted by the New York Urban League, I am sending the letter anyway, pro forma.

Quite apart from such financial matters, I thoroughly enjoyed our conversation and would like to take you up on the invitation to lunch with you and Ed Lewis. The next time I am to be in New York, I will write you in advance to see if it is possible for us to get together.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

October 3, 1960

Mr. Frederick Richmond
743 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Richmond:

Mr. Dabbs and I were happy to have the privilege of meeting you recently at Mrs. Roosevelt's, and of talking with you about the situation in the South and the work of the Southern Regional Council.

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am sending you this further information about our organization.

The Council is currently seeking from new sources pledges totalling $100,000 a year for the five-year period beginning January 1, 1961. This amount, applied toward an annual budget of approximately $250,000, will leave a manageable balance to be raised from existing sources, and will enable the staff to devote its primary attention to much needed program activities during the crucial period ahead.

I am enclosing a list of the Council's officers and members. Since the 1960 annual report is not yet prepared, I am also enclosing a copy of the 1959 report on program activities. Our 1959 annual audited financial statement is available should you wish a copy. Contributions to the Council are, of course, tax-deductible.

In summary, the main assets of the Council in the crucial transition of the South include: (1) reputation and experience in race relations since 1944 and, through

its predecessor, since 1919; (2) a membership drawn from respected Southern leaders of both races; (3) an experienced staff of Negro and white professional and clerical workers; (4) the part-time services of specialists in education, law enforcement, economics, and community relations; (5) a close working relationship with state and local councils on human relations (founded by SRC) and with virtually every private and governmental agency sharing these concerns; (6) the confidence of the press, Southern and national, as the major source of facts and analysis in this field.

The past few years have seen a gratifying increase in the Council's outreach and effectiveness. Whereas a few years ago the Council sorely needed the South's leadership, today that leadership is displaying a growing need for the Council and the guidance it can provide. We confidently expect the next five years to be even richer in opportunities for decisive influence by the Council.

We shall be most grateful if you feel that the Council merits your support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

October 3, 1960

Mrs. Arthur H. Sulzberger
1115 Fifth Avenue
New York 28, New York

Dear Mrs. Sulzberger:

Mr. Dabbs and I were happy to have the privilege of meeting you recently at Mrs. Roosevelt's, and of talking with you about the situation in the South and the work of the Southern Regional Council.

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am sending you this further information about our organization.

The Council is currently seeking from new sources pledges totalling $100,000 a year for the five-year period beginning January 1, 1961. This amount, applied toward an annual budget of approximately $250,000, will leave a manageable balance to be raised from existing sources, and will enable the staff to devote its primary attention to much needed program activities during the crucial period ahead.

I am enclosing a list of the Council's officers and members. Since the 1960 annual report is not yet prepared, I am also enclosing a copy of the 1959 report on program activities. Our 1959 annual audited financial statement is available should you wish a copy. Contributions to the Council are, of course, tax-deductible.

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The past few years have seen a gratifying increase in the Council's outreach and effectiveness. Whereas a few years ago the Council sorely needed the South's leadership, today that leadership is displaying a growing need for the Council and the guidance it can provide. We confidently expect the next five years to be even richer in opportunities for decisive influence by the Council.

We shall be most grateful if you feel that the Council merits your support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

October 3, 1960

Mrs. Eugene Meyer
Seven Springs Farms
Mount Kisco, New York

Dear Mrs. Meyer:

Mr. Dabbs and I were happy to have the privilege of meeting you recently at Mrs. Roosevelt's, and of talking with you about the situation in the South and the work of the Southern Regional Council.

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am sending you this further information about our organization.

The Council is currently seeking from new sources pledges totalling $100,000 a year for the five-year period beginning January 1, 1961. This amount, applied toward an annual budget of approximately $250,000, will leave a manageable balance to be raised from existing sources, and will enable the staff to devote its primary attention to much needed program activities during the crucial period ahead.

I am enclosing a list of the Council's officers and members. Since the 1960 annual report is not yet prepared, I am also enclosing a copy of the 1959 report on program activities. Our 1959 annual audited financial statement is available should you wish a copy. Contributions to the Council are, of course, tax-deductible.

In summary, the main assets of the Council in the crucial transition of the South include: (1) reputation and experience in race relations since 1944 and, through

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The past few years have seen a gratifying increase in the Council's outreach and effectiveness. Whereas a few years ago the Council sorely needed the South's leadership, today that leadership is displaying a growing need for the Council and the guidance it can provide. We confidently expect the next five years to be even richer in opportunities for decisive influence by the Council.

We shall be most grateful if you feel that the Council merits your support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

October 3, 1960

Mr. J. David Stern
880 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Stern:

Mr. Dabbs and I were happy to have the privilege of meeting you and Mrs. Stern recently at Mrs. Roosevelt's, and of talking with you about the situation in the South and the work of the Southern Regional Council.

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am sending you this further information about our organization.

The Council is currently seeking from new sources pledges totalling $100,000 a year for the five-year period beginning January 1, 1961. This amount, applied toward an annual budget of approximately $250,000, will leave a manageable balance to be raised from existing sources, and will enable the staff to devote its primary attention to much needed program activities during the crucial period ahead.

I am enclosing a list of the Council's officers and members. Since the 1960 annual report is not yet prepared, I am also enclosing a copy of the 1959 report on program activities. Our 1959 annual audited financial statement is available should you wish a copy. Contributions to the Council are, of course, tax-deductible.

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The past few years have seen a gratifying increase in the Council's outreach and effectiveness. Whereas a few years ago the Council sorely needed the South's leadership, today that leadership is displaying a growing need for the Council and the guidance it can provide. We confidently expect the next five years to be even richer in opportunities for decisive influence by the Council.

We shall be most grateful if you feel that the Council merits your support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

October 3, 1960

The Honorable Herbert H. Lehman
820 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

My dear Senator Lehman:

Mr. Dabbs and I were happy to have the privilege of meeting you and Mrs. Lehman at Mrs. Roosevelt's, and of talking with you about the situation in the South and the work of the Southern Regional Council.

We are deeply grateful for your friendship and support of the Council over the years, and I am sure you need little further background on the work and needs of the Council. However, at Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, we are sending the information contained in this letter and enclosures to those who were present at the recent evening's discussion.

The Council is currently seeking from new sources pledges totalling $100,000 a year for the five-year period beginning January 1, 1961. This amount, applied toward an annual budget of approximately $250,000, will leave a manageable balance to be raised from existing sources, and will enable the staff to devote its primary attention to much needed program activities during the crucial period ahead.

I am enclosing a list of the Council's officers and members. Since the 1960 annual report is not yet prepared, I am enclosing a copy of the 1959 report on program activities. Our 1959 annual audited financial

statement is available should you wish a copy. Contributions to the Council are, of course, tax-deductible.

In summary, the main assets of the Council in the crucial transition of the South include: (1) reputation and experience in race relations since 1944 and, through its predecessor, since 1919; (2) a membership drawn from respected Southern leaders of both races; (3) an experienced staff of Negro and white professional and clerical workers; (4) the part-time services of specialists in education, law enforcement, economics, and community relations; (5) a close working relationship with state and local councils on human relations (founded by SRC) and with virtually every private and governmental agency sharing these concerns; (6) the confidence of the press, Southern and national, as the major source of facts and analysis in this field.

Insert

The past few years have seen a gratifying increase in the Council's outreach and effectiveness. Whereas a few years ago the Council sorely needed the South's leadership, today that leadership is displaying a growing need for the Council and the guidance it can provide. We confidently expect the next five years to be even richer in opportunities for decisive influence by the Council.

We shall be most grateful for your continued support.

With warm appreciation and regards,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

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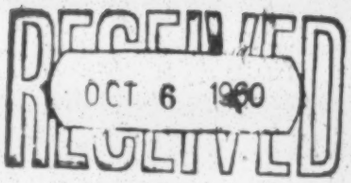
FILE NO.:



4 October 1960

Dear Harold,

It was wonderful to be in Mrs. Roosevelt's home the other evening with you and the other fine spirits gathered there. I thank you for your generous sentiments and hope that my little part had some value for our common purposes.

Josephine's spirit is astounding and her consequent comeback remarkable. She had a close call and we thank the Lord that she was saved for carrying on her noble work and her everlasting meaning to us all.

We are grateful to Dabbs and you for giving such vivid and concrete meaning to the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Frank G.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 4, 1960

The Honorable Averell Harriman
16 East 81st Street
New York 28, New York

My dear Governor Harriman:

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am happy to send you the enclosed information on the work of the Southern Regional Council. From time to time, we should like to share with you subsequent reports of the Council which may be of special interest.

We hope that as you become more familiar with it, the Council's work may command your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

October 4, 1960

Mrs. Albert Lasker
29 Beekman Place
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Lasker:

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am happy to send you the enclosed information on the work of the Southern Regional Council. From time to time, we should like to share with you subsequent reports of the Council which may be of special interest.

We hope that as you become more familiar with it, the Council's work may command your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

October 4, 1960

Mrs. Rudolph Sonneborn
133 East 64th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mrs. Sonneborn:

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am happy to send you the enclosed information on the work of the Southern Regional Council. From time to time, we should like to share with you subsequent reports of the Council which may be of special interest.

We hope that as you become more familiar with it, the Council's work may command your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

October 4, 1960

Mr. Nathan Straus
150 East 72nd Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Straus:

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am happy to send you the enclosed information on the work of the Southern Regional Council. From time to time, we should like to share with you subsequent reports of the Council which may be of special interest.

We hope that as you become more familiar with it, the Council's work may command your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

October 4, 1960

Mr. Robert Sarnoff
350 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Sarnoff:

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am happy to send you the enclosed information on the work of the Southern Regional Council. From time to time, we should like to share with you subsequent reports of the Council which may be of special interest.

We hope that as you become more familiar with it, the Council's work may command your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

October 4, 1960

Mrs. Ogden Reid
834 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mrs. Reid:

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am happy to send you the enclosed information on the work of the Southern Regional Council. From time to time, we should like to share with you subsequent reports of the Council which may be of special interest.

We hope that as you become more familiar with it, the Council's work may command your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

October 4, 1960

Mr. John A. Coleman
812 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Coleman:

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am happy to send you the enclosed information on the work of the Southern Regional Council. From time to time, we should like to share with you subsequent reports of the Council which may be of special interest.

We hope that as you become more familiar with it, the Council's work may command your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

October 4, 1960

Mr. Norman Tishman
14 East 75th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Tishman:

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am happy to send you the enclosed information on the work of the Southern Regional Council. From time to time, we should like to share with you subsequent reports of the Council which may be of special interest.

We hope that as you become more familiar with it, the Council's work may command your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

October 4, 1960

Mr. Andrew Goodman
754 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Goodman:

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am happy to send you the enclosed information on the work of the Southern Regional Council. From time to time, we should like to share with you subsequent reports of the Council which may be of special interest.

We hope that as you become more familiar with it, the Council's work may command your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

October 4, 1960

Mr. Jacob M. Kaplan
53 East 80th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Kaplan:

We were very sorry that you and Mrs. Kaplan could not be present at Mrs. Roosevelt's the other evening when the work of the Southern Regional Council was discussed.

At Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I am sending you the enclosed materials describing the Council and some of its activities.

I should also like to take this opportunity to say a word or two about the importance and needs of the Council's work in this troubled region.

In summary, the main assets of the Council in the crucial transition of the South include: (1) reputation and experience in race relations since 1944 and, through its precedecessor, since 1919; (2) a membership drawn from respected Southern leaders of both races; (3) an experienced staff of Negro and white professional and clerical workers; (4) the part-time services of specialists in education, law enforcement, economics, and community relations; (5) a close working relationship with state and local councils on human relations (founded by SRC) and with virtually every private and governmental agency sharing

these concerns; (6) the confidence of the press, Southern and national, as the major source of facts and analysis in this field.

The past few years have seen a gratifying increase in the Council's outreach and effectiveness. Whereas a few years ago the Council sorely needed the South's leadership, today that leadership is displaying a growing need for the Council and the guidance it can provide. We confidently expect the next five years to be even richer in opportunities for decisive influence by the Council.

We are currently seeking from new sources pledges totalling $100,000 a year for the five-year period beginning January 1, 1961. This amount, applied toward an annual budget of approximately $250,000, will leave a manageable balance to be raised from existing sources, and will enable the staff to devote its primary attention to much needed program activities during the crucial period ahead.

We shall be most grateful if you feel that the Council merits your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.
BC: Mr. Raymond Rubinow — this did not appear on original

October 4, 1960

Mr. Raymond Rubinow
55 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rubinow:

You were exceedingly kind to give me such a generous amount of your time when I was in New York last week. I am lastingly grateful for your interest and help.

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Mr. Kaplan, mailed today. I hope it is clear and succinct enough to interest him in the Council's work. The enclosures may be excessive; but enclosures are expendable, and these might be useful for your files.

On a subsequent trip to New York, I hope to see you again and perhaps to meet Mr. Kaplan. Meanwhile, if further information of any kind would be helpful in interpreting the Council's work, please call on me for it.

With appreciation and kind regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Kaplan ltr. less enclosures) — this did not appear on original.

October 4, 1960

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Josephine called Friday to change the signals on our follow-up of Mrs. Roosevelt's supper party.

It seems that Mrs. Roosevelt has very kindly written each of the guests, and those who couldn't come, urging them to contribute to SRC. Mrs. Roosevelt also wrote that she is asking the SRC office to send financial and other data on SRC.

This seemed to Josephine (and I agree) to call for an impersonal, bureaucratic type follow-up, which I have concocted. Of course, a personal note from you would also be fine, though not essential; it might be best, under the circumstances, to wait for contributions which you might wish to acknowledge personally.

In any case, as I leave the office for a week, I am holding your drafts in abeyance. I am sorry for the time and effort this imposed on you Tuesday, but Josephine didn't foresee that Mrs. Roosevelt would write in the vein she did, welcome though that is.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

file
cc: V + L.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS · UNATIONS NEWYORK · ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

FILE NO.:

4 October 1960

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Thank you for your gracious note. It was a real joy to be in your home with such fine people. You were characteristically generous in taking the time and trouble to help Josephine organize the meeting. I believe it was worthwhile.

I am sending a check for the Southern Regional Council which you might wish to forward through Josephine with any little meaning it may have for her while she is hors de combat.

4
50.00
CR
RHA 10/14/60

Always devotedly yours,

Frank Graham

Mrs. Graham sends her best wishes with mine.
F.G.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
55 East 74th Street
New York 21, New York

P.S. I want to talk to you about Al for a few minutes some time at your convenience.

The Roosevelt Hospital
428 West 59 Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Harold -

The accession from Dr Hack will no doubt touch you deeply as it has me

Blessings -

JM

J. DAVID STERN
880 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y. REGENT 4-5359

Oct. 5th 1960

Mr. James McBride Dabbs, President
Southern Regional Council
Room 201 5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3 Ga.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Enclosed find my check for $200 as a contribution to the Council. I hope to be able to send an additional contribution before the end of the year, as a token tribute to the brave and important work you are doing.

Your remarks, as well as those of Dr. Frank Graham, made deep impressions, when I had the privilege of meeting you at Mrs. Roosevelt's dinner in your honor. Since then I have lunched with Dr. Graham but our time was largely occupied with CLEF (Civil Liberties Educational Foundation) of which Dr. Graham is the President. So I did not have the opportunity of asking him a question which has been in my mind.

Would the following program be feasible: In Southern public schools eliminate co-education and extra-curricular activities. Devote the schools exclusively to education, as they were 100 years ago. If the parents want to establish a recreation and social center for their children let them do so as a private enterprise apart from the school. At present the public school, especially the highschool in a small community, is a social as well as an educational center. Many residents look upon the highschool as a community clubhouse. If public school buildings were used only for education would it not eliminate some of the bitter opposition to integration?

Probably this idea has already been considered. I would appreciate your thought on it.

Mrs. Stern joins in kind regards to Mr. Fleming and to you

Sincerely

J David Stern

P. S. Since above was written have received Mr. Fleming's letter of Oct. 3rd. Thanks for the literature enclosed with it. J.D.S.

J. DAVID STERN
880 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
TEL. REGENT 4-5359

Mrs Roosevelt
Wilkins

Oct 6 1960

Dear Mrs Roosevelt:

In answer to yours of Sept 30th I enclose copy of letter to Mr Dabbs.

Hope to send another check before end of year.

Sincerely
J David Stern

October 12, 1960

The Honorable Herbert H. Lehman
820 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

My dear Senator Lehman:

On my return to the office today after a brief absence, I was deeply gratified to find your kind letter advising us of your generous contribution through Mrs. Roosevelt.

Because of our admiration for your own long service to the cause of civil rights, Mr. Dabbs and I were especially grateful for the chance to meet you and Mrs. Lehman. For the same reason, your warm words and contribution are doubly appreciated. There is, quite literally, no one whose good opinion of the work of the Council could be more encouraging to us.

We understand fully your wish to make no commitment beyond the current year, but we hope to enjoy your confidence and to have your leadership in the nation for a long time to come.

With lasting appreciation and every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HERBERT H. LEHMAN
820 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

October 6, 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Fleming:

I am in receipt of your letter of October 3rd. It was a great pleasure to meet you and Mr. Dabbs at the recent dinner meeting at the home of M s. Franklin Roosevelt, and to hear your report with regard to the situation in theSouth and the work of the Southern Regional Council.

I have taken pleasure in sending Mrs. Roosevelt today a check for $1,000 as a contribution to the Southern Regional Council which I am convinced is doing very useful work in improving race relations in the South. I do not feel, however, that I can pledge myself to any specific contribution over a period of five years. I Hope that I will be able to be helpful for a great many years but at my age I feel that it would not be wise to pledge myself to make contributions beyond the current year. I am sure that you and Mrs. Roosevelt will understand the situation. I can assure you, however, that Mrs. Lehman and I greatly enjoyed the evening and that we are in full sympathy with the work that is being done by the Southern Regional Council.

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert H Lehman

BC: J Wilkins
J. Dabbs
10/17/60

Make letter
phoned on
Friends List
10/13/60

October 13, 1960

Mr. Frederick W. Richmond
The Richmond Foundation, Inc.
743 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Richmond:

Thank you for your kind acknowledgement of my recent letters and the welcome word that The Richmond Foundation will consider the Southern Regional Council's needs in early 1961. If, before that time, more detailed information about the Council would be helpful, I shall be happy to supply it.

Meanwhile, I hope to see you again in the near future.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE RICHMOND FOUNDATION, INC.
743 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1960

October 11, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for your letters of October 3rd and enclosures concerning the Southern Regional Council, which I have read with much interest.

Commitments of the Foundation for the year have already been allocated, therefore, your request for a contribution is being placed on the agenda for the early part of next year.

It was a pleasure meeting you at Mrs. Roosevelt's home and I look forward to seeing you on one of your trips to New York.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Richmond Jr.

Frederick W. Richmond

October 18, 1960

Mr. J. David Stern
880 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Stern:

This is to add to Mr. Dabbs's recent letter a word of warm appreciation for your contribution to the Council. We are both cheered and strengthened by your support, and by your willingness to consider further help later on.

Your comment on the separation of the sexes in desegregating public schools took on added relevancy last week. As you probably observed, the New Orleans public school authorities propose to do just that when they begin desegregation in the first grade on November 14. Despite a good deal of discussion of the idea, this will mark the first actual experience with it.

My own view, for whatever it is worth, is that this reversal of the prevailing trend toward coeducation and social activity in the schools will not prove necessary for public acceptance of desegregation in the more moderate and urban areas of the South. In the more rural, deep South areas -- where resistance is greatest -- such a step may well be the answer, at least for lengthy interim period. The Council has long made the point that white Southerners must cease to regard public facilities as private preserves for whites only; that they may choose their own "social equals" but may not enforce this private choice on

facilities operated by and for the public. As this lesson sinks in, the Deep South will very likely revise its view of the public schools accordingly.

Personally, I should regret the application of this principle below the high-school level. And I doubt its practicability in the lower grades. Perhaps because I attended a good all-male high school in Atlanta, however, I am still not convinced that co-education is an unmixed blessing at that level. Apart from racial factors, I suspect that much good might come of some "de-socialization" of the secondary schools.

In any case, we shall be following and reporting on the New Orleans experience with the closest attention. I hope you will continue to give us the benefit of your views on this and other aspects of Southern race relations.

With renewed thanks and kindest regards to you and Mrs. Stern, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

The Roosevelt Hospital
428 West 59 Street, New York 19, N. Y.

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1960

10-22-60

Harold,

Here are those letters Mrs Roosevelt sent over following the evening there. As I said over the phone, I laid them aside for Margaret to see and they somehow got buried here in this room.

Let me have the two personal notes back, please sir.

Bob Roith was here Friday, and said he had heard glowing accounts of your

visit out Coast

Blossing -

Popcow

October 26, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: JC

FROM: MF

John, I've added the following persons to my Friends List as a result of HCF's New York trip. I'm passing the names on to you so that they can be added to your list.

Mrs. Arthur H. Sulzberger
1115 Fifth Avenue
New York 28

Mr. Frederick Richmond
743 Fifth Avenue
New York

Mrs. Eugene Meyer
Seven Springs Farms
Mount Kisco, New York

Mr. J. David Stern
880 Fifth Avenue
New York 21
He may already be on your list - check.

The Hon. Herbert H. Lehman
820 Park Avenue
New York 21,

Mr. Andrew Goodman
754 Fifth Avenue
New York 19

Mr. Jacob H. Kaplan
53 East 80th Street
New York 21

Mr. Norman Tishman
14 East 75th Street
New York 21

Mr. John A. Coleman
812 Park Avenue
New York 21

Mrs. Ogden Reid
834 Fifth Avenue
New York 21

Mr. Robert Sarnoff
350 Park Avenue
New York 22

Mr. Nathan Straus
150 East 72nd Street
New York 21

LWD requested Mailing List 1/27/63

The Hon. Averell Harriman
16 East 81st Street
New York

Mrs. Rudolph Sonneborn
133 East 64th Street
New York 21

Mrs. Albert Lasker
29 Beekman Place
New York 22

LWD requested Mailing List 1/23/63

via air mail

October 31, 1960

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Private Pavillion
Roosevelt Hospital
Room 409
9th Avenue at 59th Street
New York, New York

Dear Josephine:

Here are the latest returns, one good, one encouraging, one negative. The $500 check from Mrs. Meyer lives up to my expectations, and despite her expressed doubts about future years, I am hopeful that she will continue her support. The letter from Harry Ashmore in response to an inquiry from the Rockefeller Foundation is not only good in itself; the very fact that the inquiry was made suggests that SRC is getting serious consideration. Let's hope they follow up Ashmore's suggestion that they ask McGill's opinion.

As to Avalon, this is a disappointment. But, as I'm fond of saying, you can't win them all. It's annoying though, isn't it, when they give you this kind of polite brush-off? I'd rather they'd say straight out why they are unwilling to help.

The letters written to and by Mrs. Roosevelt were heart-warming. I'm returning herewith Mrs. R's notes to you; I take it you want us to retain the others.

As you know, Dr. Frank was here the other day. I didn't get to hear his speech, though the newspaper

accounts were very good. His remarks on the sit-ins were essentially the same as those we used in New South. He called me the following morning (providentially while I was trying to locate him) and we had a pleasant chat. He spoke of you in the most glowing terms, all of which I matched with equal enthusiasm. I took the bull by the horns and asked him about SRC nomination. He said at once he'd be happy to serve if elected, and I assured him I'd be writing further soon. He's a grand person and, as any grand person should, he thinks the world of you.

I'm anxious to see you again. If a November trip to New York develops, as it very well may, I'll expect to do so. The next time we talk by telephone, I want to find out the latest word on your prospective de-hospitalization.

Aside from the local activity on the lunch-counter, King, and political fronts, there is no especially noteworthy news. One reason, I think, is that the presidential campaign is absorbing most people's interest for the moment.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

B.C. of HCF reply & Meyer ltr. to: Mr. Dabbs and J. Wilkins

November 1, 1960

Mrs. Eugene Meyer
Seven Springs Farm
Mount Kisco, New York

Dear Mrs. Meyer:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I want to thank you most warmly for your contribution. Mr. Dabbs and I greatly enjoyed meeting you at Mrs. Roosevelt's apartment and would like to add a personal word of appreciation for your generous aid to the Council's work.

We can readily understand that you many other commitments prevent your promising continuing assistance. But, apart from contributions, we should like to keep you informed of the accelerating changes in the South and the Council's part in them. The next five years promise to be an exciting and rewarding time for those who want to see segregation and discrimination ended.

I shall take the liberty of sending you occasional reports of the Council and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you again soon.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

Copy sent to JCW + JMD

SEVEN SPRINGS FARM
MOUNT KISCO
NEW YORK

October 26, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I enclose herewith my check for $500.00 but I cannot promise it every year as I have heavy commitments to various hospitals for the next four years. However, I hope the enclosed check will be of some use to you.

CR
R 1677
10/31/60

I am sorry that I could not stay to hear you but I had a long drive to the country that night.

Sincerely yours,

Agnes E. Meyer
(Mrs. Eugene Meyer)

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N W
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Copies sent to Mrs. Luther Robinson, Mrs. Dorothy Tilly, Mr. Paul Kersey

November 28, 1960

Mrs. Arthur Hays Sulzberger
1115 Fifth Avenue
New York 28, New York

Dear Mrs. Sulzberger:

Our warm thanks to you for your contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council, our receipt for which is enclosed.

My invitation to you to visit us in Atlanta was sincerely meant. I very much hope some occasion will bring you here soon -- or, if not, that we can contrive one that will pass muster.

In either case, I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you again soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official deceipt)

MRS. ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER
1115 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 28, N.Y.

November 17, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing my check for $250.00 as a contribution to the fine work of the Southern Regional Council. I wish it could be for a larger amount but unfortunately we have a great many other obligations.

RHA
11/21/60

I enjoyed meeting you at Mrs. Roosevelt's home and I was greatly impressed with what I learned of your organization.

Please accept my best wishes for continued and expanding influence in the South.

Sincerely,

Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

February 7, 1961

Mr. Frederick W. Richmond
783 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Fred:

Thanks for that very kind letter.

The report to the President seems to have had a good impact, not only in the press, but within the new administration; at least, the requests we have had here indicate it is being widely read within the appropriate agencies. Let us hope....

The Urban League is helping, of course, and I am confident we will be working together even more closely as time goes on.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

FREDERICK W. RICHMOND
743 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

February 2, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Hal:

Heartiest congratulations on your Blueprint for Presidential Action on Civil Rights! I also read the "Man in the News" feature on you in the NEW YORK TIMES and am proud to know you.

You certainly are doing magnificent work down South and if there is any way that the Urban League can help you, please don't hesitate to call on us.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Fred.

Frederick W. Richmond

FWR:LL

cc: Mr. Edward S. Lewis

The J. M. Kaplan Fund, Inc.
55 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York
Cable Address "Natpak" Algonquin 5-7770

April 19, 1961

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

This is a delayed acknowledgment of your recent letter about Harold Fleming's replacement as Executive Director by Leslie Dunbar.

I am sorry that I did not have the opportunity of meeting you on the occasion of Mrs. Roosevelt's dinner in New York. But I did have the pleasure of seeing recently a POST profile.

The enclosed card will indicate what the status is at our Fund. At this time, I cannot say what definition of areas the Trustees will select.

Sincerely,

Raymond S. Rubinow

Mr. James M. Dabbs, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RSR:lnh
Enclosure

THE J. M. KAPLAN FUND, INC.

55 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

THIS WILL ACKNOWLEDGE YOUR RECENT COMMUNICATION TO THE J. M. KAPLAN FUND.

WITH ITS ANNUAL MEETING HELD ON DECEMBER 21, 1960, THE FUND COMPLETED ITS FIRST FIFTEEN YEARS OF ACTIVITY.

THE TRUSTEES DECIDED THAT THIS WOULD BE AN APPROPRIATE TIME TO REVIEW AND REEXAMINE THE FUND'S PHILANTHROPIC PROGRAM.

IN PURSUANCE OF THAT DECISION, THE FUND ALSO DECIDED THAT, WITH EXCEPTION OF CERTAIN CONTINUING OBLIGATIONS, IT WOULD NOT ENTERTAIN NEW APPEALS PENDING THE PERIOD OF PROGRAM REVIEW TO LAST FOR AT LEAST THE NEXT SIX MONTHS.

RAYMOND S. RUBINOW
SECRETARY

MRS. J. DAVID STERN 880 FIFTH AVE., PENTHOUSE A NEW YORK 21, N.Y.
REGENT 4-5359

Wednesday Sept 21st

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

David and I agreed that the meeting at your home last evening was extraordinarily stimulating, informative and inspiring. We thank you for inviting us.

Until now, our chief contacts with race relations have come through our good friend Judge Waties Waring.

The talks last night shed light on the basic causes

of the conditions Judge Waring is devoting his life to improving.

In the light of the recent emergence of the African States, it seems to me vital that the white people of the United States Southern States, and the colored peoples of the whole world be understood as sympathetically as possible, and thoughtfully wisely helped.

Enclosed is the notice of the "Sunrise" revival I told you I had seen in the New York Times. Lambertville N. J. is in Bucks Co. near New Hope

Sincerely
Juliet Lit Stern

25 SUTTON PLACE

~~MR. FREDERICK WILLIAM RICHMOND~~

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt —

Any evening with you is always an inspiring and memorable experience, but last night was even more stimulating.

Many thanks for inviting me — I enjoyed everything immensely,

especially the opportunity to have a chat with you.

Kindest regards - I certainly look forward to seeing you on my own turf.

Sincerely,

Fred Rodell

Brief Biographies of FDR Dinner Invitees

MRS. ALBERT LASKER

Holds honorary LL.D degree from Univ. of Wisconsin. Connected with Reinhardt Galleries, New York, arranging benefit loan exhibitions of outstanding old and modern French masters and selling pictures to collectors and museums, 1924-31; established with husband, Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation, educational and medical research foundation wich gives awards through various health agencies for contributions to psychiatric and medical research and administration, 1942; now serving as president Trustee Museum Modern Art, Inst. Psychoanalysis, Chicago, Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas.

MR. AND MRS. JACOB KAPLAN

Mr. Kaplan spent 10 years in semitropical Latin American sugar producing countries; organized Oldetyme Molasses Co., 1920 and served as pres. until company merged into Dunbar Molasses Co., 1924; Pres. and chmn. bd. Hearn Dept. Stores, Inc., 1932-36, presently pres. J. M. Kaplan Fund, Inc., Ronier Corp., Nivelle Corp., Dir. Freedom House. Trustee of New School for Social Research.

MR. AND MRS. SPYROS SKOURAS

Mr. Skouras was born in Skourohorion, Greece. Is in the motion picture business. Organized chain of theatres, St. Louis (sold to Warner Bros); successively gen. mgr. Warner Bros. Circuit; also with Paramount Pictures; pres. Nat. Theatres Amusement Co. and pres. Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation.

MR. AND MRS. J. DAVID STERN

Mr. Stern is and editor and publisher. Purchased New Brunswick Times, 1912, Springfield News, 1914, Springfield Record, 1915, Camden Evening Courier, 1919, Camden Morning Post, 1926, and the Philadelphia Record, 1928; Pub. New York Post, 1933-39; suspended publn. of all newspapers in 1947.

MR. AND MRS. ARTHUR H. SULZBERGER

Mr. Sulzberger is a newspaper publisher. Holds Litt.D degree from Brown University and Univ. of Chattanooga; Pres., director The New York Times Co. 1935-57, Chmn. bd. 1957...; Chmn. bd. Times Printing Co., Chattanooga, 1957...; Trustee, New York Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation (1938-57).

MRS. EUGENE (Agnes Elizabeth) MEYER

Wife of Eugene Meyer, newspaper executive. Mr. Meyer was appointed by Pres. Hoover as member of Federal Reserve Board, 1930, resigned May 1933; also served as first chmn. of the board of Reconstruction Finance Corp., Feb. - July 1932; pub. The Washington Post, 1933-40; editor and pub., 1940-46, chmn. bd. Directors The Washington Post Company since 1947.

MR. AND MRS. DAVID SUSSKIND

(Not listed in Who's Who. However, connected with Columbia Broadcasting System)

MR. AND MRS. NATHAN STRAUS

Mr. Straus is a business executive. Connected with R. H. Macy and Co., 1910-13; Member, N. Y. Senate, 1921-26 (chmn. Com. on Agriculture; mem, Committees on Conservation, Taxation and Finance); Administrator, U. S. Housing Authority, 1937-42.

DR. AND MRS. FRANK GRAHAM

United Nations Representative.

SENATOR AND MRS. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

GOV. AND MRS. AVERELL HARRIMAN

Dear Mr. Stern:

This is to add to Mr. Dabbs's recent letter a word of warm appreciation for your contribution to the Council. We are both cheered and strengthened by your support, and by your willingness to consider further help later on.

Your comment on the separation of the sexes in desegregating public schools took on added relevancy last week. As you probably observed, the New Orleans public school authorities propose to do just that when they begin desegregation in the first grade on November 14. Despite a good deal of discussion of ~~this~~ the idea, this will mark the first actual experience wit it.

My own view, for whatever it is worth, is that this reversal of the prevailing trend toward coeducation and social activity in the schools will not prove necessary for public acceptance of desegregation in the more moderate and urban areas of the South. In the ~~xxxxx~~ more rural, deep South areas -- where resistance is greatest -- such a step may well be the answer, ~~adopted,~~ at least for ~~xxxxx~~ a ~~considerable~~ lengthy interim period. The Council has long made the point that white Southerners must cease to regard public facilities as private preserves for whites only; that they may choose their own ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ "social equals" but may not enforce this private choice on ~~xxxxxx~~ facilities operated by and for the public. As this lesson sinks in, the Deep South ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ will very likely revise its view of the public schools accordingly.

Personally, I should ~~view with~~ regret the application of this principle below the high-school level. And I doubt its

practicability in the lower grades. Perhaps because I attended a good all-male high school in Atlanta, I am still not convinced that co-education is an unmixed blessing at that level. Apart from racial factors, I suspect that much good might come of some "de-socialization" of the secondary schools.

In any case, we shall be following reporting on the New Orleans experience with the closest attention. I hope you will continue to give us the benefit of your views on this and other aspects of Southern race relations.

With renewed thanks and kindest regards to you and Mrs. Stern, I am

Sincerely,

HCF

enc.
Receipt $200
(I don't believe one has been sent, has it?)

DRAFT - A (For Guests)

Dear _____:

Mr. Fleming and I were very happy to have the privilege of meeting you recently at Mrs. Roosevelt's, and of talking with you and the others there about the situation in the South, especially in its racial aspects, and about the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Your presence there suggests your interest in the critical situation in the South and in the work the Southern Regional Council is doing toward bringing racial segregation and discrimination to an end. Though, because of its relatively large Negro population, the problem seems localized in the South, it is, of course, a national problem affecting, with the rise of the colored peoples of the world, the national destiny.

Both Mr. Fleming and I are happy to have some part, especially through the Southern Regional Council, in tackling this problem. I don't know whether we said this; I hope we implied it. What we did not say, as being inappropriate to a friendly evening in Mrs. Roosevelt's home, was that the Southern Regional Council, though a going organization with a budget of approximately $250,000, continually needs to gain new financial backers. We are now engaged in the effort to secure from new sources a total of $100,000-a-year for the next five years. Such a sum will enable our trained staff to put most of its

effort into the primary job of fact-finding and persuasion. All contributions to the Council are tax-exempt.

Your presence at Mrs. Roosevelt's made me feel -- what white Southerners need and, I think, want to feel -- that the South is truly a part of the nation. If you can go further and support generously the Southern Regional Council, we shall be very happy. Mr. Fleming will be glad to give you any additional information you desire.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Dabbs
President

JMD/mf

DRAFT - B (For invitees not attending)

Dear _____:

Recently Mrs. Roosevelt gave an informal dinner at her apartment to honor the Southern Regional Council and me as its president. I am sorry that you were unable to attend.

Since I can assume, however, some interest on your part, I am taking the liberty of writing this letter to acquaint you generally with what we did there.

Upon Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, I talked briefly about the situation in the South, especially as related to the racial problem; and Mrs Harold Fleming, our executive director, explained the work that the Southern Regional Council is doing. The Council, in brief, is an interracial organization, tax-exempt and educational, with a history dating back through the Interracial Commissions, to 1919. Through a respected Southern leadership and experienced staff, Negro and white, the Council is making a unique contribution to the urgent need for a non-segregated and democratic South.

I am enclosing certain printed information. Mr. Fleming will be happy to answer any questions you may have.

I hope I shall have the pleasure of meeting you sometime and discussing the work with you. Meanwhile,

we shall be sending you occasional reports of the Council's work. We hope that as you become more familiar with it, the Council may command your interest and support.

last sent non-joined

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs
President

JMD/mf
Enclosures

Lehman -
further int + support

Press
Rept
Bd list

Norte Robinson
Kaplan or others

Dear :

Recently I have received an informal invitation from the Department to become the Southern Regional Director and the President. I am sorry that you were unable to attend.

Since I am assuming, however, some interest in your part, I am taking the liberty of writing this letter to acquaint

you generally with
what we did there.

Upon Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion called [illegible] in the South especially as related to the social problem and her [illegible] our [illegible]

Ex-

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[illegible] to answer
[illegible]
[illegible]

~~[illegible]~~
~~should have [illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~personally, I am.~~
~~Sincerely yours~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~

[more]

I hope I shall have the pleasure of meeting you sometime soon & discussing the work with you. Meanwhile we shall be sending you occasional reports of the commission's work. We hope that as you become more familiar with its work the Council may command your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Taft

President

Dear

Mr Flemming and I were very happy to have the privilege of meeting you in Rhodesia, and of talking with you and to hear about the situation in the South, especially in its national aspect, and about the work of the Southern Region of the Panafrican Congress.

Our prayers and thoughts are with you in your work in the real situation in the South and we wish the Southern Region Congress

is doing toward
[illegible] magical
[illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] to an end.
Though because of
its relating language
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the problem serves
localized in [illegible]
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and [illegible] are [illegible]
to have some part,
especially through the
[illegible] in teaching
[illegible] claim.
This [illegible] whether
[illegible]

We said this, but what we implied it what we did not say, as being inappropriate to a British training in Euro results here, was that the Regional Council, though a going organization with a budget of approximately $20,000, continually need to gain financial backing. We are now in the about to secure the total new $100,000 a year for three years, which seems a sum well worth

our trained staff to
put most of the
effort into the
primary job of fact-
finding and preparation
of full contri-
butions to the General
and Tax exempt.

At this point I
made one point
what we little satisfaction
at least need and
I think want to feel
that the unit is
truly a part of the
nation by the
same [illegible]
and [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Mr. Flemming

will be glad to give you any additional information you desire.

Yours sincerely,

[illegible]

President

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Straus:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Straus
150 East 72nd Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Sarnoff:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Sarnoff
350 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Paley:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. William Paley
Kiluna Farm
Manhasset, New York

Dear Helen:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Affectionately,

Mrs. Ogden Reid
834 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Coleman:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. John Coleman
812 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Tishman:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Norman Tishman
14 East 75th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Goodman:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Goodman
754 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Stevens:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Roger Stevens
745 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Gimbel:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Elinor Gimbel
163 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Cullman:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Howard S. Cullman
480 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Stanton:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Dr. and Mrs. Frank Stanton
5 East 92nd Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Hirshon:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Hirshon
Willow Pond
Lattingtown Road
Glen Cove, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Scheuer:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. James Scheuer
410 West 24th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Mr. Richmond:

I am asking a few people in for a small buffet supper at my apartment, at the above address, on Tuesday evening, September 20th, at seven-thirty o'clock.

James McBride Dabbs, author and South Carolina planter, and others are coming up to discuss with us the situation in the South. Mr. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council, which as you probably know is giving statesmanlike leadership in that critical area.

I hope very much you will be able to come, and will appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Mr. Frederick Richmond
743 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Subject:

Phoebe Waterman Foundation, Inc.

RE:

ltr from Richard K. Bennett, Executive Director of Waterman Foundation to Leslie re his appointment to Field Foundation.

DATE: August 9, 1965

SEE
(SUBJECT):

Foundations: Phoebe Waterman Foundation, Inc.

Make folder: Fund Raising — New Prospective Sources

BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY

LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

231 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • AREA CODE 212 — LEXINGTON 2-3410

August 13, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The news that you have been named as executive director of the Southern Regional Council prompts this brief note of congratulations. Although our paths have not crossed in recent years, I remember one occasion about 8 years ago when we roomed together in connection with a Lutheran Church in America Conference on Race Relations at Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio.

I take this opportunity, too, to express appreciation for the work of the Southern Regional Council. Of the many materials that come into our office, yours are among the most helpful.

Our best wishes to you in your new responsibilities.

Sincerely,

Harold Haas
HH

Harold Haas
Executive Secretary

HH:msh
Dictated but not read.

REV. HAROLD HAAS, Ph.D., Executive Secretary • HERLUF M. JENSEN, Faith and Life Program • REV. RICHARD J. NIEBANCK, Research and Program • REV. HAROLD W. REISCH Special Ministries • REV. CARL E. THOMAS, ACSW, Agencies and Institutions • REV. CEDRIC W. TILBERG, DD., Social Ministry Program • GEORGE WESTBY, ACSW, Administration

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SPC

"Potential Contributors"

REGARDING

Bequest of $95.00 - see letter of 3/17/66 from Barbara Harkins, Secty. to John Yungblut, to Mr. Taylor, Philadelphia, Pa.

DATE

3/17/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Filed Religious Organizations

"Quakers"

File
Prospective New
Sources
cr. ref.
ACLU.

May 12, 1966

Mr. Gordon K. Haskell
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Haskell:

The Southern Regional Council is beginning a program of soliciting bequests for its long range interests.

I spoke to Chuck Morgan and he suggested that I contact you for any information you might have and be willing to share on your organization's experience. Any help that you can give us will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

Books of The Times

Mr. Miller Offstage

By THOMAS LASK

I DON'T NEED YOU ANY MORE. Stories by Arthur Miller. 240 pages. Viking. $5.

SINCE no group of short stories could possibly carry the distinction or the prestige of a Broadway play, it will be hard to argue that these short stories by Arthur Miller deserve the same attention that is accorded his stage works—the same attention, if not necessarily as much. For in spite of a surprisingly deprecatory introduction in which Mr. Miller refers to short stories as "casual things at the lower end of the scale of magnitude," these offerings are neither mere doodlings nor scratch-pad outlines for more serious works to come. At their best, they make a striking impact, and, as good stories should, illuminate an area larger than the one they traverse. They are not always at their best, but four tales, possibly five in this collection of nine, will enhance Mr. Miller's standing as a writer, not merely as a playwright, as Chekhov's stories enhanced his reputation as a man of letters.

Inge Morath, Magnum

Arthur Miller

Mr. Miller's virtues are firmest when he works outside his characters, showing them great hunger for love and emotional security and the way it is masked by social attitudes and veneers. A woman who has permitted that veneer to crack and who feels it has made her vulnerable acts to restore the balance in a relationship with a neighbor. When she thinks the danger has passed, she reveals the same stony-eyed attitude as before, her frustrated cry of need completely forgotten.

"Fame" is a funny story, a desperately funny story, about the twin drives for privacy and for fame, for the limelight and the still center. It is also about the built-in humiliations that a publicity-conditioned society has fostered.

On the surface, "Please Don't Kill Anything" is the story of a couple who retrieve and throw back into the water fish that have been caught but that are commercially worthless. In the light of the number of fish in the water and the chance of these small fish surviving at all, the effort of the two of them is pointless. But in the man's understanding of the woman's attitude and the opportunity his action gives him to express his love for her, "Please Don't Kill Anything" is about something tender and unspoken between a man and a woman.

A Challenging Density

One story, "The Misfits," the basis of the motion picture, is more notable for its setting than its people. The landscape, with its great distances, its wildness, its heat and its aridity, is vivid and freshly drawn. Mr. Miller has written it as if it were really a prologue; after the wild horses have been captured and the men are rolling along to town, we feel that there is a larger drama

A Listing of Ne

Fiction

APPLESAUCE, by June Arnold (McGraw-Hill, $4.95). Novel about a marriage.

THE BLUE FLOWERS, by Raymond Queneau, translated by Barbara Wright (Atheneum, $5). A romp through French history from 1264 to 1964.

Paperback Originals. DOLL BABY, by Hugh Barron; THE LAST CARD, by Hans Hellmut Kirst, translated by J. Maxwell Brownjohn (Pyramid, 75 cents each); AND ALL BECAUSE . . ., by Denise Robins (Pyramid, 50 cents); THE GOLDEN SERPENT, by Nick Carter; THE WEAPON OF NIGHT, by Nick Carter (Award Books, 50 cents each).

Paperback Originals. THE MAN FROM AVON, by Michael Avallone (Avon, 50 cents); THE TABBART BRAND, by D. B. Newton; WILDCAT ON THE LOOSE, by Jeff Clinton (Berkley, 50 cents each).

Hardcover Reprint. THE MYTHS OF THE RHINE, translated from the French of X. B. Saintine by M. Schele de Vere, illustrated by Gustave Doré (Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vt., $2.75).

Reprints. AGAINST NATURE, by J.-K. Huysmans, a translation of "A Rebours" by Robert Baldick (Penguin, $1.45); FANGHORN, A Play by David Pinner (Penguin, $1.25); ENCHANTER'S NIGHT-SHADE, by Ann Bridge (Berkley, 75 cents).

General

GOD AND HISTORY IN EARLY CHRISTIAN THOUGHT: A Study of Themes From Justin Martyr to Gregory the Great, by Loyd G. Patterson (Seabury Press, $5.50).

GRAHAM GREENE, by John Atkins (Humanities Press, $6). Revised edition of a 1957 study.

JAPANESE LANTERNS, by Wim Swaan (Taplinger, $7.95). Study of Japan and her people.

MONTESSORI FOR THE DISADVANTAGED: An Application of Montessori Educational Principles to the War on Poverty, edited by R. C. Orem (Putnam, $4.95).

NEW TRENDS IN 20TH CENTURY

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Topics: Overhead for the Underdog

By WALDEMAR A. NIELSEN

A nation finances its essential institutions in various ways: its corporations and industries through their earnings; governmental agencies through taxes; churches through private donations; universities through endowments, taxes and government contracts.

But it sometimes happens that whole categories of vital national institutions can fall through a crack in the system or become caught and mangled in the gears of social transition.

Support Is Changing

In the United States today, concepts and practices for the support of our basic educational, scientific and cultural institutions are very rapidly changing. Federal Government support is entering massively at every level of education. State supported universities are burgeoning—and nowhere more rapidly and encouragingly than here in New York State. Privately supported colleges and universities, with the encouragement of some foundations, are making vigorous efforts to build up their endowments and sources of private support. Universities and research institutions of all kinds are becoming heavily reliant on Federal contracts to carry out scientific work, much of which is military and some of which is "classified."

Cultural institutions, including opera companies, museums, orchestras, ballet groups and others—long neglected by private donors, philanthropy and government—are still undernourished but are beginning to receive attention and somewhat greater financial backing.

There is one vital category of institutions, however, which is being pinched excruciatingly by rising demands for services on the one hand and lack of financial resources on the other. This is that amorphous group of private agencies which are neither schools nor churches nor hospitals nor museums and which are loosely called "nongovernmental organizations." They range from the United Nations Association and the N.A.A.C.P. on the one hand to local civic groups and community centers on the other.

The Endless Hunt

These organizations, whether at the international, national or local level, have been born out of private response to urgent needs of our society. A few are fortunate enough to have built-in sources of income, such as those which perform a service for which a fee can be charged. A tiny number enjoy the blessing of a wealthy and devoted sponsor. Some with strong emotional appeal can attract sufficient support from the general public.

But it is the others who are in the most serious trouble. And these include several agencies of national and international importance and many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of state or local importance.

For them, the alternatives are government contracts of some kind, or foundation grants, or an endless and time-consuming effort to obtain individual and corporate gifts.

But there is a highly developed distaste for giving to overhead costs. The result is that the nonprofit organizations are forced to play the shuttlecock in a particularly brutal form of badminton. Foundations support new projects on a temporary basis on the theory that if the experiment is successful, government funds will provide for the program's continuation. Government agencies increasingly tend to favor the pilot project, which if successful, will "surely" generate continuing support from private foundations.

Those responsible for the management and development of nonprofit agencies are driven to a more and more frantic search for the funds with which to pay the dismal but inescapable basic costs of any institution—the rent, the light, the equipment, and the central staff on which the unending tasks of planning, administration, evaluation and development fall.

More and more time and energy are devoted to the chase. More and more unseemly methods are resorted to. More and more harassment of donors occurs. More and more, the basic strength, stability and quality of these important organizations are drained away.

Core of Management

An important and even vital segment of the institutional structure of our society is financially orphaned—and important tasks in the areas of public education, social welfare, and international relations are not being carried out as well as they must be.

An adequate solution to their financial problems will not be quickly or easily found.

But as a beginning, private foundations, individual donors and government agencies might recall that "overhead," though most commonly used as an epithet, also signifies the vital management core of an institution, without which neither its ongoing programs nor its new experiments can maintain their quality—much less achieve excellence.

Mr. Nielsen is president of the African-American Institute.

Make file: Spec - Fund-Raising

File
See section
"Prospective
Donors"

VIP List

1. Mrs. Marshall Field
   250 Park Avenue
   New York, New York

2. Mr. Kenneth Montgomery
   120 West Adams Street
   Chicago, Illinois

3. Dr. Harold Friedman
   607 Longwood Drive
   Glencoe, Illinois

THE COUNCIL, THE SOUTH, AND THE FUTURE

December 12, 1955 Fred Routh

The decade now ending has been a period of accelerated change for the South; SRC has played an important role in assisting the region and its people to adjust to this change. Recently SRC has completed the first phase of a vastly expanded program in the South: the setting up of human relations agencies in the twelve states of the area. These agencies have needed considerable aid and assistance from the central office, not only financially, but organizationally and program-wise as well. Today and tomorrow these organizations face and will face the necessity of assisting communities in their respective states to meet the challenge of desegregation and integration. They, along with religious, educational, and business institutions and organized labor, have looked and will continue to look to SRC for guidance.

Thus, the first question to be answered by any organization which asks, "What of the future?" has received an affirmative reply. Is there a <u>need</u> for the continued services of the Southern Regional Council ? YES ! If the past decade can be referred to as the "decade of accelerated change" the coming decade may well be referred to as the "era of jet-propelled transition." And the needs of the state organizations, the region, and the people for constructive guidance will be multiplied not lessened. The South is well on its way back into the main stream of the nation's life. There are strong forces however, out of the past, which work to keep the South isolated.

The Council would be grossly negligent, indeed foolhardy if it fails to assist the forces of progress in the South in the coming decade. Its program must be expanded, not constricted nor terminated, if we are to work out constructive transition.

At the time the grant from the Fund For the Republic expires we may expect that desegregation in the schools will be well under way in some of the Southern states but it is almost beyond hope that much change will have taken place in Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, or Mississippi. There will be work still to be done by a regional office to assist the state organizations to help bring about compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

The trend of recent Supreme Court decisions is toward holding un-Constitutional the expenditure of public funds for segregated facilities or services. I.C.C. rulings demand non-segregation in inter-state transportation and in terminal and depot facilities. The President's Committee on Government Contracts is working to end discrimination and segregation in all plants which have contracts with the federal government. Organized labor is united as never before and this gigantic force is seeking an end to discrimination and segregation in its locals. As big business and industry move into the South new demands for conformity to the national pattern will be felt even more.

The demands for change on the part of the South are multiplying; they are many times what they were only months ago. To assist the South and its people through this period of transition there is a need for an integrated organization which has had experience in assisting social change and has earned the confidence of both white and colored people.

There is in the South today only one organization which meets all of these requirements: The Southern Regional Council. A joint planning committee composed of representatives of the Board, the central staff, the

state staffs, and competent social scientists should sit down together to examine the needs of the South in the continuing adjustment and to plan how the Council may help fill those needs. Its future must not rest on the continuation of funds from one source, no matter how generous. A well organized, far-seeing finance committee is a must. A professionally competent program planning committee is a must. An adequate professional consultant service is a must. A well trained professional staff is a must. A dedicated Board of Directors is a must.

If the Council really cares about the South of the future toward which it has worked, then it has work yet to do. Let it never be claimed that the leaders of SRC said, as did Louis XV,

"Apres moi le deluge."

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

TO: FBR.

I remind you of the approach of a December 15th time for the memo on continuance of SRC after the expiration of the Fund for the Republic grant.

GSM.

MEMO to GSM from CHP

THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The future of SRC would seem to center around Program, Organization and Financing with priority being given to these items in the order of their listing.

Two questions to be considered in connection with program are:

What is the unique role of SRC as presently constituted?

Is there any need for SRC? Or more precisely, Will there be a need for SRC after the period of the grant from FFR?

Perhaps it would be fitting to say that what is unique about SRC is not what it does but how it does it. Ours is an integrated approach. We have in the past combined in various degrees advocacy, professional service and research. For the most part the emphasis has been on advocacy. We have urged equality of opportunity and we now urge compliance with the law of the land. We will have fulfilled our unique mission, however, if we can 'sell' the integrated approach. We are in a better position than anyone else to promote this approach because we have been working at it longer than anyone else. Our future depends upon the extent to which we can incorporate this experience into a body of technical knowledge and thus make available to the South a much needed professional service. Our major function would be that of imparting to others the skills we have acquired. We are not staffed for research but we have a continuing function of disseminating the findings of other research workers. Under appropriate conditions our files should be available to responsible social scientists for research purposes.

Assuming the realization of the ideal of twelve financially secure, autonomous state organizations dedicated to the achievement of SRC goals, it is difficult to see the need for anything more than a skeletal regional organization to serve as a sort of clearing house that would facilitate communication among the affiliated groups. Even if this ideal is not reached, any movement toward it would involve a corresponding reduction of SRC staff and budget.

The prospect is not bright for financial support that would make the state organizations independent of help from outside their borders. It is unrealistic to expect memberships and individual contributions of small sums by many people to be nearly enough to keep state organizations going. Sizeable donations in "hard core" states will almost invariably turn out to be bribes to get us to turn aside from the school segregation controversy. Local financial support for the SRC program would appear to be in inverse relationship to Need. On the other hand, in a few states where the political atmosphere is more congenial to our purposes, effective state councils may be taken over and operated at public expense. This would be an extension into the South of the pattern of official recognition and backing of human relations programs. In any event SRC would have to look to outside foundation support for its continued existence.

If SRC demonstrated its ability to provide the unique professional service which will be in great demand throughout the South during the next few years, there should be no great difficulty in getting the necessary funds. This is the task before us.

S. B. ELEAZER
EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF WOMAN'S WORK

W. C. JACKSON, CHAIRMAN

M. ASHBY JONES, HONORARY CHAIRMAN
R. H. KING, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
WILL W. ALEXANDER, DIRECTOR

T. J. WOOFTER, JR.,
RESEARCH ADVISER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation

409 PALMER BUILDING
Atlanta, Ga.

January 1, 1930

My dear Mrs. Ozmer:

Several weeks ago the Commission received some complimentary copies of Major Moton's book, "What the Negro Thinks". We are putting one in the hands of a selected group of men and women who we believe are concerned about the numerous problems that arise in the South because of the race situation.

I am sending you one of these which I am sure will interest you.

Major Moton is a leader among Negroes and tho he does not speak for all the race, notably the radical wing, he can be set down as representing the majority. We are all curious about what the other fellow thinks.

Will you pass the book on to others and keep it going until it is worn out, and will you write me what you think of the book yourself?

Sincerely yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

Jessie Daniel Ames

Mrs. W. A. Ozmer,
516 Clairmont Avenue,
Decatur, Georgia

JRC - Historical Materials

THE INTERRACIAL FRONT

Annual Report
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
1933

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
703 Standard Building
ATLANTA, GA.

First edition, 5,000, May, 1934.

THE INTERRACIAL FRONT

Annual Report of Commission on Interracial Cooperation

During the past year the staff of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation has consisted of the Executive Director, three Directors of the Departments of Education, Woman's Work, and Research, five members of the Headquarters Clerical Staff, and one full-time and four part-time field men. The organizational set-up comprises the Commission, with 126 members representing thirteen Southern states; thirteen State Committees, with fifty to several hundred members each; and a large number of local committees. While the state and local committees are autonomous, they are fostered by and coöperate with the Commission, the parent body.

Because of a greatly reduced field staff it has been impossible of late for the Commission to give adequate attention to the field work. In spite of this, however, most of the state committees have continued to work. They have held well-attended annual meetings, given earnest attention to interracial conditions in the several states, and sought to build public opinion, liberalize public policies, and preserve amicable and coöperative relations between the two racial groups. The local committees, of which hundreds were organized in the early days of the movement, are continuing to function more or less effectively in most of the large cities and in many smaller cities and towns. These local committees work on definite projects—schools, libraries, sanitation and health, protection of life and property, legal aid, and many other conditions involving interracial injustice and neglect.

In addition to the promotion and encouragement of the field work referred to above, the Commission has concerned itself chiefly with the emergent economic and social conditions incident to the depression, and with popular education, woman's work, legal aid, anti-lynching activities, research and investigation. This general classification, however, is neither exhaustive nor quite exact.

Problems Incident to the Depression

It was inevitable that the economic crisis of the last four years should affect the interracial situation very seriously. Widespread unemployment, due to the collapse of agriculture and industry, has greatly sharpened the competition for jobs, which in some cases has been particularly intense along the color line. Long before the NRA came into existence, white men were displacing Negroes, sometimes in occupations previously recognized as exclusive Negro jobs. Occasionally the struggle took the form of intimidation and, in some cases, of actual violence. The most notable recent illustration was the series of assassinations of Negro locomotive firemen in Mississippi and Louisiana, evidently with the purpose of running all Negro trainmen off their jobs. Idleness on the part of both races has been conducive to unrest, ill temper, crimes against property, and other irritating conditions. Certain efforts to lead Negroes to revolutionary violence have fomented mutual distrust, fear and potential hostility, and have developed a number of threatening situations.

These conditions have laid heavy additional responsibility upon the Commission, and at the same time have added greatly to the difficulty of its work. Realizing in the early days of the depression the possibilities of interracial conflict which it involved, the Commission and its related groups have watched the situation closely and have been active constantly in efforts to prevent friction, obviate or correct injustices, protect the interests of the Negro in industry, and coöperate with government agencies seeking the permanent improvement of the condition of Negroes.

In Alabama where revolutionary agitation has been especially noticeable and the resulting tension has been greater than in any other section of the South, the State Interracial Committee, with the advice and assistance of the headquarters staff, has been quietly but persistently active in the effort to preserve interracial understanding and good will, and has been able to ameliorate to some extent what otherwise might have developed into a situation much more serious.

Cooperation in Recovery Program

In view of the fact that Negroes have been among the greatest sufferers from the depression in both agriculture and industry the Commission's staff has devoted a great deal of time during the last two or three years to a study of various phases of this situation and to the effort to render as much help as possible in the Administration's recovery program. These efforts may be classified roughly as follows:

1. Agricultural Conditions.—Extensive field investigations were made of the administration of the farmers' loans provided by the Government for the purchase of feed, seed, and fertilizer. Efforts were put forth to help Negro farmers qualify for this type of relief and to see that it was made equally available to both races. Last year similar investigations were conducted as to the distribution of federal funds in compensation for the plowing up of cotton and the limitation of crop acreage. The significant facts discovered in these investigations were brought to the attention of the proper government authorities, who received them with assurances that a distinct service to the Administration has been rendered in this way.

2. Differential Wage.—When the NRA became effective, with its general increase of wages, many employers of labor in the South began a determined drive for a differential wage rate as between Negro and white workers, on the alleged ground that such a differential was necessary as a protection to Negro workers. The Commission has consistently opposed this effort, as subversive of the best interests of both Negro and white labor, as detrimental to the South, and as tending to defeat the Administration's plan for economic recovery. So far the drive for a differential has met with no favor in Washington. On August 27th the press carried widely the following statement on this subject by Dr. Will W. Alexander, Executive Director of the Commission:

"Employers of labor who are urging a lower wage level for Negroes under the code of the NRA are offering a dangerous proposal. If put into effect, it would undermine the President's program of economic recovery in the South, and at the

same time would cut the economic foundations from under the feet of white working men. Negroes, pressed to accept and even to ask for such a differential, are vigorously and, I think, quite properly objecting. They are unwilling to be put in the role of 'scabs', undercutting the white man's wage and standard of living.

"They maintain soundly that in case of equal work and equal efficiency justice demands equal wages. They point also to the practical fact that Negroes have to pay just as much for the necessities of life as white people do. To force them to a lower level than the minimum set by the NRA can mean only lower living standards than those contemplated by the code. This would inevitably play into the hands of unscrupulous employers eager to sidestep their obligations in this crisis. It would constitute also a limitation of the Negro's purchasing power which would cripple the whole program of recovery in the South. There can be no economic recovery for the South that does not include the Negro. The wiser economic leaders will not acquiesce in a plan so obviously unsound."

3. Effect of NRA.—Anticipating the possibility of some displacement of Negro workers as the result of the NRA wage scales, the Commission has kept close watch on this situation and has made careful investigation of conditions in a score of representative cities and towns. These surveys, while revealing displacement, indicate that many Negroes employed when the NRA went into effect have been retained at the higher wage levels. The final effect of the NRA on the status of Negro workers remains to be seen. The Commission is gathering the facts that will be necessary to deal intelligently with the situation, whatever it may be.

4. Distribution of Relief.—Close watch has been kept also on the distribution of direct and work relief, in the effort to see that the needs of the Negro unemployed were taken care of. In general the policies of relief administrators on this point seem to have been commendable. However, not a few situations involving neglect and discrimination have been discovered and dealt with through the proper authorites.

5. Helpful Contacts Maintained.—In these varied efforts, the Commission has been in constant contact with various branches of the recovery administration, and has been called upon repeatedly to investigate and report on special phases of the recovery program as they effect Negroes. Just now (March, 1934) these contacts are assuming greater importance in connection with developing plans for the permanent rural rehabilitation of Negroes on a large scale.

6. Housing Projects.—The Executive Director has been able to help in developing two government slum clearance projects in Atlanta and New Orleans. Each will involve millions of dollars, and if carried to completion will wipe out large slum areas and provide at moderate prices the best type of modern housing for hundreds of families.

In this connection it is gratifying to note that three members of the Commission have been called to important positions in the National Administration. These are Clark Foreman, who was appointed special assistant to the Secretary of the Interior with particular responsibility for the interests of Negroes in the recovery program; Henry A. Hunt, president of Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School, appointed advisor in the department of Federal Farm and Home Loans; and Forrester B. Washington, director of the Atlanta School of Social Work, appointed by Administrator Harry Hopkins as assistant in the Department of Federal Relief.

Dillard University

Two years ago the Director agreed to accept the acting presidency of Dillard University, an institution to be created by the merger of New Orleans University, Straight College, and the Flint-Goodridge Hospital. Meantime, while continuing his connection with the Commission, he has devoted a great deal of time to the effectuation of this merger. The first unit of the combined institution, the new Flint-Goodridge Hospital, was completed and opened more than a year ago and is now in successful operation. This institution, costing more than $300,000, was built as the result of the generous subscriptions of hundreds of New Orleans citizens of both races and is a notable tribute to the effectiveness of interracial coöperation.

It is gratifying to note that work on the new University plant, to be built on a valuable and commodious site in the suburbs of New Orleans, will begin at an early date, with the expectation of opening the institution in the fall of 1935. It is felt that the significance of this enterprise as an interracial project has justified the time and effort which have been required to bring it to fruition.

Educational Program—The Press

The educational program has endeavored to affect public opinion through all available channels. Constant use has been made of newspapers and magazines to the number of 2,000, including all the daily papers in the South, many of the weeklies, all the Negro papers in the country, and the principal journals devoted to religion, education, and other special interests. The purpose of this news service has been "to interpret each race to the other in the most favorable light consistent with the facts." In this effort we have had generous and helpful coöperation on the part of the Associated Press, the United Press, the International News Service, and the Associated Negro Press. The attitude of the newspapers continues intelligent, friendly, and coöperative.

Race Relations Study in Public Schools

Recognizing that interracial prejudice, neglect, and injustice are rooted more often in ignorance and misinformation than in deliberate malice, the Commission is convinced that consistent educational processes, as nearly universal as possible, offer the only sure hope of fundamental improvement. For several years, therefore, it has been endeavoring to develop the study of race relations in the public schools and colleges of the South. A five-thousand-word unit of study on the Negro's constructive contribution to American life has been prepared and made available to thousands of public school principals and teachers. Hundreds of these institutions all across the South have introduced this study and more than 90,000 copies of the source pamphlet have been utilized. Some very remarkable work has been done. A striking example is that of the white schools of a Mississippi city which last year enlisted a thousand boys and girls in this study and had four hundred of them prepare papers on it.

Many schools have greatly expanded the study to include community surveys, visitation of Negro schools, programs for the information of the public, etc.

Without doubt this project has made a definite contribution to interracial understanding on the part of a great many teachers and students. Its chief significance, however, is the fact that it has demonstrated the acceptability and effectiveness of this type of work in the public schools. The project has been approved by practically every Southern state department of education, and has received wide and enthusiastic endorsement at the hands of teachers who have tried it. There have been no unfavorable comments from any quarter.

Last summer at Peabody College the Commission brought together thirty representatives of the state departments of education of the thirteen Southern states, including a number of state superintendents, and laid before them the opportunity and obligation which the public schools have in this connection. After two days of careful consideration, the group unanimously declared that "we desire to see a better understanding in race relations and believe this can be brought about through education." As a means of achieving this end, these educators made the definite recommendation that "suggestions and lesson plans on this subject should be prepared and made available to all the schools in the South," and that ultimately a suitable textbook on the Negro's part in American life should be included in the course of study. Without a doubt such a program in the public schools would go far toward creating interracial understanding and justice. The Commission considers this a reasonable goal and is pursuing a definite plan for its achievement.

The several state departments are now engaged in surveys of their public school textbooks with relation to their treatment of this question, with a view to determining what changes need to be made in the interest of more intelligent interracial attitudes.

Colleges Enlisted

Another major educational interest has been centered in the colleges and teacher-training institutions, as the sources from which the streams of popular education flow. Efforts in this field

have been sponsored and directed by committees of outstanding educational leaders, headed by Dr. Bruce R. Payne, president of Peabody College, and including President Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina, Superintendent Willis A. Sutton of the Atlanta Public Schools, State Superintendent James H. Hope of South Carolina, and many others of equal influence.

Under these favorable auspices, three notable Conferences on Education and Racial Adjustment have been held in the past three years and an approach has been made to the four hundred universities, colleges, and teacher-training institutions in the South in the interest of a definite program of education in race relations. The response has been gratifying, and courses in race relations have been introduced in not less than 150 institutions. A notable illustration is the program carried out in successive years in Arkansas State Teachers College, in which each of the 800 students was brought into contact with a carefully planned program of race relations education. A textbook on the subject, prepared under the auspices of the Commission especially for teachers colleges, and an exhaustive source book for reference purposes are nearing completion. It is the Commission's purpose to give major attention during the next few years to this phase of its educational program, since the teachers college is the strategic point of attack upon the whole problem.

Women Form Anti-Lynching Association

The Department of Woman's Work, through the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, has continued its campaign against mob violence. This Association, organized three years ago by the Director of Woman's Work, already has a membership of more than 17,000 women, each of whom has signed the following pledge:

"We declare lynching is an indefensible crime destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any one section of the United States, we are aroused by the record which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country. We believe that this record has been

achieved because public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of facts, this claim can no longer be used as a protection to those who lynch. We pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever acts of mobs or lynchers."

The 17,000 signers represent 2250 separate communities in fourteen Southern states. Without exception they are women of standing and influence and their numbers are being increased steadily. In turn they are securing the signatures of their local sheriffs, police chiefs, and other offices to the following pledge:

"I oppose and condemn the crime of lynching for any alleged cause as one destructive of all principles of American government. I endorse every effort of citizens to create a public opinion which will support all officers of the law in the discharge of their oath of office, to support and defend the Constitution of the State and of the United States, and as one of these officers, I will assist in this campaign for the eradication of lynching."

The several state councils of this Association meet annually, carry on an educational campaign against lynching, watch for dangerous situations, seek to avert threatened trouble, support officers who resist mobs, and demand court action in cases of mob violence. This organization has made investigations of a number of recent lynchings and has published the facts, which in many cases show mistaken identity in mob action, the connivance of officers, and the unwillingness of courts to convict. In this movement the great religious organizations of women are coöperating, with their direct approach to hundreds of thousands of the most influential women in the South. It is believed that the significance of this mobilization of Southern women can hardly be overestimated.

Another important phase of work among the women of the South has been the effort to make interracial education and activity a part of the regular programs of their various organizations, civic, educational, and religious. The plan comprehends

local studies of Negro schools, health, civic conditions, racial attitudes in children, and the like, leading to efforts along many lines for the improvement of the conditions affecting Negroes. This program has been officially adopted by the missionary organizations of Southern Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian women and is widely operative. Since there are more than fifteen thousand of these organized groups, all potentially committed to a race relations program, the possibilities of this line of approach are very great.

Research and Investigation

Two important research projects were consummated during the past year, the one a series of case studies of recent lynchings and the other an exhaustive study of anti-lynching laws and judicial practice state by state. Both studies were made by members of the Commission's staff and were sponsored by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, a group of eleven representative Southern leaders.

The case study report was published last summer by the University of North Carolina Press, in a 500-page volume, entitled "The Tragedy of Lynching." This has attracted wide and favorable attention.

The purpose of the judicial study, which was made with the advice of the deans of nineteen Southern law schools, was to reveal the weak points in legislative enactment and court procedure with relation to the prevention and punishment of lynching, and to suggest additional measures which might seem desirable. The 220-page report of this study, entitled "Lynching and the Law," was issued recently from the Press of the University of North Carolina.

During the summer, an exhaustive investigation was made of a series of lynchings in and around Tuscaloosa, Ala., and of the attendant community conditions and attitudes. The results of this investigation were published in a 40-page report, entitled "The Plight of Tuscaloosa," which was given wide circulation in Alabama and surrounding states. Though this report constitutes a vigorous indictment of community attitudes and practices and points to connivance and actual participation

of officers in two of the lynchings perpetrated, its accuracy has not been challenged. A number of the year's lynchings in other states were investigated by the research staff and the facts were given to the public, together with demands for court action. In some of these cases indictments are now pending, but in the light of past experience, the probability of conviction is not great.

Legal Aid

A number of significant cases pending in the courts during the past year have demanded considerable attention. Persistent efforts were put forth to secure a change of venue in the Scottsboro cases, and failing in that, to guarantee adequate protection to the prisoners in the trials held at Decatur.

The upsurge of lynching during the past year, bringing the number of victims to twenty-eight, as against eight for the year 1932, has been distressing, but it is not necessarily to be taken as indicating a permanent trend. A study of the lynching curve over the past five decades shows that it has invariably been affected unfavorably in periods of economic stress. There is reason to believe that the increase of last year may be explained largely on this ground. It has served, however, to shock the nation into a fresh realization of the horror of this practice, and affords a favorable background for renewed efforts to eradicate it. The Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching bill now pending in Congress has received wider popular support than previous proposed federal anti-lynching laws, not a little of this support coming from the South. The opinion of the Commission is divided as to the probable wisdom and effectiveness of this bill; hence, it has taken no official stand regarding it. Whatever the fate of the bill the discussion of the matter will doubtless have value in the development of intelligent public sentiment for the eradication of lynching.

Members of the Commission are agreed, however, that the present interest in the subject should be utilized in strengthening the anti-lynching laws of various states where the present legal safeguards are felt to be inadequate. A measure looking to this end has already been introduced in the legislature of Kentucky and similar efforts are contemplated in other states.

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1934-1935

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THE INTERRACIAL FRONT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

A Brief Report of Recent Activities

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
710 Standard Building
ATLANTA, GA.

March, 1939

"No agency has contributed more to the establishment and maintenance of tolerable relations between the black and white races in the South than has the Interracial Commission. Its policy and methods are simple and sound. It proceeds on the theory that the basis of nearly all racial hatred and animosity is lack of mutual understanding among the peoples of the earth. It therefore makes it possible for the choicest minds and spirits of the two races of the South to meet around a common council table, and through contact and free interchange of opinion to arrive at a clearer understanding of the hopes, ideals and standards of each other. A decrease in lynchings, an improvement in educational facilities, a sympathetic study of the Negro in colleges and universities, and the appearance of influential Negro leaders before selected audiences of white people, to discuss the race question from the Negro's angle, are some of the unusual and salutary concrete results of the activities of the Interracial Commission."

MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE,
President Bethune-Cookman College,
Daytona Beach, Florida.

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First Printing, 10,000, April, 1939

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COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

A Brief Report of Recent Activities

From its inception, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has had two objectives: (1) the correction of conditions involving interracial injustice or neglect; and (2) the improvement of mistaken attitudes out of which such conditions grow.

At the outset, when there were sufficient funds to maintain one or more field men in each state, the major emphasis was on the first type of work. Interracial committees were set up in every Southern state and in hundreds of communities, and functioned effectively for the improvement of state and local conditions. Later, because of diminishing funds, it became necessary to reduce the field staff and to put relatively greater emphasis upon the second or educational phase of the Commission's program. In spite of this, however, most of the state committees have continued to function, some of them quite effectively, and many local committees are still doing good work.

VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA

In this respect, the work in Virginia and North Carolina stands well out in front. Each of these states has a very large interracial committee—1200 members in Virginia and 2000 in North Carolina. These were carefully selected and in North Carolina were invited to accept membership by the Governor of the state and in Virginia by a United States Senator. It would be difficult to mobilize in either state a more representative or influential group. Working together, the two employ a full-time secretary and raise an annual budget of $5000. This amount, supplemented by an appropriation of $2500 from the general Commission, makes possible a continuous and effective program.

During the last year, the Virginia Committee contributed materially to the enactment of a bill providing for state care of feeble-minded Negro children. In certain critical situations it has done useful service as an agency of understanding and conciliation. It is now at work on the new educational adjustments made necessary by the recent Supreme Court decision in the Missouri case. Other recent interests have been the promotion of a Federal housing project for Negroes and the organization of a permanent camp for Negro boys.

ACTIVE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

The North Carolina Committee has been active in the present legislature in behalf of an anti-lynching bill sponsored by Governor Hoey. It is also pushing a nine-point legislative program for the improvement of Negro education, and is seeking the fuller representation of Negro social workers in the expanded social security program. Many members of the legislature are members of the State Committee and the Governor is its honorary chairman.

Numerous state and regional conferences have been held in both states, attended by outstanding leaders in religious, educational, civic and political circles. Close contacts are maintained with the church leadership. Effective work has been done, also, in promoting in the public schools the study of the racial situation. A unit of study on this subject, developed in a Virginia school, has been published and put into the hands of 3000 teachers. In many important centers in both states there are local committees which deal with such emergent issues as education, health, housing, recreation, police protection, and other conditions involving Negro welfare. The newspapers have been sympathetic and cooperative.

TEXAS

Perhaps next in effective field work has been the State Committee of Texas. This Committee has a hundred dues-paying members, meets regularly, and functions ad interim through an active executive body. After years of persistent effort, it has at last secured from the legislature the establishment and maintenance of a State Tuberculosis Sanitarium for Negroes. This institution is already full and the Committee is pressing for an increase of its capacity. The Committee has also secured legislative authorization for a State Home for Delinquent Negro Girls.

Among other achievements of the Texas Committee and affiliated local committees have been the establishment of health units for Negroes, the inclusion of colored teachers in the Teacher Retirement Act, establishment of day nurseries, equitable distribution of social security benefits, improvement of rural schools, and fairer distribution of state per capita educational appropriations. For more than a year the organization has been working for an annual legislative appropriation of $30,000 to provide scholarships for Negroes seeking graduate work not available in the Negro colleges of the state. This measure is now pending in the legislature. The Committee is seeking means to employ a paid secretary and to finance its work more adequately.

GEORGIA, MISSISSIPPI, SOUTH CAROLINA

The State Committees of Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina have recently been reorganized and started afresh on corrective and educational programs. The new South Carolina Committee has a membership of one hundred and has set up the following as its immediate objectives:

1. To secure and disseminate information as to state and local conditions that need attention.
2. To mobilize civic, educational, social, philanthropic, and religious agencies for the improvement of these conditions.
3. To set up a local committee in every county, comprising in its membership a cross section of private and official leadership. The process of local organization is now under way and committees have been organized in a number of communities.

The new Mississippi Committee has eighty-eight members drawn from all parts of the state. Represented in the membership are the State Department of Education, State Board of Health, State Uni-

versity and Teachers' Colleges, State College for Negroes, Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, Children's Home Society, National Youth Administration, Works Progress Administration, and other organizations and groups. In the last legislature the Committee supported, but unsuccessfully, a bill to create a state training school for delinquent Negro youth. Its program comprises the preparation and wide distribution of educational material on race relations. Through the cooperation of the Mississippi Education Association, 9,000 copies of materials for race relations study were recently placed in the hands of the public school teachers. This material was supplied by the Committee but was distributed by and at the expense of the Education Association.

The Georgia Committee, recently reconstituted, has built up a representative paid membership numbering more than a hundred and growing rapidly. It has an active executive committee which meets monthly, and holds frequent regional meetings in various sections of the state. For the time the Committee's major interest is focused chiefly on education, health, and equality before the law.

OTHER STATES

State committees set up several years ago in Kentucky and Tennessee still hold together, meet regularly, and exercise a constructive influence for the improvement of interracial attitudes and conditions. The improvement of educational and health facilities have been major objectives in these two states. Members of the Alabama Committee have worked quietly and with good results in the Scottsboro affair and other cases involving justice in the courts. The work in Arkansas, Louisiana and Florida has suffered seriously for lack of executive stimulation and should be reorganized and set going anew as early as possible.

ANTI-LYNCHING CRUSADE

In the meantime, in furtherance of its second objective, the Commission's educational program has gone forward along a number of lines. The phenomenal growth of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching is a notable example.

Set up by the Commission in 1931, and developed under the leadership of a member of the Commission's staff, this organization has enlisted a membership of 40,000 Southern women, representing 2,800 communities in fifteen states. Each of these women has signed personally a declaration repudiating lynching for any cause whatever, and pledging herself "to create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever the acts of mobs or lynchers." In turn, the Association has secured similar pledges from 3,300 men, including more than 1,200 sheriffs and other officers of the law.

The leaders of the Association are always on the alert for threatening situations, ready to appeal promptly to the governors and other officials to take vigorous preventive measures. When lynchings occur, they voice prompt condemnation and demand court action. They have interviewed most of the Southern governors; from time to time they communicate with all the sheriffs of their

respective states; they write articles for the papers and enlist the support of the editors.

Numerous state anti-lynching institutes have been held. Speakers representing the Association have visited scores of colleges and presented the cause to thousands of students. They have also addressed hundreds of religious and civic organizations of women, urging their enlistment in the anti-lynching crusade. As a result, no less than seventy-eight important state and national bodies have officially committed themselves to a program of education for the prevention of lynching.

There can be no doubt that the Association has made a definite and important impact on public opinion and that it is in part responsible for the steady decline of lynchings to the low records of eight, eight and six for the past three years.

RACE RELATIONS STUDY IN THE SCHOOLROOM

The approach to public opinion through the colleges and public schools has been another interesting and rewarding phase of the Commission's educational work. For a number of years efforts have been under way on an increasing scale to make educators aware of the obligation to prepare the rising generation to meet fairly the problems incident to the South's bi-racial population. This has entailed numerous educational conferences and a vast amount of correspondence.

The college professors of sociology were first approached and asked to consider the feasibility of introducing race relations courses in their respective institutions. Interest immediately developed and a few such courses were introduced. The results of these experiments were highly satisfactory and the movement has spread steadily till more than seventy Southern colleges are now giving definite courses on this subject. Many others list courses in social problems and general sociology as giving specific attention to race relations.

HUNDREDS OF COLLEGES COOPERATE

Anxious to enlist yet other institutions, the Commission has prepared numerous bulletins on various phases of the racial situation, suitable respectively for integration in courses in sociology, American history, literature and education. These have been made available from time to time to 1200 teachers of the above subjects in 400 colleges. Hundreds of teachers in 260 different institutions have welcomed these materials and assigned them to their classes for supplementary study, report and discussion. Last spring, for example, deans and professors of education in 115 teacher-training schools ordered more than 25,000 copies of one of our late bulletins, "Education for Southern Citizenship." These they put into the hands of the upper class students preparing to teach. Altogether, not less than 200,000 copies of the Commission's various bulletins have been used in this way in the colleges of the South. They have been in demand also in a number of great institutions in other sections of the country, including Columbia University, Smith College, Bucknell, Johns Hopkins, and others. Scores of professors write enthusiastically of the results, and express warm appreciation of the service rendered by the Commission in this way.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS WIDELY ENLISTED

Several years ago efforts were begun to enlist the public schools, also, in simple factual studies and projects concerning the racial situation. The response has been general and encouraging. To date, more than a thousand schools have cooperated in the plan, enlisting a vast number of children in the study of the Negro's history, achievements and contribution to American life and the practical problems involved in his presence here. In many cases, the pupils supplemented their classroom work with visits to the Negro districts of their respective communities, interviews with Negro leaders, and first-hand observations of Negro schools, business development, housing conditions, and the like. The comments of principals and teachers relative to these studies and projects have invariably been favorable, often enthusiastic.

OFFICIAL APPROVAL GIVEN

The plan has received the approval of all the Southern state departments of education and a number of them have cooperated with the Commission in bringing it to the attention of thousands of teachers. Most significant of all is the fact that it has been written into the official curriculum bulletins of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee and Virginia. Thus the weight of official approval and authority is given to the study of questions which a few years ago would have been completely taboo.

Several surveys of textbook content relative to the Negro have been made, revealing the need of extensive revision of many of these books in the direction of a fairer, more adequate treatment of this subject. The findings of these surveys have been brought personally to the attention of more than 500 leading textbook authors and publishers.

MUCH YET TO BE DONE

Though the results so far attained in the schools are most encouraging, it is freely admitted that a great deal remains to be done. The number of college courses in race relations should be increased till one is securely established in every important college in the South. A normal treatment of some aspect of the subject should be integrated into every college department of sociology, history, literature, music, art and education. Every teacher-training institution should be preparing teachers-in-training for intelligent, effective work in this field. Thousands of teachers already in service need to be awakened to the importance of this type of work and afforded aid in introducing it. New textbooks should be written and old books revised in order that a fuller and fairer picture may be presented. By such means only may we hope adequately to prepare the youth of today to deal intelligently and fairly with the obligations of tomorrow.

Other phases of the Commission's educational program have been the continued cultivation of the newspapers and press associations, contributions to religious journals, contacts with the educational agencies of the churches, promotion of Race Relations Sunday, and supplying informative literature to thousands of enquirers.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

During the depression period the Commission's department of research has made many investigations of the conditions and needs of Negroes in industry, agriculture, and on the relief rolls. In many cases the results of these inquiries have been laid before the responsible authorities, often at their request, and have helped materially, it is believed, in working out the problems involved. Assistance has been rendered also in a series of important fact-finding studies recently carried out by a number of public-spirited agencies in Georgia.

The Commission has also been able from time to time to render legal aid in important cases involving the miscarriage of justice in relation to Negroes. Within the month, for example, it helped save the lives of three Negro youths who, on wholly insufficient testimony, had been hurriedly convicted of murder and sentenced to the electric chair. New evidence was discovered, a retrial was secured, and executive clemency was sought. As a result, two of the number have been set free and the third is serving a relatively short prison sentence. This victory was the more notable in that it was achieved in the county nationally advertised some years ago by the famous "murder farm" case, involving the murder of eleven Negro convicts employed on the farm, presumptively to prevent their giving evidence of peonage. Prosecution in that case, resulting in convictions and life imprisonment, it will be remembered, was financed by the Commission.

A NATIONAL SERVICE

The Executive Director, though on partial leave of absence in Washington, has kept in close touch with the Commission's work by frequent visits and regular correspondence. In view of the fact that he first went to Washington as a representative of the Commission to work for a Federal program of ownership rehabilitation for landless farmers, 700,000 of them Negroes, and later, in the Resettlement and Farm Security Administrations, was put in charge of this program, it is felt that his contribution to Negro welfare in this connection is directly in line with his responsibility to the Commission and is perhaps greater than he could have made in any other way.

For ten assorted bulletins on the interracial situation, four to sixteen pages each, send 10 cents to

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STATE INTERRACIAL COMMITTEES

How They Work

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

May, 1940

CONFERENCE ON FIELD ACTIVITIES

State Interracial Committees

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On February 8th and 9th, 1940, delegates from State Committees on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta to discuss the problems of organization, programs of work, and the creation of a sympathetic public attitude toward these programs. Early in the first session it developed that these problems were the usual ones facing volunteer workers in the field of social and economic relations characteristic of minority and majority peoples.

The states were represented by each State Chairman, or his alternate, and two delegates appointed by the State Chairman with the approval of the State Executive Committee. The sessions of the conference were in charge of these delegates. At no time did they forget that all their plans and their programs must be of a kind that could be carried through by volunteer workers.

This booklet—the conclusions of the delegates—is issued both to serve those who were present in developing the work already begun and to inspire other states to take up their own problems in ways which promise the largest return in the field of interracial action.

JESSIE DANIEL AMES, General Field Secretary
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

CONFERENCE ON FIELD ACTIVITIES

State Interracial Committees

February 8, 1940

Mrs. M. M. Hubert, Presiding
Vice-Chairman, Mississippi Council
on Interracial Cooperation.

2:30 P. M.—Round Table 1

What methods should be pursued by state interracial committees in educating the public on policy and program?

C. H. Bynum, Texas—Leader
Mrs. C. C. Alford, Mississippi
J. P. Burgess, South Carolina
Mrs. E. B. Harrold, Georgia

The delegates agreed that each state had developed special ways of reaching the public, all of which were adaptable to every State Committee.

The result of this Round Table is embodied in the following recommendations:

Your committee recommends the development of the following methods in the education of public opinion in the South:

1. Regional Institutes on Adult Education should be organized and conducted. (Appendix VI.)
2. Speakers Bureaus should be developed and prepared. (Appendix IV.)
3. State Committees should organize local committees throughout the states.
4. State and local committees should prepare publicity materials.

3:30 P. M.—Round Table 2

Should state interracial committees set up well-defined organizations?

Thomas M. Bond, Kentucky—Leader
Mrs. Leon S. Holley, South Carolina
Mrs. W. A. Turner, Georgia
Mrs. L. W. Alford, Mississippi

After presentation of the organizations of state committees in Texas, Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina, the leaders of the Round Table brought in the following recommendations for future state committees, which were unanimously adopted:

This committee recommends the following organization outline as a basis for future organization of state committees:

1. Membership

There should be an unlimited membership, divided equally as to race and sex. The membership should represent all sec-

tions of the state and should be drawn from civic, religious, and educational organizations.

2. ADVISORY COMMITTEE

   The Texas plan of an advisory committee should be adopted by all state organizations. (Appendix III.)

3. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

   Sixteen members should be the minimum number on the Executive Committee with due recognition of race and sex.

   This committee should represent the membership of the state committee as to geography, race, and sex.

4. MEETINGS

   The Executive Committee should meet at regular and stated intervals. There should be an annual meeting of the State Committee.

5. FINANCES

   There should be a state membership fee of at least one dollar annually which would include a subscription to *THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER.*

EVENING SESSION

DR. R. L. RUSSELL, Presiding

Chairman, Georgia Interracial Committee

Address—

Dr. Will W. Alexander, Executive Director, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. (Appendix I.)

FEBRUARY 9, 1940

DR. THOMAS W. CURRIE, Presiding

Chairman, Committee on Education,

Texas Interracial Committee

9:00 A. M.—ROUND TABLE 3

Should the state interracial committees attempt to work together on a common project?

DR. BENJAMIN F. HUBERT, Georgia—Leader
A. J. FINCH, Mississippi
DR. T. W. CURRIE, Texas
MACK M. GOSS, South Carolina

Before the regular business discussion, Mr. Fred McCuistion of the General Education Board, present by special invitation, was asked to discuss the status of State Agents for Negro Education in the State Departments of Education. (Appendix II.)

In discussing the question whether or not there was any one condition which was present in all the Southern states and could be

made a common project, it developed that there were many conditions from which to choose. However, Mr. McCuistion had presented a situation which the delegates believed called for immediate consideration and which should be taken up by them at once.

The following recommendation was unanimously adopted:

Your committee recommends to the Executive Committee of each State Committee on Interracial Cooperation a two-point program: First, that in cooperation with the State Superintendents of Education the state committees develop an intensive program of education of the public on the value of the work of State Agents for the Division of Negro Education to insure proper and adequate appropriations by state legislatures for the support of this office; second, that at every opportunity the state committees inform the public of the status of teachers' salaries in their respective states so that at an early date equalization of these salaries on a basis of qualifications may be attained.

MACK M. GOSS, Presiding
Chairman, South Carolina Interracial Committee

2:00 P. M.—ROUND TABLE 4

Shall we meet again? MRS. W. A. NEWELL, North Carolina—Leader
MRS. M. M. HUBERT, Mississippi
MRS. HENRY HAVENS, Florida
DR. FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, Alabama

The value of an annual meeting of representatives from state committees, at which difficulties as well as progress could be discussed by all the state representatives, was declared of great worth. Meeting and becoming acquainted with each other added greatly to their courage in continuing to work against obstacles in their own states, the delegates declared. For these and other reasons, it was unanimously voted to hold another WORK CONFERENCE.

It was agreed that if, in the judgment of those responsible for next year's program, an Advisory Committee is needed, the members of the committee should be the Chairmen of State Interracial Committees and two persons from each state which has no committee.

REGISTRATION

Alabama

DR. F. D. PATTERSON, Tuskegee Institute
President, Tuskegee Institute

Florida

MRS. HENRY HAVENS, Jacksonville
Member, Department of Christian Social Service, Sewanee Province, Episcopal Church
Chairman, Florida Council for the Prevention of Lynching

Georgia

MISS FRANKIE ADAMS, Atlanta
Executive Secretary, Atlanta School of Social Work

MR. W. LOWRY ANDERSON, Roberta
Methodist Minister

DR. HORACE M. BOND, Ft. Valley
President, Ft. Valley State College

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, Atlanta
President, Atlanta University

MRS. E. B. HARROLD, Macon
Member, Board of Y. W. C. A.

MR. CHAS. B. HOLDER, Griffin
Christian Minister

DR. B. F. HUBERT, Savannah
President, Georgia State College

MRS. H. A. HUNT, Ft. Valley
Past President, Georgia Federation of Colored Women's Clubs

MR. SAMUEL HUBBARD, Forsyth
Principal, Hubbard Training School

MRS. BEN KNOX, Atlanta
Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church, U. S.

DR. E. C. PETERS, Augusta
President, Paine College

DR. R. L. RUSSELL, Griffin
District Superintendent, Methodist Church

MRS. M. E. TILLY, Atlanta
Secretary, North Georgia Conference, Woman's Missionary Society, Methodist Church

MRS. L. O. TURNER, Atlanta
Secretary, Missionary Education Organization, Disciples of Christ

MR. C. V. TROUP, Ft. Valley
Registrar, Ft. Valley State College

Kentucky

MR. THOMAS M. BOND, Louisville
Acting Director, Kentucky Interracial Committee
High School Principal

MRS. ATTWOOD MARTIN, Louisville
Chairman, Central Council, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
Author: Emmy Lou; Children of the Mist; Made in America; Sally Tucker, and others

Mississippi

MRS. C. C. ALFORD, Jackson
Chairman, Schools for Religious Education for Negro Women

MRS. L. W. ALFORD, McComb
Chairman, Mississippi Council of Women for the Prevention of Lynching
Past President, Woman's Missionary Societies, North Mississippi Conference, Methodist Church

MR. A. J. FINCH, Brandon
Correspondent for Negro newspapers
School Teacher

MRS. M. M. HUBERT, Jackson
Past President, Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Mississippi

North Carolina

MRS. W. A. NEWELL, Greensboro
Chairman, Committee on Economic Relations, Woman's Missionary Council, Methodist Church
Secretary, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

South Carolina

MR. J. P. BURGESS, Orangeburg
Teacher Trainer, State College

MRS. GEORGE E. DAVIS, Orangeburg
First Vice President, South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs
Chairman, South Carolina Council of Women for the Prevention of Lynching

MRS. LEON S. HOLLEY, Aiken
Librarian

MR. MACK M. GOSS, Walhalla
Baptist Minister

MISS ADELE MINAHAN, Columbia
Secretary, South Carolina School of Social Work

Tennessee

MISS THELMA STEVENS, Nashville
Superintendent, Bureau of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Missionary Council, Methodist Church

Texas

MR. C. H. BYNUM, Tyler
Dean, Texas College

DR. THOMAS W. CURRIE, Austin
President, Austin Theological Seminary

Speakers

DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER, Atlanta and Washington, D. C.
Executive Director, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
Administrator, Farm Security Administration

MR. JACKSON DAVIS, General Education Board, New York City

MR. FRED MCCUISTION, General Education Board, New York City

Visitors

Mr. Noble Y. Beall, Atlanta, Georgia
Miss Emily H. Clay, Atlanta, Georgia
Miss Mary S. Clay, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. R. B. Eleazer, Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Herman Heyman, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. C. D. Hubert, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. A. Orsot, Savannah, Georgia
Miss Florence Read, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. J. J. Starks, Columbia, South Carolina
Mrs. M. H. Stern, Birmingham, Alabama
Mr. C. H. Thomas, Jr., Orangeburg, South Carolina

APPENDIX I

February 8, 1940—7:30 P. M.

Address—Dr. Will W. Alexander, Executive Director, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

(By Dr. Alexander's request the editorial in the March issue of the *Southern Frontier* is reprinted herewith as a summary of his talk:)

THE SOUTH'S PROBLEM NUMBER ONE

In the so-called President's Report on Economic Conditions of the South appears the following statement: "because of the decrease in tillable land, in the older Southern States east of Texas, the farm acreage was actually less in 1930 than in 1860, though the rural population had nearly doubled."

In the meantime, the fertility of the soil that remained in cultivation, except in areas like the Mississippi Delta, has been greatly reduced. The birth rate in this region is higher than in any other section of the country. These facts about land and people point to the South's greatest problem: There are not enough acres to support the population on any decent level. If the total income were divided equally it would be insufficient. Since it is not so divided, there is at the bottom a large group of people caught in a net of unbelievable poverty and want. I know of 12,000 farm families in one Southern state whose total net worth, after a lifetime of toil, was less than ten dollars a family. These thousands are but typical of multitudes.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that we are shifting in our agricultural program from cotton to diversified farming and live-stock production. This change seems necessary, yet it is steadily reducing the demand for farm laborers and in addition limiting their opportunities for employment. Rapid mechanization, also, is contributing vastly to rural unemployment. It is said that each tractor displaces one and a half to two farm families, and the use of tractors is spreading; I know of one county alone where 700 tractors were installed in three years.

In the past, about one-quarter of the children from the rural sections of the South have found employment in industry in Southern cities or in the North. Industry, however, no longer needs them,

since there are already millions of unemployed waiting eagerly at the factory gates. So long as this condition in industry prevails, there is no possibility of solving the problem of rural over-population by migration. The problems of these rural families must be attacked where they are. Yet, in this area where the largest part of our national population is being born, agriculture offers them less and less opportunity for any sort of satisfactory life.

The depression has made the Nation aware of this tragic situation. Unfortunately, however, both the South and the Nation have regarded it as an emergency that would pass with the depression, and thus far it has been treated as such. It is high time we realize that this is a chronic situation which did not originate with the depression and will not be very much affected by the return of so-called "prosperity."

The problem that we confront, therefore, is to find some means by which the Southern rural poor can be given an opportunity to live decently where they are. We shall find the solution only when we realize that this is a long-time problem, requiring long-time large-scale planning such as we have never done before. We must find a way by which this over-populated area can, with some decency, support its population. This is imperative, both for the South and for the Nation.

How to do this nobody at the moment can fully answer. It cannot be done by the states working by themselves; it cannot be done by the Federal government without the cooperation of the states. It will require broad statesmanship, trained technical leadership, and intelligent, cheerful cooperation on the part of the Southern people. It must, of course, include within its scope both whites and Negroes.

APPENDIX II

February 9, 1940—9 A. M.

Condensed remarks of Mr. Fred McCuistion, Field Agent, General Education Board:

Before discussing this question we should review the history of the development of the program of aid to education in the South. Then we may consider the problems which will be created when the General Education Board closes its program of aid and which must be faced *now* before they become critical.

In 1867 George Foster Peabody, New England financier, established the Peabody Education Fund of two million dollars to promote popular education in the South in cooperation with state and local authorities.

In 1868 General S. C. Armstrong, agent of the Freedman's Bureau, founded Hampton Institute.

In 1881 Booker T. Washington opened Tuskegee Institute.

In 1882 John F. Slater, a Connecticut manufacturer, established a fund of a million dollars for the development of educational facilities for Negroes.

In 1901 Robert C. Ogden, New York merchant, began a series of conferences which developed into the Southern Education Board.

In 1902 John D. Rockefeller established the General Education Board.

The set-up of the General Education Board was outlined in 1902 but it was a year later before it was incorporated. The Board itself grew out of the old Southern Education Board that had probed around in the South and found some of the problems you are talking about here.

The General Education Board adopted as its policy the suggestion of Dr. Buttrick: "Lay this foundation not on going down to save the South but by letting these funds flow through Southern channels, people and organizations, as rapidly as they come to see this problem and present it for help." In other words, the Board doesn't have a program of its own: the program grows out of the South—out of the problems here.

In 1905 the General Education Board made its first grant for Professors of Secondary Education at State Universities.

In 1907 the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, of a million dollars, was established for the improvement of small rural schools. The following year Dr. James H. Dillard became the executive director of this fund.

In 1911 Julius Rosenwald began to aid in building schools for Negroes; the Phelps-Stokes Fund was incorporated to administer the sum of a million dollars for education; the Carnegie Corporation was established; the General Education Board made its first grant for a State Agent for Rural Schools for Negroes to Virginia, followed later by grants to all the southern state departments of education for such agents.

In 1914 the Smith-Lever Bill was passed by Congress providing extension service for the improvement of rural life;

Divisions of Rural Education (white) were established in the Southern state departments and maintained with General Education Board aid for about 15 years.

In 1924-25 Divisions of Research and Divisions of Schoolhouse Planning and Construction began to be set up, and were maintained from 3 to 10 years with Board aid.

In 1930 or thereabouts, Divisions of Library Service and Divisions of Teacher Education were established in about half the southern states, operating for 4 or 5 years with Board Aid.

During this period of aid to the South for public education, the General Education Board also gave substantial sums for county training schools for Negroes, for Jeanes teachers, for summer school study, and for scholarships for both white and Negro people.

In 1939 the Board made its final appropriation for State Agents for Rural Schools for Negroes.

In answer to the Board's inquiry of the field staff, "When are we going to apply to this work the policy of helping a program for a certain time and then letting the states assume it?"—It was agreed that the Board would make a grant to continue the work for the period 1939-1946. Unless the states begin to assume some of the load, this grant, though available until 1946, is not sufficient to carry the work longer than 1943. So, if the state superintendents do not want to ask for the whole appropriation in one legislative year, part of it must be taken over by the legislatures meeting before that time.

State Agents:

No two State Agents will do the same thing at the same time. It is better for them not to be tied down to a set program. Practically all the money available for Negro education has been spent under their supervision, and increased funds have been secured from the states by them. They have persuaded county governments to employ Jeanes teachers to the number of 430. They, in cooperation with Jeanes teachers, are largely responsible for the building of the 5,000 Rosenwald schools.

As you approach the problem of helping the educational forces in your state to take over these activities, you will find that *you must confer first with the state superintendent and state agent* to find out their plans or program for taking this work over. You should place at their disposal any personnel that you may have or any means you may develop of disseminating information furthering the program.

The General Education Board would have no suggestions to make on methods. *The program you would want to work out would be a separate one for each state.*

APPENDIX III

Advisory Committee (Texas Plan)

Heads of state organizations having a representative on the committee, presidents of educational institutions whose duties preclude active membership, heads of governmental divisions of the state, and other citizens whose cooperation is desired shall be invited to become members of an Advisory Committee to the State Committee.

APPENDIX IV

Speakers Bureau

A special committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the Interracial Committee might consider mechanics of setting up a Speakers Bureau. Suggestions are:

To submit a questionnaire to all members of the Interracial Committee—local and state.

To card index all organizations to which the members belong with the names of these members listed on each card.

To place responsibility upon Interracial Committee members for speaking or presenting speakers to conventions, confer-

ences, or local meetings of the organizations to which they belong.

To provide for speakers material which deals with state or national conditions of interest both to the Interracial Committee and to the organization to be addressed.

Type of Questionnaire in Use by the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation

Date _____

Name _____

Address _____

Place of Birth _____

Occupation or Profession _____

Education:

High School _____

College _____

Professional School _____

Denomination _____

Member of Civic Organizations _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Patriotic Organizations: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Other Organizations: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Remarks: _____

_____

_____

_____

Proposed material for the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation which could be easily adapted to the program of any state.

1. *History of Commission on Interracial Cooperation* from its inception in 1919 following World War I, including the names of the Southern people, white and Negro, who launched the movement; the present membership; something of the source of income of the Interracial Commission; the philosophy of the movement and, in general, the method of procedure and the reasons for adopting these methods. (This may be obtained from the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Atlanta, Ga.)

2. *History of the State Committee*—(along same lines as No. 1 and prepared by the Executive Committee of the State Committee).

3. *Citizenship and the Public Schools,* which should include the reason why the Interracial Committee is interested in schools; a discussion on taxes and who pays them; some figures on the discrimination in the public schools on the basis of race and geography—especially in teachers' salaries; the story of the work of the Division of Negro Education in the State Department of Education and of the work of the State Agent. (This material should be prepared in cooperation with the State Superintendent of Education and the State Agent.)

4. *Public Health* which should include a discussion of sickness and disease, particularly contagious diseases and so-called social diseases, and its effect upon the welfare of the entire population; the necessity of the inclusion of all Negroes in the program of Health for the benefit of the entire community; some figures on hospital facilities open to Negro doctors and patients; training facilities for Negro nurses; employment of Negro nurses in private hospitals where Negro patients are admitted; Negro nurses in certain specialized employment such as life insurance companies. (The Department of Public Health—State and Federal, State Nurses Association, and the Negro Medical Association are sources of information on this subject.)

5. *Unemployment, Low Wages, and Their Effect on Community Life* —(Professors of sociology and economics in colleges and universities can help in the preparation of this material.)

6. *Negroes Who Have Achieved* (native-born or long-time residents of state). This should include the life stories of Negro citizens who have attained recognition either in the state or the nation.

7. *White Citizens Who Have Contributed to Interracial Progress and Good Will.* (Native-born or long-time residents of state.)

(These topics furnish some suggestions for institute programs on which informed persons discuss the problems in detail.)

APPENDIX V

Bibliography

1. "America's Tenth Man"—The story of Negro explorers, patriots, writers, educators, religious and business leaders. Twenty cents per dozen, postpaid.
2. "Population Problems in the South"—Significant facts regarding the interracial situation—education, health, economic conditions, recreational facilities, mob violence, the ballot, jury service, etc. Thirty cents per dozen.
3. "America's Obligation to Its Negro Citizens," a notable address by Mark Ethridge, Manager, Louisville Courier-Journal. Thirty cents per dozen.

   Single copies of any of the above sent on receipt of stamp to cover postage.
4. "Understanding Our Neighbors," a factual study of the Negro's origin, development, and culture in Africa and America, and the problems incident to his presence here. Ten cents.
5. "Singers in the Dawn," a brief anthology of American Negro poetry. Sketches of forty poets, with selections from their work. Ten cents.
6. "The South's Landless Farmers." The plight of the farm tenant graphically told. Ten cents.
7. "The Mob Still Rides," a review of the lynching record, 1931-35. Deals with geographical distribution, alleged offenses, failure of officers and courts, the cost of mob violence, preventive measures. Ten cents.
8. "Songs of the South," 17 favorite spirituals, words and music. Ten cents.
9. "Southland Spirituals," sixty-four of the best known Negro melodies, words and music. Twenty-five cents.
10. "Christian Principles and Race Relations." Eight study outlines, with source materials and bibliography. Twenty-five cents.
11. Envelope assortment, ten pamphlets, all different, four to sixteen pages each. Includes the first three mentioned above. The entire assortment, ten cents.
12. *Simple Survey of Community Life.*

    Suggested Constitution for Organizing Community Clubs.

    "Cast Down Your Bucket Where You Are."

    "The Church Woman Answers."

    "What Are Real Wages in Domestic Service?" (mimeographed)

    "What Price Domestic Service?"

    Ten cents a set.

    (Designed primarily for use by local organizations of women in studying their own communities and in setting up local interracial committees.)
13. *Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching*

    "Southern Women and Lynching"—folder with seven flyers

    "With Quietness They Work"—report of women's activities against lynching

"Southern Women Look at Lynching"—stories of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
"Ladies and Lynchings"—reprint from Survey Graphic, November 1939
"Feeling Is Tense"
"A New Public Opinion on Lynching"
Ten-year Map of Lynchings in the United States
Ten cents a set.

(This set includes the history of the movement of Southern women to educate against lynching; methods which have been successful in educating the public against lynching; material for programs for societies and information about lynchings in the last several years.)

14. *The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation*
Policy of the Georgia Committee
"Conserving Human Values in Georgia"
"The Georgia School Law—How Equitable Is Its Operation?"
"Georgia Problems in Education"
"Free Schools for All Alike"—discussion of taxes and who pays them
"Administration of Georgia Schools" — reprint from Atlanta Georgian.
"Negro Public Schools in Georgia"—1937-1938.
Five cents a set.

(Please order by number.)

"THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER," issued monthly, subscription price twenty-five cents a year.

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.
710 Standard Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.

APPENDIX VI

INSTITUTES AND WHAT THEY ARE

PROGRAM

REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
DISTRICT NO. 1
Macon, Georgia, November 3, 1938

SUBJECTS

New School Law After One Year—
Mr. J. L. Fortney, Superintendent of Schools, Griffin, Georgia.
Questions and Discussion.
Opportunities for Discrimination Under the New School Law—
Mr. Aaron Brown, Dean, Ft. Valley State College.
Questions and Discussion.
Federal Aid to Public Education—
Miss Allie Mann, Principal, Grant Park School, Atlanta, Georgia.
Questions and Discussion.

PROGRAM

Conference on Health-Hospitalization-Sanitation
Fulton-DeKalb Interracial Committee

Atlanta, Georgia
December 2, 1938

Subjects

Hospitals and Clinics—
Mr. Lewis D. Sharp.

Discussion—Dr. R. H. Oppenheimer and Dr. H. E. Nash participating.

Sanitation—
Mr. Walter Chivers.

Discussion—Dr. J. P. Kennedy and Dr. G. A. Howell participating.

PROGRAM

Regional Conference on Interracial Cooperation
Middle Mississippi

Vicksburg, Mississippi
October 12, 1939

Subjects

The Purpose and Aim of the Conference.

Health and Housing—
Dr. Lee M. Owen, Vicksburg.

Discussion.

Evening Session

Health and Housing—
Dr. Oscar Underwood, State Health Officer.

Discussion.

Business.

INTERRACIAL INSTITUTE

Benedict College

Columbia, South Carolina
November 9, 1939

Subjects

Purpose and Aim of the Institute.

Juvenile Delinquency, Some of Its Causes and Means of Prevention—
Mr. William A. Huey, Superintendent John G. Richards Industrial School for Boys.

Discussion—Illiteracy, a Handicap in the South—Led by Miss Wil Lou Gray, State Department of Education.

The Place of Church Organizations in Interracial Cooperation—Led by Mrs. H. L. Timmons and Mrs. W. P. Etchison, Columbia.

SRC - Historical Material

College Courses In Race Relations

AN EFFORT TO MEET THE
CHALLENGE OF
THE SOUTHERN SITUATION

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND
RACE RELATIONS
710 Standard Building
ATLANTA, GA.

EDUCATION FOR SOUTHERN CITIZENSHIP

Among the major objectives of education Dr. Franklin H. Giddings lists the acquiring of "knowledge and appreciation of neighbors of all races, languages, nations, and creeds." Bagley says: "The ultimate aim of education is the development of socially efficient men and women." Another has expressed it this way: "The most important aim of education is the preparation of people to get along together harmoniously, helpfully, and therefore happily." It would be hard to find fault with these statements, since whatever else education may do for one will be of very little practical value unless it fits him also to become a useful and happy member of society. If it fails at that point, it fails fatally.

If these be accepted as sound educational ideals, it is obvious that here in the South no effective system of education can neglect problems so acute, so pressing, and so inescapable as those involved in the racial situation. To do so, indeed, would be criminal negligence of the welfare of both races, so closely are their interests intertwined.

The college course in race relations is an effort to meet this challenge.

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First Printing, 5,000, April, 1939

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COLLEGE COURSES IN RACE RELATIONS

A recent check revealed the fact that seventy-four Southern colleges and universities are offering seventy-seven named courses dealing with the interracial situation in America*. These courses carried a variety of titles, the favorite being "Race Problems." This title, with slight variations, accounts for thirty-three courses. Twenty-four courses are called "Race Relations," "Race Relationships," and "Interracial Relations."

Seven are entitled "The American Negro," "The Negro in American History," or simply "The Negro." Other titles found standing alone are "Minority Groups in the United States," "American Minority Problems," "Population and Racial Adjustment," "Racial and Rural-Urban Sociology," "Races and Nationalities," "Race and Population," "Racial Backgrounds of the American Nation," and "Race and Culture Contacts." A teachers' college makes a definitely professional approach to the subject, with a course entitled "Problems of Dual Education in the South."

A questionnaire recently returned by the teachers of forty of these courses in thirteen States and the District of Columbia brought the information summarized below. It is offered without comment.

LENGTH OF COURSE:

All ran either a quarter or a semester, three hours a week.

HOW FREQUENTLY GIVEN:

Every quarter, 1.
Twice a year, 8 (including summer school in five cases).
Once a year, 19.
Every other year, 10.

*In fifty-three other colleges, courses in social problems are catalogued as giving specific attention to this subject. In addition, correspondence revealed that in 260 institutions some attention is given to the subject in the departments of history, literature and education.

PREREQUISITES:

Junior or senior standing, 12.
Sophomore standing, 1.
"Some Sociology," 22.
American history, 1.
No requirement, 4.

ENROLLMENT:

Varied between wide extremes, the lowest being 10 and the highest 90. Five courses had enrollment of 20 each; five had 30 each; two had 35; two enrolled 40; three enrolled 50, 55 and 90 respectively. The average enrollment was a fraction over 25.

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENT BODY ENROLLED:

In many cases low, as one would expect; in one very large institution only one-tenth of one per cent. On the other hand, several schools reported six, eight and ten per cent of the entire student body enrolled in these courses. One reported twenty-five per cent. In another case, the enrollment included thirty-three per cent of all the seniors.

TEXTBOOKS USED:

No single text; syllabi and wide reading, 16.
Weatherford and Johnson, "Race Relations," 7.
Reuter, "American Race Problem," 3.
Young, "Minority Peoples," 3.
Dowd, "The American Negro," 3.
Johnson, "The Negro in American Civilization," 2.

PARALLEL READINGS:

All the above and many more—Boas, Bogardus, Bond, Brawley, Brown, Dollard, DuBois, Embree, Fairchild, Garth, Gillette, Hankins, Kleinberg, Lasker, Miller, Moton, Muntz, Odum, Oldham, Raper, Shrieke, Thompson, Washington, Woodson, Woofter, and so on at great length.

MAJOR OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE:

"Better understanding of minorities."
"To promote objective thinking."
"To create right attitudes."
"To impart knowledge and appreciation of other races."
"To interest students in the problems of race."
"To study need and methods of adjustment."
"To establish a basis for intelligent opinion."

METHODS OF TEACHING EMPLOYED:

Lectures, 32.
Discussions, 37.
Reports, 31.
Investigation of local conditions, 26.
Projects, 11.
Question and answer, 16.

WHAT PROVISIONS, IF ANY, FOR INTERRACIAL CONTACTS?

Few or none, 11.
Visit Negro schools, 18.
Invite Negro speakers, 11.
Interracial student meetings, 7.
Visit Negro business centers, 3.
Have Negro singers on the campus, 3.

One professor writes: "In our case, a visit to a Negro college did most to mitigate prejudice." Another says: "The opportunity to observe educated Negroes is of the greatest value."

MISCONCEPTIONS AND PREJUDICES COMMONLY ENCOUNTERED:

"All the common stereotypes," say several.
"All you can imagine," says another.

The most frequently reported were:

Inherent inferiority of the Negro, 23.
Negroes inherently criminal, 6.
Predisposed to disease, 4.
Inefficient, 4.
Meant to be servants, 4.
Must be kept in their place, 4.
Fear of intermarriage, 4.

Other difficulties encountered were: Ignorance of the facts; indifference; knowledge of lowest types only; unwarranted generalizations; fear of "social equality"; belief in occasional necessity for lynching.

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THIS COURSE APPEAR TO MODIFY STUDENTS' ATTITUDES?

"A great deal," say 14 professors.
"Considerably," say 13.
Four reply "Somewhat."
Three say "Very little."
One says "Not at all."
One is unable to judge.

Among the favorable comments on this question are the following:

"Students assure me that their attitudes changed greatly. They favor programs and policies required to do justice to Negroes."

"The beginning of a continuing process."

"Sympathies broadened and point of view transformed."

"That some students are profoundly affected is shown by their subsequent records of service to Negroes."

"The course leads students to look for scientific evidence before forming opinions and attitudes."

"Prejudices largely disappear when replaced by facts."

"Student attitudes modified to a very great extent."
"Attitudes changed in a marked degree."

One who credits the course proper with doing very little to modify attitudes, nevertheless testifies that "the acquaintances we make with Negro institutions and educational leaders do make a profound impression on the students." There may have been a similar element of modesty in the other two lukewarm reports.

One teacher, however, frankly confesses defeat: "I'll have to admit that student attitudes against the Negro are stronger than my ability to change them." In consequence, he is giving up the course.

ESTIMATED VALUE OF THIS COURSE IN COMPARISON WITH OTHERS:

"Most important and valuable course we give," 10.
"One of the most valuable," 24.
"Second best," 1.
"Too unlike for comparison," 2.
"Uncertain as to value," 2.

Following are typical comments:

"Subject matter is more vital."
"More potential than theoretical courses."
"Has more practical and human values."
"Closer than most to the thought and feeling of students."
"None more important from the standpoint of urgency."
"No other serves the same purpose."
"Deals with live and pressing problems."
"Especially important for teachers and social workers."

HOW DO YOU LIKE TO TEACH THIS COURSE?

"Best of all," 12.
"Very much," 16.
"As well as others," 10.
"Not so well," 1.

Typical comments:

"Arouses much interest on the part of students, hence is interesting to teach."

"Easier to teach because of live student interest."

"No course more challenging, stimulating and enjoyable."

"Gives satisfying consciousness of immediate results."

"As a Southerner, I am particularly interested in this course because of a sense of responsibility for interracial justice."

"My choice course, because I see in it an opportunity to render a greater service to my students, my state and the South than in any other."

VOLUNTEERED OBSERVATIONS:

"Much of the best teaching in race relations comes from the inclusion of the subject in other courses. In every course in sociology here this subject is definitely considered."

"Much racial data is included in other sociology courses."

"There is need for more opportunities for students to meet educated Negroes."

"Our student interracial committee is more significant than the course."

"Most of our students become teachers and such a course is very important for them."

For further information and for bulletins on the racial situation, prepared for use in college and public school classes in sociology, civics, history and literature, write

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS
R. B. ELEAZER, Secretary
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Ga.

How Shall We Organize

?

The purpose of a State Committee on Interracial Cooperation is to educate the public to an awareness of conditions which result in injustice to many citizens, with special emphasis on education, health, economic opportunity, law enforcement, and social security; **to insure the elimination of discriminations in the operation of government directed against racial minorities; to promote local interracial committees in order to build in every community a united people without regard to race, creed, or color.***

(*New material is printed in bold type)

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 Standard Building

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April, 1940

Revised January, 1942

Local Interracial Committees

I. PURPOSE—

The purpose of all interracial committees is, first, to create attitudes of justice and equity and fair play for all people without regard to race or religion; second, to interpret for the public the conditions in a community which defeat justice and equity for any one group. For both purposes some project of work should be undertaken by a local committee which can be used as the reason for presenting the major purpose of the interracial committee—to create right attitudes.

It is advisable, therefore, to have some definite project to discuss when a committee is to be organized. Otherwise, aimless talks and undirected discussion will inevitably dissipate the earnestness with which the people come together.

II. WHO SHALL TAKE THE LEAD IN SETTING UP A COMMITTEE?

Members of the State Committee living in a county should assume the responsibility for **convening the first meeting. However, any citizen interested in good citizenship can act on his own initiative in calling a meeting of other like-minded persons at which time a** free discussion of the service which the local interracial committee can give should follow and **a formal organization be set up.**

III. WHO SHALL COMPOSE A COMMITTEE?

Anyone who is interested in justice to all people in the administration of public and tax-supported activities which affect the whole community and in equity for all before the law. County officials, business leaders, ministers of the churches, professional men and women, church and club women, teachers and agricultural leaders—all who have contact with many groups and individuals and who recognize that problems of health, education, wages, crime and delinquency are human problems—should be enlisted in the program of the committee.

IV. FEE

In order to have an identifiable membership there should be a small membership fee large enough to include subscription (25c) to THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER. State members become members of local committees without paying this local membership fee.

V. NUMBER OF MEMBERS:

A minimum of ten members, one-half of whom should be white, is recommended.

VI. COMMITTEES:

A Committee on National Unity is imperative. Such a committee capable of impressing upon local public opinion the relation of local unity to National unity is of utmost importance now and in the future. All other committees, those on schools, recreation, health, defense work, should be guided in their activities by recommendations of the local Committee on National Unity.

VII. MEETINGS:

This may be left to the judgment of the membership. In cities, however, local committees frequently become too large for constructive planning. As a whole, when this situation develops, it may be taken care of by creating an executive committee with power to act as a planning committee. Meetings of the whole committee, however, should be called at least quarterly.

VIII. NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERRACIAL COOPERATION:

National Defense presupposes a united people. People are individual persons living in definite communities. If conditions in a community are such as to bear hardest on a segment of the population and no serious attempt is made to relieve these conditions by those who have the power to do so, then that community endangers National Defense. If, in addition, this segment of the population is discriminated against because of race or creed the community that fails to remove discrimination weakens Democracy and Christianity. Local interracial committees should assume the responsibility of informing the local public of discriminations in their counties against a minority racial group by the local and state governments, develop plans to wipe out such discriminations, and work to make the plans effective.

IX. EDUCATION OF ATTITUDES:

Opportunities should be sought to present speakers before women's clubs, service luncheon clubs, chambers of commerce, business men's leagues, missionary societies, young people's organizations, and at educational assemblies. In this way the information concerning county conditions will reach audiences which far exceed the membership of the county committee.

(New material is printed in bold type)

State Committees on Interracial Cooperation

Alabama:

Chairman, The Rev. Wm. H. Marmion, 1910—12th Ave., South Birmingham.

Vice-Chairman, Dr. F. D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee.

Georgia:

Chairman, Dr. R. L. Russell, Griffin.

Vice-Chairman, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta.

Kentucky:

Chairman, Dr. Edward A. McDowell, Baptist Seminary, Louisville.

Vice-Chairman, Dr. R. B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort.

Mississippi:

Chairman, Bishop Theodore D. Bratton, Jackson.

First Vice-Chairman, Bishop Wm. Mercer Green, Jackson.

Second Vice-Chairman, Mrs. M. M. Hubert, Jackson.

North Carolina:*

Chairman, Bishop Edwin A. Penick, 802 Hillsboro St., Raleigh, N. C.

Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Rose D. Aggrey, Salisbury, N. C.

South Carolina:

Chairman, The Rev. Mack Goss, Walhalla.

Vice-Chairman, Mrs. M. R. Wilkinson, Orangeburg.

Tennessee:

Chairman, Dr. John D. Freeman, Nashville.

Secretary, Dr. S. L. Smith, Nashville.

Texas:

Chairman, Mrs. J. L. Brock, Bryan.

Vice-Chairman, W. R. Banks, Prairie View.

Virginia:*

Chairman, D. Tennant Bryan, The Richmond News-Leader, Richmond, Va.

Vice-Chairman, Dr. John M. Gandy, Petersburg, Va.

Executive Secretary—North Carolina—Virginia:

L. R. Reynolds, 1618 Central National Bank Bldg., Richmond.

Director of Field Work:

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Ga.

Field Secretary:

R. P. Neblett, Jr., Jackson, Mississippi.

SRC Historical Material

The Interracial Commission Comes of Age

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

September, 1940

The Interracial Commission Comes of Age

A week before the Armistice, November 11, 1918, a traveler in the South would have been struck by the apparent solidarity of the population, white and Negro. In support of the war they were united as never before. Two hundred thousand Negro men were fighting in France and many more were preparing to go over. The millions of Negroes at home were responding heartily to every wartime appeal and, in proportion to their means, quite as generously as any other group.

A week after the Armistice one might have observed a subtle but ominous change. Distrust was awakening. What would be the attitude of the Negro troops when they returned from France? Rumors filled the air, and by the time the soldiers began to return suspicion and fear had taken deep hold upon both races. Mob violence, which had greatly declined during the war, burst out afresh. In city after city race riots flamed up, with casualties on both sides. The tension tightened everywhere, and with dread suspense the Nation awaited the outcome.

Oppressed by the dangers inherent in the situation, a small group of Southern men met day after day in Atlanta seeking some means to avert racial conflict. At the center of this group were John J. Eagan, manufacturer and churchman, Will W. Alexander, who as a representative of the Y. M. C. A. War Work Council was in close touch with the returning Negro troops, and Dr. M. Ashby Jones, pastor of a leading Atlanta church—representatives of the three strongest Southern denominations, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist.

Out of the thought and prayer of these men and others like them, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was born early in 1919. There was no thought that the movement was other than temporary. However, after the immediate crisis following the Armistice had been met, it was apparent that conditions affecting the relation of the races in the South were not caused by the War—war had merely served to bring the situation to the surface. The founders of the Commission saw that future crises were inevitable. Thereupon, it was decided to increase and intensify the original program of education of the population, both white and Negro, making the Commission a permanent peace-time movement.

With this in mind, a change in method of approach was developed. Representatives of south-wide and state organizations were elected to membership on the general Commission and on state and local committees. As members of the Commission, these representatives learned of existing conditions; as leaders of civic and religious organizations they presented to their constituencies the racial situations of which they had been made aware; as citizens they and their constituencies have appeared before boards of education, health departments, city councils and legislatures with requests for more

equitable consideration for Negroes. Sunday schools, churches, medical associations, women's clubs, teachers' associations, colleges, and high schools have become participants in the education of the South in interracial cooperation.

Now after twenty-one years, at almost every conference and convention of young people, organized civic and church groups, and professional men and women some speaker presents a program of work for better race relations. Inspired by knowledge, citizens unaware of the influence of the Interracial Commission work for more adequate educational opportunities for Negro children, for the extension of health and hospital facilities to Negro citizens and Negro doctors, for the inclusion of Negro areas in city improvement, and for the establishment and maintenance of recreational centers for Negroes. Though the Commission itself accomplishes none of these improvements, from it has come the motive power which is prerequisite to action. Because inequalities, injustices, and persecutions on the basis of race still afflict the South, the work of the Commission continues.

The methods adopted by the Commission in developing its program have caused confusion in the minds of those people who have always worked in organizations with by-laws, constitutions, and instructions handed down by the parent organization. But the members of this parent organization, being Southern, knew from their own experience that racial attitudes were individual attitudes; that conditions varied in each community of every State according to local prejudices. Until men and women investigated their own civic problems and were moved to act to eliminate them, no hope of progress could be entertained. As a result, always the Commission has refused to bind either itself or the state committees with rigid rules and regulations. It still refuses to dictate a program to any state or community. It does, however, assist in setting up state and local committees and, if they request help, will cooperate in the development of a program upon which the community agrees.

The Commission has had six presidents. Mr. John J. Eagan, of Atlanta, a founder and the first president, held that office until his death in 1924. Mr. Eagan was succeeded in turn by Dr. M. Ashby Jones of Atlanta; Dr. W. C. Jackson, President of North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro; Dr. John Hope, President of Atlanta University; Dr. E. McNeill Poteat, Jr., of Raleigh, North Carolina; and Dr. Howard W. Odum of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, who has served as president since 1937.

While the Commission is primarily concerned with discriminations affecting Negro life, every effort is made to see race problems as bi-racial. Those conditions which are patently the result of racial discrimination, which injure the South economically and culturally, and which defy or nullify the principles of democracy and Christianity are the major points of attack. Education of the people to recognize these self-imposed limitations and to work to remove them is the major purpose of the Commission.

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1940-1941

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PUBLICATIONS

of the

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.
710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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two church women discuss their responsibility, as employers, to the community. Published, 1931—Latest edition September, 1941.

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a measuring rod which housewives and maids may use to determine minimum wages in domestic service. Published September, 1941.

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study of domestic service in the South.

V. EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

No. 21. "College Courses in Race Relations,"
a survey of student attitudes on race, 6 pages. Published April, 1939.

(Sample copy free.)

No. 22. "Negro Progress and Handicaps,"
a radio address by Dr. Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina, 4 pages. Published June, 1941.

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No. 25. "The Negro and National Defense,"
address by Dr. Robert C. Weaver of the Council of National Defense, 2-page leaflet. Published November, 1940—Latest edition April, 1941.

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*Pamphlet in preparation.

No. 26. "The Negro in National Defense,"

address by J. B. Blayton, Atlanta University, reprinted in *The Georgia Observer*, April, 1941. — Free

No. 27. "The Back Lines of National Defense,"

condensation of addresses made at the Interracial Work Conference at Tuskegee Institute: Agriculture, by H. C. Nixon, assistant professor at Vanderbilt University; Education, by Horace M. Bond, president, State College, Ft. Valley, Georgia; the Rights of Labor, by Lester B. Granger, field secretary of the National Urban League, 22 pages. Published April, 1941. — 10c a copy $1.00 a dozen (Sample copy free.)

No. 28. "The South's Landless Farmers,"

condensed from "Preface to Peasantry," by Dr. Arthur Raper, 28 pages, illustrated. Published, 1937. — 10c a copy $1.00 a dozen

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No. 29. "Negro Homicides and Their Causes,"

some causes for the high incidence of Negro homicides with suggestions for their reduction. Reprint from *The Southern Frontier*. Published July, 1941. — Free

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a brief outline of seven decisions which within the predictable future will influence Southern behavior. Reprint from *The Southern Frontier*. Published August, 1941. — Free

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No. 31. "Ladies and Lynching,"

by Lewis T. Nordyke. Tells how and why Southern white women undertook to eradicate lynching through education. Reprinted from *Survey Graphic*, November, 1939. — Free

No. 32. "Southern Women and Lynching,"

wrapper for study literature includes:

"A New Public Opinion on Lynching," outlines six programs which women may use in breaking down community tolerance of mob violence.

"Organizations Committed to a Program of Education to Prevent Lynching,"

"Lynching Map of the United States for the Past Decade," 1931-1940.

Flyers:—"A Lynching Threatens"
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exposes causes of lynching and their cure, reprinted by permission of *American Council on Public Affairs,* Washington, D. C., 4 pages. Published December, 1940—Latest edition March, 1941.

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No. 34. Reports of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

1934 "This Business of Lynching"
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a review of the lynching record, 1931-35, 24 pages. Published, 1936.

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report of lynchings 1936-1941, with discussion of recent developments in this field.

IX. PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH

No. 38. "Federal Aid to Public Education,"

a condensation of Senate Bill 1313, section by section, together with the answers to a number of objections to the enactment of such a measure. Published September, 1941.

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No. 39. "Public School Expenditures, Black and White,"

comparative data in the fields of teachers' salaries, attendance, enrollment, and other statistical data, 3 pages. (Mimeographed). Issued July, 1941.

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X. CONCERNING GEORGIA

GEORGIA OBSERVER

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Free to subscribers to *Southern Frontier*

No. 40. "Georgia Problems,"

taken from the Georgia program for the improvement of instruction, 4 pages. Published December, 1938.

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*Pamphlet in preparation.

No. 41. "Georgia School Law, How Equitable is Its Operation?"
the school law of Georgia—1937, its provisions for equalizing educational opportunities; ways for finding out how the law operates in the county and whether or not it does equalize educational opportunity, 12 pages. Published, 1938.

10c a dozen
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effects of the operation of the new school law after one year, 15 pages. Published, 1938.

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taken from a study of Atlanta made by the Senior and Young People's Departments, St. Mark's Methodist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, 4 pages. Published January, 1940.

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No. 44. "Grade Mortality in Georgia Schools,"
presenting certain statistics on enrollment between first and fourth grades and needed changes to cut mortality. *Georgia Observer*, September, 1941.

10c a dozen
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dealing with conditions of the urban Negro and the Negro farmer. *Georgia Observer*, August, 1940.

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presents the simplest necessities in diet, sanitation, and hospitalization. *Georgia Observer*, September, 1940.

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SRC - Historical

THE BACK LINES OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

"Total defense is not merely a matter of armies and navies. There are back lines as well as front lines and agriculture, public health, and civil liberties constitute these back lines."

—Dr. Frank Graham,
Southern Governors' Conference,
March 17, 1941.

THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

April 1941
5,000 copies

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Delegates from the Interracial Committees of Texas, Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina met at Atlanta University, February 1940, for a conference on the problems of state committees under volunteer leadership. Methods for organizing local and state committees were adopted as well as a one point program of work. This point was the support by state appropriation of the Division of Negro Education at present financed by the General Education Board. The state representatives were told by a representative of the Board that the Board will withdraw all such support within the next five years.

The second Work Conference on Interracial Cooperation was held at Tuskegee Institute, February 1941, with delegates from the four state committees represented the year before, and also from Kentucky and Alabama. The program was arranged by Dr. Ira de A. Reid of Atlanta University. What the delegates heard and what they thought should be done about it are presented in this pamphlet—"The Back Lines of National Defense." The resolutions following each session are an expression of the individual attitude of the delegates, and not necessarily the attitude either of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation or of the separate state committees.

THE SOUTH AND ITS AGRICULTURAL BACKGROUND

H. C. Nixon

The problem of the South in the light of its agricultural background is the problem of individuals and communities adjusting themselves to new ways of making a living and new ways of living in a rapidly changing economy. I refer to the cotton economy.

Three Revolutions in the South

We have been troubled in the South with three revolutions during the last twenty years. *The first of these revolutions* was caused by the development of synthetic substitutes for cotton displacing about four and three-fourths billion bales. The domestic use of substitutes is voluntary but the governments of Germany and Italy, and also the government of Japan, make the consumption of substitutes for cotton mandatory. That chemists in Germany are developing substitutes for cotton has something to do with cotton in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and other Southern States.

The second revolution grew out of the whole world market situation. Our cotton economy is based on the assumption that the United States is an economic colony furnishing raw material to the rest of the world. The rest of the world, now, produces most of its own raw material at less cost. This revolution is intensified by the present war.

The third revolution is within the cotton country itself—the mechanization of cotton farming. There are areas in West Texas where one farm family which formerly cultivated one hundred and fifty acres, now, with tractors, cultivates four hundred and fifty acres. Some communities are 100% mechanized in their cotton farming. This applies almost equally in Oklahoma and Mississippi. Mississippi, with level land, is being mechanized more rapidly than others of the old cotton states. Thus, the cotton South is confronted with a serious human problem in the increasing displacement of farmers and farm labor.

Migration No Longer Possible

"I came from a little community in Alabama called Possum Trot. People used to go from Possum Trot to Texas. I can recall six families in Texas of which both the man and woman came from Possum Trot. I can also recall farmers who started married life in Possum Trot and went to Oklahoma to farm. But people can't go out there any more and try to farm; those folks already out there and in Texas are taking up all the land. Thus the mechanical revolution is making it impossible for people to leave little Alabama communities to go there and farm."

Mechanization Poses Human Problems

This mechanical revolution has one parallel with slavery. Slavery spread over the cotton country on the best lands, the level lands. The hillbillies became hillbillies because they were pushed into the hills by slavery. What does mechanized farming do? It repeats the same story of moving onto the best and most fertile lands. Farming folk face a three-fold barrier: loss of cotton market, closing out of migration, and increasing mechanization—problems which their traditions, background, experience, training, and education all combined do not fit them to solve.

Growth of Cotton Psychology

We have had a cotton consciousness, almost a cotton conduct, which has forced people to grow cotton. That is true not only of sharecroppers but of landowners. We have individuals and communities that have grown cotton for so long that they know nothing else. Some would like to change but do not quite know how, nor do they have the facilities for change.

The unfortunate thing is that this situation, general over the South, has created an attitude of acceptance of the belief that Southern farm folk are incompetent. "These sharecroppers can do nothing but raise cotton and we might as well accept it," is said by people in all walks of life, white and colored. This is a problem which involves not only individual and community adjustments to changed situations, but also the acquirement of the education, the experience, the background, and the traditions necessary to effective adjustment. In addition to these societal changes the farmer who abandons cotton farming for subsistence farming will need help to acquire scientific education and to learn economic planning; he will need investment facilities to process his products and to market them.

Some years ago a school teacher of wide experience told of a little fellow in grammar school who flunked out so that he could not be advanced to high school. His mother came with tears in her eyes greatly concerned because little Johnnie was not promoted. The teacher happened to recollect that the boy's mouth seemed to be more open than his mind. She took him to have an examination. He was put through the usual medical examination. It was found that the boy had hookworm, tonsil trouble, adenoids and Bright's disease. They got rid of the first three and the Bright's disease disappeared automatically. This little boy went through high school, graduated from college and is now a worthy citizen of South Carolina.

Many of the assumptions in the South that sharecroppers lack ability are due to certain environmental conditions and physical factors. All of the South's population must be taught to believe that sharecroppers and casual laborers can be educated and retrained if they have the chance.

I see in this the spirit of democracy. We cannot have any democracy unless we have economic democracy, and I do not see how we are to have economic democracy without political democracy. Democracy has to live all over, or die all over. Live—without respect to race, creed, class or religion—or die completely.

DISCUSSION

QUES.: Where does this lead us? What are some of the implications of what has been said? How does this background affect the conditions or describe the conditions which exist at the present time? How may we alter this background in order to promote the type of democracy spoken of?

If people can't migrate and don't die, then what is to become of them?

ANS.: Some farmers are eking out a mighty poor existence on mighty poor land; other farmers are pushed off the land entirely; many are moving on to lands that should have been left alone, lands on which they can't make a living. A. & M. College in Arkansas has made tests of the soil of lands on which some of these people are living. These show that animals which are fed nothing except products of such soils are deficient in bone tissue, have big ears, mal-shaped bodies and other defects. It is assumed that people whose subsistence comes entirely from kindred soils will also have mal-shaped bodies and inadequate bone material.

This brings us face to face with the problem of public land as a public utility.

QUES.: Isn't there enough land in the South for every rural family if it were properly distributed and cultivated?

ANS.: *If it were properly distributed and cultivated.* There is such a thing as expanding our own production and consumption. The South can produce more food for eating, more chickens—we have a reputation for chicken. The State of Iowa has more chickens than Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

QUES.: You cannot do that as long as land is owned in large blocks and farmed by tenants, can you?

ANS.: Right. That is where you have to bring in public policy.

QUES.: Is the Resettlement Administration working in the right direction?

ANS.: Yes, I think so, but they cannot do it by themselves. I think the States have got to cooperate.

QUES.: I know of a State in which there are 4,000 farmers and surveys indicate that the soil is sufficient to support only 2,700.

ANS.: That is true. There are many areas with two and three times as many people in them as there is a living for. *We do have too many people in*

the South for the prevailing economy but I do not think we have too many people to make a living if we can expand our economy. Many say we do not have the intensive farming that we might have. Though there are successful experiments in some communities, it is true that in some regions a living could be made on smaller acreage.

Comment: Even if you had intensive farming, you couldn't support 4,000 farmers on the land in this section that I referred to.

ANS.: Again, I say, we need public policy to keep people off of bad land. Wisconsin has a system of zoning, not forcing people off land, but zoning certain areas and saying "You can't go on this to farm." We have to get the Southern State governments which have taken over thirty-five million acres of land for taxation, to set up a system of conservation and zoning and to say "this is for agriculture and this is not for agriculture." State-owned lands might have to be apportioned, good lands leased on long term for agriculture.

A number of interesting books have been written in recent years about this question of land, but none dramatizes the situation as does the little book by Gerald Johnson, "Wasted Land," summarizing Odum's "Southern Regions." There is also "The American Earth" by Carlton Beale and "The Plantation South" which points out that in 1930-34 500,000 youth left the South, and still, because of recent conditions 200,000 more were backed up on farms and couldn't get out. In 1920 people moved out faster than they did later. Odum shows that 3,800,000 Southerners went North; 400,000 Northerners came South—more than nine Southerners lost to the South to one Northerner gained.

Now for the question—What are we going to do? To start with we should work for state programs with state-owned lands. A certain amount of state zoning and state planning would at least keep poor people off of poor lands.

Much state land is marginal, yet could be improved and terraced. Much of it with little improvement could be put in shape so that somebody could make a living on it. All this involves a question of an alert public opinion. People must be made conscious and concerned. At an agricultural meeting recently a reporter remarked that it was difficult to put anything in the paper because city people just were not interested. Before we can do anything concrete, we have to develop the sentiment for it.

Then we must get this program to people out on the land. It is not enough to have it kept at agricultural colleges. I have attended Farm Weeks without seeing any farmers at all in attendance. I have not seen a County Agent at Possum Trot. It is a matter of getting this applied education to the farmers, the hillbillies and the sharecroppers.

We need more people, lay people, who can talk about this to groups, who are able to build up the background of the whole picture; we need more material, easy to read and digest and to impart to others.

* * * *

As a result of the presentation and discussion on the subject of The South and Its Agricultural Background, the Committee reported as the conclusions of the conference the following report (condensed):

> Land is the common heritage of all. Privacy of ownership should not permit its abuse. An inalienable right of every farmer should be access to the quantity and quality of land necessary to make a living. Waste of land and waste of people are parallel phenomena.
>
> Essential to an effective program of state and federal action that will lead to wise land use is the development of widespread understanding of the importance of land as it relates to the total economic and social life of the region.
>
> We recommend widespread discussions of the agricultural background of southern economy among all youth and adult groups concerned with the general welfare as a means of preparing people for:
>
> > An appreciation of the significant experiment now being carried out by the federal government as regards land use and resettlement.
> >
> > The promotion of further public action to remedy the evils of agriculture not possible of correction by private means.

As source material for these forums and discussion groups the following books and materials are suggested:

1—Southern Regions—Howard W. Odum

2—Wasted Land—Gerald W. Johnson

3—Forty Acres and a Steel Mule—H. C. Nixon

4—Collapse of Cotton Tenancy—Chas. S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, W. W. Alexander

5—Report of President's Committee on Economic Conditions in the South

6—Sharecroppers All—Arthur Raper, Ira DeA. Reid

EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

HORACE M. BOND

In any discussion of National Defense involving Negroes, I can but preface it by calling attention to the quiet, resourceful, skilful effort, now culminated by success, by which President Patterson here at Tuskegee has set us an example through obtaining the unit of the Air Force for Negroes now established. In this, the most conservative of all branches, the unpublicized, non-sensational success of this effort should be greeted by us all as an example with high merit.

In discussing the double-barreled subject before us, I am reminded of the famous story of the American in Italy, who, through his boasting, had offended his Italian guide to the point of rejoinder. Did the American have any cathedral like St. Peter's? No. Did he have any ruins like the Colosseum? No. Did he have any volcano like Vesuvius? No! But he had Niagara Falls to put the thing out!

One might feel something like that about Education and National Defense in the South. We are having a great deal of National Defense, but we also have lots of lack of education to put the thing out.

To return to the serious vein becoming to this gathering—it is appropriate that we address ourselves to the pattern of Education in the South. Historically, it is an enterprise exhibiting a social lag, due to the economic structure of the region, behind other sections of the country. It is a commonplace to repeat that the original structure of the South, with its many complications of race always aggravating class structure among white persons, yielded but bitterly to the idea of universal education for all white persons. The South was a clear sixty years behind New England in its common school revival—Governor Aycock of North Carolina, two generations after Horace Mann in Massachusetts.

If this was true so far as white persons were concerned, it has been even the more true so far as the application of the theory of tax-supported education for Negro children. Joined with the lag in political liberalism has been that of poverty, in which our section shares a not distinguished place. The consequent inequalities in the provision of public education for Negroes on all levels are so notorious as to be known to us all, in the public elementary, secondary, and collegiate institutions.

Black Belt County Makes Progress

Paralleling these inequalities for Negro children are those to be found for white children, especially those resident in the rural "white" counties. Cer-

tain statistics purport to show that the general level of education for all white children in the South is far below that found in the North and in the West. This is an error which hides the facts regarding the vast inequalities between children in the South. In the black belt sections of each Southern State white children are now, and have been for two generations, educated at a public expense far above that in the most prosperous rural areas of the North and the West, and exceeded by but few Northern urban centers. The children in the South who suffer are the Negro children, wherever they are found, and, despite recent schemes for equalization, the white children of the hill counties of the South.

There is to be entered in the record a partial correction of these data; a correction which was brought to my attention recently by the distinguished director of research in the State Department of Education in this State of Alabama. Taking some figures of mine which traced expenditures for public schools in Wilcox County from 1870 to 1930, this gentleman brought the figures up to date; and showed an astonishing record of advance for the financing of Negro schools in that county since 1930. I could but conclude, after seeing those figures—and in defense of my belief that Education constantly mirrors social and economic change—that something tremendous is happening in Wilcox County; that the figures since 1870, which he exhibited, showed, like some sort of social thermometer, the steady development of a tremendous social and economic revolution affecting whites, but principally the blacks, in the Black Belt County of Wilcox, Alabama.

The point of these differentials in education lies in the fact that in considering the needs of education in the South we are still considering the most fundamental and basic of educational needs for a population. We have no elaborate pattern, such as is to be found in a Northern community; we have no history of a long tradition of a literate population. We have an illiterate population to make literate, and we have, as in the past, inadequate instruments with which to effect these changes.

German State Not Built on Illiteracy

Let me turn now to an invidious and a very odious comparison. We like to decry German and Prussian education. We say that it has failed because the people have been left ready victims of propaganda and race hysteria. We say again, as we said twenty-five years ago, that the Germans are brutes, Huns, vandals, Mongols—inhuman. (In passing it would, perhaps, be enough condemnation to say that the Germans are human beings—but let that pass.)

We say also that their schools have failed humanity. Perhaps they have; but we must admit that they have not failed the purposes of the German State. If there is brutality and racial madness abroad in the land, there is also the skill and determination to weld together what is one instance where,

in spite of France, we can agree with the military experts—"The most impressive military machine in human history." That machine, by contrast, was welded in a relatively short space of time by a nation that had been going to school for two hundred years; a literate nation, if not a God-fearing one. The foundation of German might was not laid upon the shoulders or the hearts or the brains of people who were twenty-five per cent illiterate, whose parents were fifty per cent illiterate, and whose grandparents were almost one hundred per cent illiterate. Nor was this mighty machine forged from four or five months school terms, or from teachers who had never graduated even from what would have been, in any European country, if not in America, a mockery of high school. It was not even based on the terrifyingly poor schools in which twenty million white Southern Amercians have been educated.

One might even go further and say that the Germans are susceptible to propaganda is no criticism of the process of education; the uneducated millions we have in the South are not less, but the more susceptible. It is true that they cannot read, as do the Germans—but they can listen, and they will.

Status of the Negro in National Defense

We see education in the South, then, as an under-financed enterprise, faced with the most terrific problem in history, complicated by race, by class, at every step. This is the foundation upon which our program for National Defense is to rest, at least in this section. I will not ask—defense of what? I wish merely to call to your attention the fact that we enter a competition in armament and in world power politics with considerable more than one-tenth of a nation able to offer little more than ready volunteers and man power to a task requiring the ultimate in technical skill and literary preparedness.

The status of the Negro in National Defense becomes apparent with these considerations in mind. I do not think we who are Negroes will need to argue over-much about inclusion in the National efforts when the necessity or the time for National Defense has really come to us. When the country is in need, it will need us; and it will call for us; for, although machines have made many of us superfluous, I cannot but recall the historic breaking of barriers that has always been precipitated by a true National crisis.

What we face in our educational institutions, in the efforts we are making to obtain projects of various sorts, is the same frenzied effort all of us in the South have made to obtain WPA or PWA or other types of Federal aid grants. We have not asked ourselves, as has President Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, whether the business of the school should be military preparation. We have only seen a thousand dollars here, or ten thousand, that is much needed in order to piece out the sorry materials with which we have to work. For generations we have gotten a crumb from the table

there of the Slater Fund, or the Jeanes Fund, or the Rosenwald Fund, or the General Education Board, or the WPA, or the PWA, or NYA to supplement the meager fare provided by public funds; and we see—or at least, many of us see—another crumb or so that may be obtained by devotion to the God of Battles. But no doubt this is another question.

New Agencies Treat Negroes Fairly

One question in which we are interested is the fact that we are not getting the crumbs that we wish to get. We do not get them for the reason, I think, that the armed forces, and the logic which accompanies them, is the most conservative and deeply entrenched to be found in any country. Negroes have been singularly well treated by such new agencies as the NYA, whose directors were susceptible to reason, and who did not have a tradition of discrimination to follow in the South—where the economy of scarcity, at least where funds are concerned, is deeply rooted in the minds and consciences of old time educational administrators. The distribution of funds aimed at the integration of educational agencies into the National Defense program has, to the extent that these funds are to be distributed through old-line educational agencies, a particularly unfortunate consequence for Negro schools. Too often the administrators of the departments through which these funds are to flow have been reared in a tradition that they must make their white agencies superior to any in the country, and use federal funds which might have gone to Negroes to supplement local or state funds which were non-existent. After these gentlemen have made their agencies the equal or superior of those in Illinois, or Iowa, or Michigan, then they will turn to the Negro schools.

Of course, as in the old system whereby educational expenditures within black belt counties were left to local officials, the time never came. There was always a new need apparent for the white schools; a new salary to be paid, a new person to be appointed.

It is that psychology, I repeat, with which we have to deal in the present efforts to obtain federal funds, being spent for National Defense, for Negro educational institutions. We may expect a crumb here, and a crumb there; (no Maxim silencer was ever as effective as a thousand dollars worth of patronage to a Negro sub-official while the big shots got away with a thousand million); but the old blood of the old federal educational agencies is going to distribute the new monies in much the same way they have distributed the old—that is, as long as National Defense is "pork barrel."

What Most of Us Have Forgotten

One might descant in this vein forever; I repeat, it is the patient, courageous, and wily soul who manages to sneak up on the off side of these bureaucrats, and extract a trifle more than a crumb. But I would prefer to conclude this paper by reminding you again of what most of us have forgotten.

It is that an agency of public education—and of private education, as well—has no other reason for existence than as a pillar of the defense of the Nation. This agency exists to conserve and to transmit the culture. It does not exist to manufacture tanks or airplanes or to train people whose chief aim in life is the manufacture of tanks and airplanes.

I take it that an educational institution best serves the cause of the Nation when it aids in the creation of a population intelligently aware of its national objectives, and proficient in the common skills that make the achievement of those objectives possible. I take it as a corollary that the Nation best serves its purposes that maintains and provides for its youth the instruments through which its culture can both be conserved and transmitted.

You know, and I know, that the South has never done as much; that America has never done as much. There will come another day of crisis, when the fingers of the mechanics we are now making with such zeal will be gnarled with age and stiffened by use. There will come another day, twenty—twenty-five years hence, when the airplanes they are to fashion and the ships they are to weld will be as prehistoric as the cross-bow or the javelin, as implements of war.

What of the Future?

When that time comes, and there is a new rally to the cause of National Defense, there will be frenzy again; there will be emergencies again; there will be alarms again; and from the fields and villages of Macon and Wilcox and Peach Counties, and the slums of Montgomery and Birmingham and Atlanta and New Orleans, there will come trooping those recruits to the new army of national preparedness yet unborn today.

Will the Nation, having exhausted itself in the National Defense of this generation, have had, in the interim, the wit to gird itself for the new crisis, by girding the hearts and brains and loins of this new generation? Will the high schools and the colleges and the little country schools have been made powerful and sufficient unto the day of that new era? It will come; surely it will come; I call all of you to witness that it will come.

If come it must; and come it will! let us then remember that the cost of three battleships that will be useless in 1965 would equalize the cost of educating white and black children in the South; that the price of the new munitions plant at Lister, Alabama, would equalize the salaries of white and Negro teachers in this State for the next twenty-five years; that the no-longer staggering, commonplace millions and billions now being thrown into the maw of National Defense, could be divided fractionally to provide a healthier, sounder, sturdier National Defense for us and for our generation and for future generations than any secret weapon in the hands of any nation in the world today or tomorrow.

Of course we won't do it; we never have, and we never will. Like the Germans, we are neither brutes nor Huns nor vandals; we are only human beings whose pastime is the brutalization of our fellowman and whose passion is an occasional frenzy in the defense of we know not what. "Vanity of vanities," said the preacher to the members of this Conference, "all is vanity." But because the preacher was wise, he still taught the people knowledge.

DISCUSSION

Is there any possibility, or prospect, of a bill for Federal Aid to Public Education, similar to the Fletcher-Harrison Bill, being introduced in this session of Congress?

I would like to tell the group of the talk made by Superintendent Glenn of the Birmingham, Alabama, schools to the Interracial Committee. He said that at a conference of Superintendents at Montgomery the State Superintendent told them that as a result of the Supreme Court decision in Norfolk, Virginia, ruling that salaries of white and Negro teachers must be the same, Alabama had to face this problem very definitely and "yet funds to do so are out of existence." As he saw it, the only way in which equalization could take place at the present time would be to reduce white salaries in order to raise salaries of Negro teachers. He felt the time was ripe, because of the Supreme Court decision and other factors, to get the Fletcher-Harrison Bill re-introduced. He wanted the Interracial Commission to consider it and take whatever steps were necessary.

QUES.: Would that be the only way to get the matter of salaries adjusted?

ANS.: I suppose there would be other ways—court cases, for example—yet, I think it is correct to say that it can never be remedied by states. In the last analysis tax reserves available are not enough to do the job. The cost must be met on a national basis in order to equalize education. Federal equalization of education is the only thing going to remove differentials in education, so far as teachers' salaries are concerned, between North and South, white and black, city and county.

QUES.: Wouldn't you say, also, that whether or not the Fletcher-Harrison Bill is passed, we have to be sure there is an attitude of willingness on the part of the white South to see that the Negro child does get this opportunity?

ANS.: The most disappointing aspect with reference to the present federal funds for education is that in the distribution of the federal funds for vocational aid—and they are tremendous—granted through the Smith-Hughes, the Smith-Lever laws, Negroes are getting about 3% when the population of Negroes is about 25%. On the other hand, the new agencies handling federal funds for education offer hope for greater equity. The older agencies are inclined to take the money for white schools.

QUES.: Is there any way of writing into that bill, in the event it should come up, a provision which would safeguard the money so that all of it would not go to the white schools in the South?

ANS.: People differ on that. The last draft of the bill provided that in any years in which the state receives new federal aid no state should spend less out of state money than had been previously spent on Negro schools; and that all this new federal aid would be allocated on the population percentage basis. I heard a speaker during the past week say that he felt that if the federal government comes to the place that it would no longer allocate money for education, then would begin the ruin of our democratic system. So far, appropriations have been made outright for National Defense and appropriations, about 70 millions, have also been made for education under the heading of Defense—rural shops, technical education and so on.

Vocational Training for National Defense

In Texas 17% of funds are allocated to the Negro on the percentage of population. Negroes are being trained only for those occupations that offer them employment. Few Negroes are being trained in skilled and semi-skilled trades as there is little demand for them. In addition, the responsibility is placed upon Negroes to show that there are openings in a new field before training is given them. Negroes in Texas are being made more skilful and efficient in service to white people and, in certain occupations, to their own race. In one of the state's richest counties there is no vocational high school for Negroes. This is due, so reports go, to the influence of local labor unions.

QUES.: Is this attitude of organized labor typical of the South or is it confined to this locality?

ANS.: The experience of some persons has disclosed that in other places there are those who are willing to allow labor unions to influence school systems. In a city not far from here there was some sort of definite program of training started in the school system, but, because union labor objected to it, the school officials said, "We won't have it."

Comment: Isn't it a pattern taken over from the normal life of the community? We talk about Negroes out of work—Negroes on relief. I happen to know, in Louisville, Kentucky, that local labor unions have kept the board of education and high school from offering auto mechanics, for the simple reason that Negroes trained in this field would go out and compete with others in the city—this in spite of the fact that there are thousands of Negroes in the city who own and drive cars whom these Negro mechanics might serve.

This is the time when the Interracial Commission and State Committees throughout the South ought to work to open up all avenues of employment equally for Negroes and for whites. Instead of acquiescing in the procedure

of training Negroes only for jobs now open to them, why not say, "Train them for jobs, even if the jobs at present are not open?" By the time they are trained, maybe the jobs will be open. Negroes should be trained according to their capacity and not according to the kinds of employment society permits them to hold.

QUES.: The extra money given to the NYA and other agencies for this training—does the expenditure of that money have to harmonize with the requirements of the Selective Service Act?

ANS.: In the Selective Service Act there is no statement at all about how money for Vocational Education shall be spent.

Federal Policy and Local Policy on Training for National Defense

A state director of Vocational Education said recently, "If you know of definite opportunities where Negroes may be absorbed as soon as they are trained, we will give them training."

Dr. Robert Weaver, assistant to Sidney Hillman, said in Atlanta that in this matter of vocational education under National Defense the policy had been written in that there must be no discrimination on account of race. Dr. Weaver followed this statement by saying that they had learned in Washington that a policy set down in black and white did not mean anything until people in the local community knew about it and wanted to follow it.

The demands of Defense industry are expected to be so great in the next two or three years that there will be a shortage of labor in trades and other labor calling for high skill. In spite of ruling or interpretation, this discussion shows that the policy still has to be worked out locally.

CONCLUSION

First—No matter what is done in Washington; no matter what appropriation for any specific type of education or training may be assured; no matter what it may amount to in dollars and cents; no matter what law is laid down in Washington or by the Supreme Court; in the final analysis the local administration of that law is determined by the local community interest, and local community attitude is going to determine a local situation. So, as you go back to Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and the other states, remember that you are the law in the final analysis.

Second—There is great inequality in American life even in the basic opportunities of education, even in the basic opportunities for vocational training in a field or fields in which, ordinarily, we have felt there has been very little prejudice against Negroes. We have given to democracy a great deal of service we haven't believed in very much.

Third—The greatest defense of this country is in the character of its citizens, its people; not its white people or black people, but the people who make the country, the citizens of America. If we are actually interested in National Defense we will see to it that not 9% to 10% but 90% to 100% of people are trained for good, useful, fruitful lives, for service five, fifty, or a hundred years from now.

The Committee submits the following:

1. That State Interracial Committees should keep themselves informed on the whole program of education in the several communities.
2. That the program of education which will develop attitudes of people toward all Defense plans and services should be begun immediately.
3. That the Atlanta office be petitioned to distribute to State Committees on Interracial Cooperation the present policies and rulings and the future declarations of policy and rulings of the several agencies directly concerned with the development of education in the Defense program.
4. That a study of all proposed legislative action including the Harrison-Fletcher Bill be sent to the State Committees by the Interracial Commission.

H. M. Bond, Georgia, Chairman
C. H. Bynum, Texas, Secretary
Mrs. W. B. Landrum, Texas
Mrs. David Jones, North Carolina
E. A. McDowell, Kentucky

WAGES, HOURS, AND THE RIGHTS OF LABOR

LESTER B. GRANGER

The South Is Important

We know that no section stands or falls on its own; it is the same with individuals and communities. Any section that is backward socially and economically affects the progress of all other sections of society, especially if such a section constitutes a large segment of territory and a considerable proportion of the total population of a nation. So it is that the status of the South is of national importance, for about 35 per cent of the total area of the United States is below the Mason-Dixon Line, and 27 per cent of the total population live in this area. The purchasing power of this 27 per cent has become of vast importance to the whole nation.

While industry was in the process of development, and for years after, foreign markets absorbed its output, both in manufactured goods and raw materials. But in these later years these customers have been largely lost, so more customers must be found at home.

Does the South Buy or Use All it Can Absorb?

The South has 27 per cent of the total population and less than 15 per cent of the total income; the average income tax paid in the South is far below the national income tax. For instance, Texas pays an average of $47.00 while New York pays $578.00. The average per capita income for the nation as a whole is $69.08 but for the South it is much lower.

Are there reasons for these disparities? First, consider wages. In the North the average per hour paid labor is twelve cents more than in the South. In cotton mills in the North 25 per cent of the workers receive 52 cents an hour and 50 per cent of the workers get 37 cents an hour. In the South fewer than 10 per cent of the workers receive even as much as 37 cents an hour. Consider next the differentials in the amount of relief paid in different sections. The national average for WPA workers is $54.87, but for the Southern States it is much lower. In Mississippi relief workers receive $30.54; in Arkansas $31.54; in Georgia $35.00. For old age assistance the average for the nation is $19.47, but for Mississippi it is $7.37, and for Arkansas $6.00. Relief grants in New York average $53.00 per month for a family of five. In most Southern States the average is $9.03, the highest being $19.58.

Lower Standard of Living in South Affects National Standards

These few figures show that the purchasing power in the South is lower than that in the North and, since purchasing power fixes the standard of living, the Southern standard of living is far below that of the rest of the country.

What effect does this situation in the South have on the nation?

When I was a boy I used to pass through several little New England industrial towns on my way to school. These little towns were well kept and the general atmosphere was one of thrift and industry. I pass those same towns now and I notice a marked change from those early years. Streets which were formerly well kept and paved are less than slum sections; only a trickle of workers are on their way to work in the morning—just here and there. If you talk to the people and ask for reasons for the change, some will say, "It is the depression;" some will say, "It is because of meanness on the part of the manufacturer," or "selfishness on the part of the local labor party;" but all agree that the industries that used to support those towns have come South. Industry has found in the South what it has not found in the North—unorganized cheap labor. Industry is escaping from a field favorable to labor to one that is unfavorable; from a field where standards of living and purchasing power have been high to one where the standards of living are low and purchasing power is on a subsistence level. The long-time—or maybe not so long-time—effect will be the reduction of the purchasing power of millions of consumers to the end that our domestic markets, which must be developed to absorb the fruits of industry and agriculture, if they are to be absorbed, will be so contracted that economic collapse for all the nation will inevitably result.

What Makes the South Different?

Now let us see whether or not there are any special conditions which contribute to the apparent willingness with which Southern workers accept these low wages. Immediately we are brought up against the obvious condition which differentiates the South and the rest of the industrialized sections—abundant Negro labor, willing to take a wage slightly higher than it receives and yet not equal to the low wage paid white labor.

The biracial economy in the South has depressed the standards of living and the wage scale of the white people in areas in which Negroes live. It destroys what little economic security each could enjoy and confers advantages on neither group, nor on the South as a whole. So it is that the basis of low standards for white people is found in the disadvantaged economic status of the Negroes.

Whenever Negro wages have shown a tendency to equal those of the whites the controlling forces have moved in to block this out. Every possible device has been used to maintain this biracial situation and the condition of acquiescence of white workers to low wages. It is done by persuasive arguments; by flinging the banner of racial hatred; sometimes, by wails of self-pity on the part of those who, complaining of the poverty of the South, assert that the survival of the South depends on new industries which must be offered special inducements to come. Finally, sometimes by the use of brutal force.

Individual Survival Is Still Important

Why is it that white workers as a whole are only too glad to work for this low wage? They take this wage because, low as it is, it is higher than they have been making in any other employment. Why is it that white urban workers accept this low wage? They know that, outside of town, rural people are getting an even lower wage and suffer even lower standards of living. Why will these white rural people work for so little money? They know that farther out on the circumference of the wage circle there are Negroes who, receiving even less, will jump at the chance to earn a bit more.

What Is the Answer?

What is the answer? The answer is the labor union. We do not have the union in the South because of situations growing out of our biracial society. For always, I repeat, on the extreme outer circumference of this pool of cheap white labor is this untouched Negro labor—a standing threat to white jobs. Negroes are not in industry nor are they trained to go into industry, yet their very presence determines the scale of wages and standard of living for white labor. White labor, so insecure that it fears to organize, is aware of the presence of this lowest paid group of all groups, capable of being trained and willing to take any job which will pay a little more than it now receives.

The tobacco workers in Durham, North Carolina, wanted a union. The employers were willing for the white workers to organize but when they found that the Negro workers, constituting sixty per cent of all employees, were to be included they opposed such a move. Without the Negro, the union would have been futile. If an employer, himself, feels that his Negro labor should not be included in a union, it is to the advantage of all labor to probe into the reasons. Southern labor has been gradually coming to realize this. As a result, in these past eight or ten years, progress has been made. Labor leadership has begun to take a realistic stand on this question of race—don't think that the Arkansas tenant farmer loves the Negro tenant farmer any more than he did eight or ten years ago! He knows that the conditions are the same and that forces at work are the same as they have always been, but he realizes that nothing can be changed unless both races combine their forces. By meeting together they begin to see that both suffer under the same limitations, and that only by working together can they improve conditions for either group.

Have We a Responsibility?

What can we do to further the steps which will help the South?

Because, for the first time, the American nation is beginning to think in terms of democracy from the wider standpoint, we will have to determine

whether or not we have the same responsibility for wiping out economic differentials as we have assumed for eliminating educational differentials.

If we decide that we have, I think we ought to turn our attention to educating the general public regarding the labor movement. We will have to convince the South unless these two races stand together, the South will remain at the bottom economically, educationally, and culturally. If we are going to be honest about improving our living conditions, we will admit that the labor movement must be strengthened; we will admit that the labor union has faults, large and small; yet we will also admit that no better substitute has been found to take the place of the labor union.

DISCUSSION

QUES.: Where Federal funds come in, do they eliminate the actual differentials in wages?

ANS.: If the South had been able to stand up and respond in the same way as was true of the North, it would have had much more advancement.

QUES.: Do you think there will be some lowering of wages outside of the South as a result of this condition in the South?

ANS.: Yes, when one section suffers we all suffer to an extent.

QUES.: Is it true that Southern labor is more inefficient than labor elsewhere; that Southern people can't be trained to turn off the same amount of work as other people can?

ANS.: It is possible that some Southern labor does not produce as much as labor elsewhere. On the other hand, a great many mills in the South, when they were set up down here, were equipped with obsolete machines, the new and improved machines being installed elsewhere. This may have been done because the owners accepted the theory, as a fact, that Southern labor is inefficient. On the other hand, it is reported that a large part of Henry Ford's skilled Northern labor is recruited from Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and other Southern states where existing wages are extremely low.

QUES.: Do you feel that there is any logical basis at all for differentials between sections?

ANS.: The only logical basis that I can see would be the differences between the cost of raw material and perhaps the difference in the cost of transportation.

QUES.: Do living standards cause false reasoning?

ANS.: There is five per cent difference in the cost of living in the South and in the North. The reason the people in the South spend less money than those in the North is that they have less money.

QUES.: To what extent is the Negro becoming an employer?

ANS.: Records show that the employment of Negroes by Negroes reached its highest point in 1929. During the depression years many Negro employers failed and businesses closed down along with everybody else. This affected the number of Negroes employed by Negroes. Negro business has not come back to its peak of 1929.

QUES.: Are there any Negroes employed in the kind of industries that are connected with the CIO?

ANS.: Yes, 35,000 in packing, mining, railway, rubber and steel industries, in the industries in and around Birmingham and the oil fields of Texas, and some other fields.

QUES.: Are Negroes employed in the textile industries?

ANS.: Not much has been done in this direction in the South. Labor leaders say they have not been able to get their hooks in the Southern scene.

Comment: I wonder if we are all agreed that the problems of industries—wages, hours, and intimidation of workers—all are purely of economic origin. We exploit our laboring groups; we keep them working against odds while a small portion of our population gets its economic step up. If only the merchants could see that an increase in daily and annual wages of the workers of the community would bring them prosperity; if these small-town merchants largely dependent on mill wages could only be made to see that, they would be for some form of labor organization.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAGES, HOURS, AND THE RIGHTS OF LABOR IN THE SOUTH

The economic status of the South is of major concern to the entire nation. Industry must have customers and is necessarily affected by the low income and consequent low purchasing power of the South. Average wages and income levels in the South are from one-third to one-half lower than the average for the nation. The standard of living in the South is considerably lower than that of the nation; not because of any appreciable difference in the actual cost of living, but rather because of a lowered income which prohibits the purchase of commodities and service which would be involved in a level of living comparable to that of other sections.

The poverty and the disadvantaged economic circumstances of the South are affected by low industrial wages; low prices for farm products and inadequate purchasing power for either industrial or farm products, and by an economic control of labor maintained by arraying white and Negro workers against each other.

Some suggestions for approach to this industrial situation are:

1. To encourage the work of modern unionism and the extension of appreciation of the principle of collective bargaining, with emphasis upon the organization of all workers in the various industries without discrimination or exclusion on basis of race.
2. To persuade labor leaders to recognize the necessity for elimination of racially discriminatory policies in their approach to collective bargaining, if they hope to achieve maximum success.
3. To develop an understanding of the relation of workers to economic life and of the necessary relation of Negro workers to white workers through worker's education programs.
4. To develop recognition on the part of the merchant class that higher wages for all workers, both Negro and white, will mean more business and more prosperity for them . . . with the implication that they should support programs designed to remove racial differentials and sectional differentials in the matter of wages.
5. To develop recognition of the serious difficulties in the Southern economic pattern caused by the low wages paid to workers in the field of personal service, which does not permit any kind of wholesome living, with the consequent dangers both to morale and to purchasing power of the community.
6. To insist that the Federal Government in its administration of public funds for relief and employment in the South not be a party to this policy of sectional discrimination that contributes to the perpetuation of lower income levels of the South.
7. To work for the elimination of the poll tax and the other devices that concentrate political power in the hands of the few to the disastrous result of the South in all too many instances.
8. To stimulate the improvement of the administrative procedures of the Public Employment Service to the end that the now all-too-frequent discriminatory policies will be eliminated.
9. To encourage and endorse the insertion of non-discriminatory prohibitions in Federal contracts which will operate to reduce and eliminate the refusal to employ Negro workers.
10. To advocate the discontinuance of the administrative policy of industrial and vocational education which operates on the theory that no workers should be trained for industries in which they are not now employed, thus resulting in the practical elimination of Negroes from the training programs for many of the skilled and shop occupations.

Submitted:

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Mrs. Hattie Duckett, South Carolina
Mrs. W. A. Newell, North Carolina
H. S. Trenholm, Alabama

Bibliography

Lester B. Granger of New York is Field Secretary of the National Urban League, an organization designed primarily to improve the economic status of Negroes of the United States. The League has state and local units throughout the South.

Dr. H. Clarence Nixon, an assistant professor at Vanderbilt University, is a native of Merrellton, Alabama. His book "Forty Acres and a Steel Mule" is a striking presentation of the problems, human and economic, growing out of agricultural mechanization. Dr. Nixon is a member of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

Dr. Ira de A. Reid, professor of sociology at Atlanta University, is on leave of absence to serve as special assistant in the research division of the Federal Social Security Department in Washington, D. C. Dr. Reid is the author of "In a Minor Key—Negro Youth in Story and Fact," and co-author of "Sharecroppers All."

In March of this year Dr. Horace Mann Bond was one among six given special citations by the American Educational Research for his book "Negro Education in Alabama." Dr. Bond is a member of the Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

FILE
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Needed . . . A Southern Charter For Race Relations

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC.

By
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Richmond, Virginia

Reprinted from
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Needed . . . A Southern Charter For Race Relations

By GORDON B. HANCOCK

When the forefathers of our Nation conceived and wrought the Declaration of Independence, they achieved a political consummation that was at once a tribute to their own greatness and a challenge to all succeeding generations. At the very heart of this great instrument is the incipient spirit of isolationism, akin to that which motivated the Monroe Doctrine. Yet after only a hundred and sixty years we find Great Britain and the United States drawing up the "Atlantic Charter," which is a virtual "Declaration on Inter-dependence." A comparison of the two "declarations" makes more dramatic the irresistible truth that nations, like individuals, cannot live unto themselves. Even the wars of today are not wars between individual nations but between combinations of nations; and it follows that any prospects of a lasting peace must be predicated upon a combination of peace-loving nations. In other words, the limited combinations of nations for war is a prelude to the unlimited combination for peace.

Education Undermines Racial Isolation

Just as isolationism among the nations is outmoded, so is it among the races of mankind. Three major influences which are operating against isolation among the nations are calculated also to negate isolation among the races. The first of these is education. Education has a liberalizing effect upon human minds everywhere and all the time. In its expansion, its program and its processes, it broadens narrow minds and creates in them a desire for truth. Seekers after truth are like spokes of a wheel—the nearer they come to the hub, the nearer they come to each other. So it is that a kinship is established among educated people which tends to transcend conventional limitations. The white youth who drove an ambulance to the scene of a South Carolina accident and then refused to help the dying because they were Negroes would not have been guilty of such inhumaneness had he been educated. Education is undermining such spirit among men.

Our nation today is set to the grim task of winning a war we tried so hard to avert. So opposed were we to war that even when its threatenings had blackened our national horizon, we refused to face the ugly facts. Only the tragedy of Pearl Harbor could drive home to us that our country was endangered; that everything we love and hold dear was threatened with destruction. The unanimous response that the educated leadership gave at this critical time is one of the finest tributes that can ever be paid to the cause of education in these United States. Negro leadership no less than white leadership rose to the emergency with the firm resolution to fight Nazism to the last ditch! White and Negro leaders alike called for an "all out" against the Nazis. Negro leadership is epitomized in this statement by the National Urban League:

> "It will help us if we are guided by this principle: that no special racial objective at this time is more urgent than accomplishing the defeat of the Axis powers and preserving our American form of government. This does not mean that we shall retreat from positions we have already won in our quest for citizenship; neither does it mean that we give over seeking new gains, even in the midst of war, for many improvements in the Negro's situation are essential to the successful prosecution of the war. . . . But at no point must we allow the Negro community to forget that its future safety and its sole chance of attaining democratic equality lies in defeating the aggressor nations that now seek to enslave all the peoples of the world."

The nation should be proud of a group that could make such a statement in the face of such great emergency. The educated white man and educated Negro are together.

Religion Nourishes Racial Brotherhood

Religion breaks down isolation. Just as seeking minds evolve a sympathy and kinship with each other, so it is with seeking souls. Though slow the processes, religion is making men more tolerant toward each other, bringing them closer together. One of the early examples of the functioning of religion as the solvent of isolationism is that of the establishment of schools in the South by the religious foundations of the North during Reconstruction days. Today Catholics, Protestants, and Jews recognize a community of interests transcending race and national boundaries which is but the prelude to their gradual mergence into one grand religious whole.

Science Knows No Racial Lines

Science tends to destroy isolation. Facilitated communication and improved transportation are death-knells to isolation. What is more, we are now only in the dawn of science, and therefore of the intertwining of human relationships. What is in store for a world where the barriers of time and space are forever crumbling has not yet entered into the minds of men.

If nations and races in distant parts of the earth cannot be isolated how much less can the Negro and white races of the South. Segregation is an attempt at isolation; but when a white orchestra exudes jazz and swing music of Negro derivation and Negroes render the music of Brahms and Mozart and Beethoven, they demonstrate the difficulty of attempted isolation. The Negro, semi-isolated physically, is spiritually so integrated into the heart of the South and the Nation that it is impossible to separate the one race from the other. We may well consider seriously the problem of making racial contacts mutually profitable.

If I Were a White Man of the South

The rise of the Negro in the South, gratifying as it has been, is only the prophetic outline of greater achievements of the future when the Negro will realize more completely his aspirations and the white man will understand and value him more fully. If I were a white man of the South, I would be proud of the late Dr. E. E. Just and of Dr. George W. Carver who have made history as scientists; I would be proud of Congressmen DePriest and Mitchell, all of whom hail from Alabama —to say nothing of Joe Louis, the Nation's idol. These Negroes are a compliment to the white race no less than the Negro race. They are not liabilities but assets to their section and their Nation. If I were white I would feel ashamed of the dreadful odds they had to surmount in order to bring credit to my Nation! They are convincing proof that it is not the "let up" Negro but the "kept down" Negro that constitutes "the white man's burden."

With isolationism being swept away and with Negro worth increasingly exemplified, the time is now ripe for planning a greater tomorrow in race relations. Just as the Negro is ready and willing to help win the war, he is ready and willing to help win the peace by assisting to make the South a better place in which to live. The time is at hand when the leadership of the South, white and Negro, must go into a "huddle" and plan the future of race relations. It is not too early for Negroes to be thinking in terms of concrete goals such as greater skilled industrial employment in the South. Negroes need larger measures of New Dealism as it pertains to agriculture and agricultural rehabilitation. The knotty problem of labor unionization that is going to take deep hold on the South is a challenge to both the Negroes and the lowly whites. How can the labor union that has so stubbornly opposed the Negro be made to open its doors to him? How can the exclusiveness be replaced by inclusiveness in labor ranks?

Needed—A Southern Charter For Race Relations

As the "Atlantic Charter" was needed to prepare for post-war times and problems, so also is needed for the South a "Southern

Charter" that will chart an interracial course for the post-war period. The Negro must help draw up such a charter. In it must be set out specific demands such as the moral right to work for an honest living; the right to share equitably in the educational opportunities, without which he cannot function in a democracy; the right to vote for the mayors and governors, law makers and law enforcers, officials who control his daily life, as well as for the President who is powerless in local affairs. To draft this "Southern Charter" and to direct its course, there should be a central planning committee preferably headquartered in Atlanta, where close cooperation could be had with the Interracial Commission. From this, a pattern plan could be disseminated throughout the South. On this planning committee should sit white men and women who are not afraid to be called "Nigger Lovers" and Negroes who are not afraid to be called "Uncle Toms"! The time is at hand for the white and Negro leadership of the South to rally to an unparalleled opportunity.

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III. GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT AND MINORITY PEOPLES

IV. THE LAW AND MINORITY PEOPLES

V. SCHOOLS AND MINORITY PEOPLES

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NATIONAL UNITY AND CIVILIAN MORALE

I. Rumors

Rumors are floating around the South which are causing tension between the white and Negro peoples. Rumors to instill fear and hatred, to divide a people whom he is attacking, is a familiar and successfully used technique of Hitler's.

Rumor Number 1—Uprising of Negroes Against White Citizens

a. Are you helping Hitler by repeating that Negroes plan to attack white citizens; that they are arming themselves with guns, ice picks, or other weapons?

b. Have you reported to the FBI any and all rumors of this nature reaching your ears?

c. Have you talked to local Negroes to learn how they feel about these rumors affecting their loyalty and their patriotism?

Rumor Number 2—"Eleanor Clubs" and Domestic Service

Another rumor is being circulated, directed especially at white women, to stir in them racial fear and resentment. This relates to domestic service. "They say" Negro women are organizing "Eleanor Clubs" with the general purpose of forcing all Negro women out of domestic service.

a. Have you heard these rumors?

b. Have you repeated them and supported them by relating the story of someone who has lost a cook, a maid, or a laundress?

c. Have you pushed this rumor back through all the people who have repeated it to get at the truth?

d. If a Negro cook has left domestic employment have you tried to find out why she left?

1. For a better job?
2. Because she is receiving money as a soldier's dependent and does not have to work?

Discussion:

If for either of the reasons under "d" a Negro woman leaves domestic service, should she be condemned? Would you not act in the same way?

(Read "Boston's Fight Against Rumors"—*American Mercury*, September, and organize a RUMOR CLINIC.)

II. Sore Spots

1. Transportation
   a. Have you had reports of serious racial friction on public transportation?
   b. If so, have you investigated any of them?
   c. Does the white public observe the rules setting aside certain seats for Negro patrons?
   d. Is this rule observed when no Negroes are on the bus or street car?
   e. If not, do white people move from seats reserved for Negroes when Negroes get on the bus or street car?
   f. Have you discussed the transportation situation in regard to racial troubles with officials of the company controlling this public service?

2. The Police; Negro Civilians; Negro Soldiers
   a. Does the local police force assist the Military Police in maintaining order among Negro soldiers?
   b. Does your city have Negro policemen?
   c. If an Army camp is nearby in which Negro soldiers are stationed, does it maintain Negro Military Police?
   d. Have you investigated reports of mistreatment of Negro civilians and soldiers by the civilian police force?

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NATIONAL DEFENSE AND MINORITY PEOPLES

I. Administration of the Selective Service Act

1. Do Negroes serve on draft boards?
2. Do Negroes hold any remunerative jobs?

II. Recreation

1. What provision has your community made for recreation of soldiers from nearby camps?
2. How do the facilities provided for Negro soldiers compare with those provided for white soldiers?

III. Defense Training

1. What facilities are provided for skilled and technical training?
2. Are these facilities available to Negro as well as white citizens?

IV. Defense Industries

1. Do any defense industries deny employment to qualified Negroes and members of other minority groups?
2. Do Negroes have a chance for employment at skilled and technical jobs?

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Conditions Peculiar to Your Town and County

Group Discussions

Secure separate opinions from the various racial groups, one answer from each group.

1. What events within the past five years have had greatest significance in determining racial attitudes in your community?
2. What are the greatest obstacles standing in the way of more democratic race relations in your community? In the state at large?
3. What do you conceive to be the specific job of your local interracial committee in attacking these obstacles?
4. What do you conceive to be the job of the State Committee for the current year?

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GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT AND MINORITY PEOPLES

To what extent are minority groups employed in government services—local, state, and Federal?

I. Unskilled Labor:

1. What determines the number of Negroes and of other minorities employed? Is population used as a basis?
2. Do payrolls indicate any discrimination against minorities?
3. Is the total wage paid the minority groups proportionate to the total wage for the project?

II. Skilled Labor:

1. Do unions admit to full standing Negroes and members of other minority groups?
2. Are unions segregated or mixed?

III. Professional Employment:

1. Are Negroes and other minority group members excluded from employment in the following:
   a. Hospital staff
   b. Social workers
   c. Supervisory positions in school system
   d. Members of commissions
   e. Others

IV. Civil Service Employment:

1. Is employment open to Negroes and other minority groups in the following:
   a. State or local
      (1) Police
      (2) Firemen
      (3) Probation officers
      (4) Case workers
   b. Federal
      (1) Postal employees
      (2) Others

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THE LAW AND MINORITY PEOPLES

To what extent do minority groups get legal justice in:

I. Police Courts

What problems are involved in providing the Negro and other minority groups with adequate police protection?

II. Office of the Prosecuting Attorney

What problems are involved in securing adequate defense for Negro defendants?

III. Specialized Courts

1. Juvenile
2. Domestic

IV. Sentences Imposed

Study sentences in relation to crime committed by:

1. Negroes
2. White people
3. Foreign born
4. Negroes against Negroes
5. Negroes against white people
6. White people against Negroes

V. Prevailing practices in regard to:

Payment of fines, probation and parole, rehabilitation effort

VI. Jury Service

What are the prevailing practices governing use of Negroes and foreign-born citizens on juries?

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SCHOOLS AND MINORITY PEOPLES

To what extent do Negroes and other minority groups receive an equitable share in public education:

I. Elementary Schools

1. How accessible to children served?
2. What transportation is provided?
3. Compare courses of study with those offered white groups.
4. Are there opportunities for extracurricular activities?

II. High Schools

1. How accessible to children served?
2. What transportation is provided?
3. Compare courses of study with those offered white groups.
4. Are there opportunities for extracurricular activities?

III. Is there discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups in the following:

1. Teachers' salaries
2. Training required for teachers
3. Length of school term
4. School equipment
5. Enforcement of attendance law
6. Treatment by supervisory officers

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HEALTH AND RECREATION AND MINORITY PEOPLES

To what extent do Negroes and other minority groups receive an equitable share in all public welfare benefits accruing from the expenditure of tax funds:

I. Health Facilities

1. List hospitals, clinics, etc., in or near your community, indicating beds available for Negroes and whites.
2. Is there discrimination against Negroes in tax-supported hospitals as to
   a. Patients accepted
   b. Opportunities for Negroes to secure:
      (1) Nurse training
      (2) Internships
      (3) Advanced and varied clinical experience for practicing doctors
3. Is there discrimination against Negroes in the use of public funds in:
   a. Public health education
   b. Examination of school children
   c. Clinics—dental, tuberculosis, etc.

II. Recreational Facilities

1. Is there discrimination in the use of public funds in equipment or supervision in the following:
   a. Parks and playgrounds
   b. Swimming pools
   c. Wading pools
   d. Tennis courts

III. Public Welfare

1. Is there provision out of public funds for the care of indigent or handicapped Negroes and other minorities?
2. Are there differences in concept of an adequate standard of living which govern grocery orders, rent allowances, etc., for Negroes and other minority groups and for white people in the same class?

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The South....Child Rich.. Dollar Poor

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The South .... Child Rich .. Dollar Poor

CORRECTION

On page 18, second paragraph, of "The South—Child Rich—Dollar Poor," the words "over $30,000,000" should read "nearly $5,000,000." Distribution of the sources of funds for Rosenwald schools are:

Tax funds (64%)	$18,104,155	
Personal contributions—white (4%)	1,211,975	
Julius Rosenwald Fund (15%)	4,366,519	
Negroes (17%)	4,725,871	
Total cost		$28,408,520

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Herewith are compiled all articles and editorials appearing in THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, 1940-1941, on Negro education in the South. The steady demand for additional copies of the issues carrying this material is convincing evidence that the information is valuable and should be made more conveniently available under one cover.

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER will carry more articles in this field during 1942. Subscribe now—twenty-five cents a year.

JESSIE DANIEL AMES, *Editor.*

The Background

Education for the Negro

By VIRGINIUS DABNEY

There are differences of opinion among Southerners on the question whether Negroes should be admitted to publicly-supported institutions of higher learning hitherto reserved for white students, and there will doubtless continue to be such differences of opinion. There should be no disagreement, however, on the point that Negroes are entitled to adequate educational opportunities, and that until they are given such opportunities there can be no satisfactory solution of the race problem.

Something like half a century ago, Joel Chandler Harris wrote that "if education of the Negro is not the chief solution of the problem that confronts the white people of the South, then there is no other conceivable solution and there is nothing ahead but political chaos and demoralization." While the threat of "political chaos" does not loom anything like so large today as it did when the foregoing was written, the basic thesis remains sound.

It ought not to be necessary today to convince any informed Southerner that the level of civic responsibility and social advancement of any group is intimately bound up with the educational opportunities which that group enjoys. Ignorance breeds criminality, just as do filthy surroundings and lack of economic opportunity. In earlier days, the theory was rather widely held that educated Negroes were more apt to turn to crime than uneducated Negroes. While there may have been a measure of truth in this during the ante-bellum era, owing to the natural aversion of any educated person to living as a chattel slave, the notion that education was a crime-breeder unfortunately persisted into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

It took statistical demonstrations to convince some Southerners that they were wrong in believing that crime is more prevalent among the educated Negroes than among the uneducated. First among such demonstrations was that given by Dr. Clarence Poe in his article, "Lynching: A Southern View," which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1904. Dr. Poe, then as now one of the South's most influential leaders, showed that the percentage of criminality among illiterate Negroes was much higher than among the literate.

A more elaborate demonstration of this thesis, and one which deserves to be better known, appeared thirteen years later in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. It was published in the January, 1917, issue of that magazine, and was from the pen of Gilbert T. Stephenson, then judge of the Winston-Salem Municipal Court, and now prominent in North Carolina banking circles.

Mr. Stephenson communicated with officials of penal institutions in various parts of the South, and with educational authorities, as well, and reported his extremely

convincing findings in the article mentioned above. His exhaustive analysis led him to the following conclusion:

"All the available statistics and the unanimous opinion of men in a position to know the facts would seem to be proof that education—elementary or advanced, industrial or literary—diminishes crime among Negroes. The alarmingly high rate of Negro criminality is as much a condemnation of the community in which it exists as of the offending Negroes themselves."

The South should take that unassailable declaration to heart. Until it does so, there can be no satisfactory approach to the Negro problem.

The South....Child Rich..Dollar Poor

By Dr. Eli S. Marks

The relation between education and taxable income is not a simple one. In a rural economy, education is not essential to productivity, although training in modern agricultural methods is certainly a key to the expansion of production. In urban areas, with their complex industrial organization, lack of education may be a decided obstacle to efficiency.

The relation between taxable income and illiteracy is brought out by an analysis of 1,104 counties in 13 southern states. The 1,104 counties included 571 counties which were completely rural and 200 counties in which 30 per cent or more of the population was urban. For these two groups the median population per individual income tax return (1930) is tabulated against the number of illiterates per 1,000 population. A high median indicates relatively few income tax returns.

Number of Illiterates per 1000 Population	Median County Population Per Individual Income Tax Return	
	Rural Counties	Urban Counties
Under 50	442	39
50-99	433	73
100-149	433	89
150 or more	340	92
All counties	410	68

In the urban counties the number of income tax returns increases as illiteracy decreases reflecting the greater taxable income associated with increased literacy. In the rural counties the relation is, if anything, reversed. Peculiarly enough, this reversal reflects the retardation of the southern agricultural economy. The areas with highest illiteracy are also those containing the South's richest farmlands. In these areas illiterate sharecroppers produce wealth which is reflected in the income tax returns of their landlords. In the areas where small independent farms prevail, illiteracy is lower but the general poverty of the rural areas appears in the low number of income tax returns.

City and Country Out of Balance

Under present agricultural conditions in the South, it is doubtful whether improvements in education would profoundly affect economic conditions of the rural areas. With change in agricultural methods, the value of education may be expected to increase. In the urban areas the contribution of literacy to income seems clear.

It should be noted that the concentration of taxable wealth in urban areas is much greater than the concentration of population. The urban counties show six times as many income tax returns (in relation to population) as the rural counties. There are four counties in Tennessee which contain cities with population over 100,000. In 1937, these four counties contained only 33 per cent of the state's population but had 55 per cent of the taxable property (real estate, personal property, and public utilities). These four counties also accounted for 73 per cent of all Federal income tax returns from Tennessee in 1937.

Rural South—the Mudsill of Education

The ability of rural areas of the South to support educational systems is far below that of the urban areas. Southern urban areas, handicapped by a poorly trained labor force, are in turn far behind the wealthier cities of the North in ability to support education. The situation is further complicated for both areas by migration. Between 1920 and 1930 over one and a half million persons left the South for other areas of the United States. Nearly half of these migrants were Negroes. As is true of most migrations, over 50 per cent of the migrants are between the ages of 15 and 45.

This largely untrained population has created a serious problem of adjustment in the areas to which they have migrated and this is true particularly of the Negro migrants. At the same time the South has lost a large potential source of wealth.

The South: Its Children and Old People

Migration and a high birth rate have resulted in a larger proportion of population of school age in the South than in the remainder of the country. In 1940, 20.1 per cent of the population of the South was between 5 and 15 years of age compared with only 15.7 per cent of the population of other areas. Thus the South has in proportion to its population 28 per cent more educables than the remainder of the United States.

It is true that the burden of support of the aged is somewhat lower in the South than it is in other areas. Only 5.5 per cent of the southern population is 65 years old or over compared with 6.8 per cent of the population for the United States as a whole. More than 8 per cent of the population are 65 years old or over in the New England, West North Central and Pacific States. While encouraging on the surface, these figures actually reflect the poor health and high mortality conditions of the section and the effects of past migration in draining from the South large numbers of persons in the productive ages from 20 to 50.

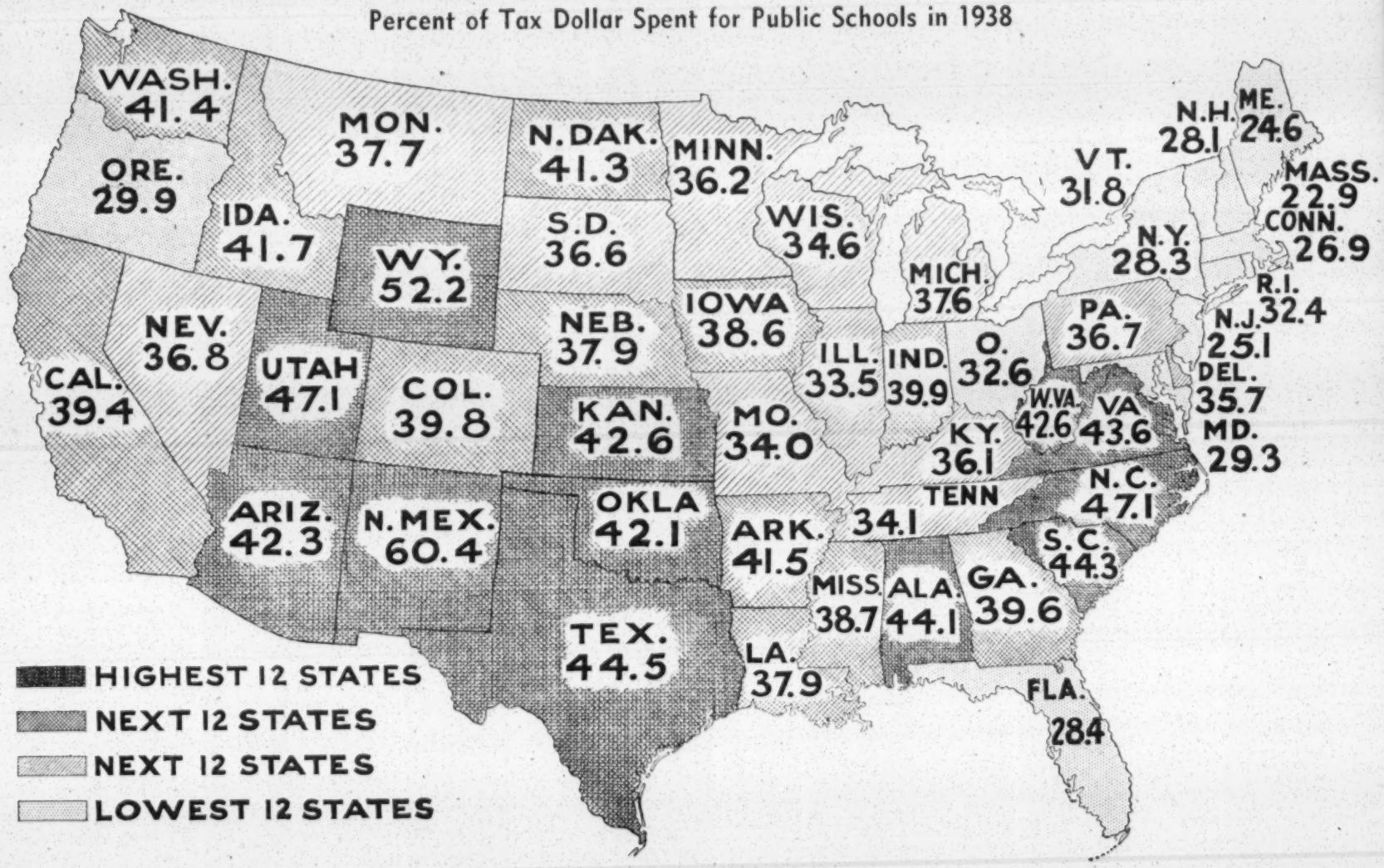
The low proportion of persons over 65 in the South implies to some extent that the South is contributing more than its share to the present program of Federal old-age assistance. This is, of course, not true in actual proportions of Federal tax money spent for old-age assistance. In this respect, the South undoubtedly receives more money in old-age assistance than it pays in taxes to the Federal government for that purpose. In terms of ability to pay however, the South is probably being taxed more for old-age assistance than are other areas.

Education: A National Responsibility

There is nothing inequitable about the old-age assistance plan if we think in national rather than regional terms. The care of those aged persons who produced our national wealth in the days of their productive vigor is a responsibility of the nation as a whole. Having in fact accepted this theory, the United States must consider whether the training of those young persons who are to produce our national wealth in days to come is not also a responsibility of the nation as a whole.

The social and economic structure of the South is characterized by a set of vicious circles. One of the most notable of these is the relation between education and income. A poor educational system has operated to produce a population poorly equipped for the production of wealth and the resultant low tax revenues have made it impossible for the South to support a good educational system.

Percent of Tax Dollar Spent for Public Schools in 1938



Education and the Tax Dollar

By Guy B. Johnson

Most of us are by now familiar with certain unpleasant facts about the South. We know that the South has the lowest per capita income and per capita wealth of any region in the nation. We know that wages are low, that agriculture is very sick, and that the South is probably in reality the nation's Economic Problem Number One.

We have also heard that the South has more children of school age per 1,000 adults than any other region. This means that our educational burden is doubly heavy, because we have more children to educate and less money to spend on education. It is not surprising then that whereas southern states like Georgia and Louisiana spend from $30 to $45 per public school pupil per year, the northeastern states like Pennsylvania and New York spend from $80 to $135.

But does this mean that the South does not believe in education? Does it mean that the South has been lying down on the job? No indeed! In spite of the poor showing made by the South when it is compared with the rest of the country, there is one thing to be said to its credit: **considering its resources and the amount of money which it can raise by taxation, it actually makes a relatively greater effort to carry the burden of education than do the wealthier regions.**

One measure of effort to support public schools is the proportion of the tax dollar which a state is willing to spend on education. A study made in 1934 for the United States Office of Education showed that in 1930 the average state was spending 40.2 per cent of state and local tax collections on schools, but that the southern states were spending 41.3 per cent of their tax collections for education. Of seven states which were spending less than 35 per cent of their taxes on education, only two were in the South, and one southern state, North Carolina, spent more than half of its taxes on schools.

A study of "School Costs and State Expenditures," published by the National Education Association in May, 1941, gives us more up-to-date information, but it shows that the picture has not changed materially. It shows what per cent of the 1937 state and local tax dollar was spent on public elementary and secondary schools in 1938. The expenditures range from New Mexico's 60.4 per cent down to Massachusetts' 22.9 per cent, and the national average is 34.2 per cent. Now, if we rank the states from high to low and divide them into four groups of twelve each, we find that **in the highest twelve there are seven southern states:** North Carolina, Texas, South Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, West Virginia, and Oklahoma. Along with them are western states like New Mexico, Wyoming, and Utah. In the second highest group we find Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Nearly all of the great wealthy states are in the third and fourth groups. Only two southern states, Maryland and Florida, are in the fourth or lowest group, but here we find Ohio, New York, New Jersey, and all of the New England states. Thus it seems quite clear that on the whole the poorer and more rural states of the South and West are making better than average effort to educate their children.

Unfortunately, with all of this valiant **effort** to support education, our southern schools are on the whole far below the national average. The trouble is that we have so few tax dollars to use as compared with the rest of the country. The need for some sort of equalization is clear. Within individual states the principle of equalization is now accepted as sound. We consider it a matter of simple justice to pool the tax resources of a state and use them so that the school children in a county with poor resources will not be penalized just because they happen to be living there. If the principle is sound as between the counties of a state, why is it not just as sound as between the states of the union?

If the educational burden were better balanced between the various regions of the nation, the South could do a better job of developing its human and natural resources. The South is the "seed bed" of the nation. It raises more children than any other region, educates them as best it can—and then watches many of the brightest ones go out to the North and West to seek their fortunes. But no matter whether our children stay here in the South or migrate to other sections, they are going to play a greater part in the make-up of the future American population than any other region. In the interest of the national welfare it is important that they have as good an education as the average American pupil.

This Is The Tragedy Of The South

By James C. Derieux

In every Southern state thousands of white boys and more thousands of Negro boys are growing up without enough education to meet the minimum requirements of the Selective Service organization. In some of the Southern states more than half the Negro boys, and a fourth or more of the white boys are excluded from the armed services because they have not a fourth grade common school education, or its equivalent.

These tens of thousands of boys are unfit for the tasks of modern war; and they also are unfit for the tasks of modern peace. Thus there is no condition of life into which they fit satisfactorily.

What is to become of these illiterates and these semi-literates who have no place in war, and no satisfactory place in peace?

A study of relief rolls shows what happened to their fathers. Eroded fields, sagging fences, tumble-down shanties, and other visible signs of ignorance and of poverty show what the illiterate and the semi-literate accomplished before the national government rescued them from the sinister suggestions of hunger. Of course, every one can cite instances of successful illiterates, and of happy illiterates; but a few selected instances mean little. It is the conduct of the masses, of important groups, that determines whether a state or a region or a nation builds strength and happiness, or whether it allows hope to fade, and disintegration to begin.

South Carolina is representative of other Southern states, and here is what a study of school figures in that state reveals:

Approximately three-fourths of all Negro boys drop out of school before completing the fourth grade, and approximately one-third of the white boys do the same thing. If this situation is not remedied, South Carolina will be forced to continue indefinitely its difficult struggles against the consequences of ignorance and of poverty, those disaster twins, each of which is cause and effect of the other.

In thirteen Southern states 979,666 white children were enrolled in the first grade of the public schools in 1939. In the fourth grade that same year the total enrollment was 617,998.

Why should there be in this typical year 261,668 more children in the first than in the fourth grade? The answer is plain: scores of thousands of children drop out of school after the first or second or third year of study.

The figures for Negro children are, as one would expect, more startling. The total Negro enrollment in the first grade in 1939 was 605,498; in the fourth grade, 251,316. The "mortality" here was 354,182.

If these total figures are divided between boys and girls they will show that the "mortality" of school boys is much greater than that of girls. The fuller meaning of

this fact is clearer when one recalls that nearly all of the fighting, and most of the productive work of the world is done by males.

There was a time when the illiterate had a place in war, and when he could fit, somehow, into low-standard peace time life. But that was before war became complicated and mechanized, and before peace became mechanized and complicated. The tasks of war today require mental aptitude and some knowledge; and the same may be said of the tasks of peace. There would be many more industries in the South today, including recently established defense industries if there were more boys and men who had enough schooling to become skilled workers quickly.

"We haven't the time," say Army officers, "to teach men to read and write, and then teach them to be soldiers."

"We haven't the time," industrialists say, "to teach workers to read and write, and then teach them how to do our kinds of work."

No place in war. No satisfactory place in peace. This is the tragedy for thousands in the South. This is the tragedy of the South. But it is not a tragedy that has no end. The people of the South can stop it within a few years by putting their thoughts, their hearts and a little more of their substance into education.

Whatever the reasons may be, whenever the Federal Government lays down a new rule in the National Defense game, the South gets a blow. Occasionally these blows appear to be so light that they can be absorbed without permanent damage to sectional life and institutions. Recently one of these "light" ones was administered—

The Selective Service Board ruled that in the future no selectees will be drafted for military service who haven't a fourth grade education. It caused little or no ripple on the surface of Southern public opinion, already made punch-drunk by certain Supreme Court decisions aimed straight at the South. Yet the implications of this ruling are more far-reaching in effect on the immediate present and the not so remote future of the South than any recent court decision. The South can, and doubtless will, find ways of evading or deferring compliance with the latter, but the former enforces itself.

According to a recent columnist, from May 15, when this ruling went into effect, to July 15, 91,919 draftees were "excused" on account of illiteracy—37,217 white men, 54,702 Negroes. This column repeats what is general knowledge: the South has the heaviest percentage of illiteracy. In Louisiana 4.8 per cent of white selectees and 23.7 per cent of Negro selectees were rejected, with Georgia and Florida slightly less. Mississippi, Virginia, and North Carolina were classed together as states of high illiteracy.

The South may have to depend increasingly on illiterates and semi-illiterates not only for the present but its future also should this Nation engage in a "shooting" war.

The next move is up to the department to which the applicant has been certified. The department sends a questionnaire to said certified applicant with the request that it be returned with a photograph.

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER asked State Departments of Education to set out the causes for the decrease in enrollment between the first and fourth grades in Negro schools and for the difference between the white and Negro schools. The causes are

so uniform that one educator could have answered for all thirteen. "More Negro children than white have to drop out of school to help earn a living."—"White schools have a greater holding power due to longer terms, better teachers, and more attractive housing facilities."—"In those counties where there are Jeanes Supervisors and well prepared teachers, the distribution through the grades is assuming a more normal situation."—"A large number of Negro children in the first grade are too young to be in school. But parents who have to work feel it is safer for their children at school than locked up in the house all day."

The figures on enrollment are bad. But what about average attendance? One county superintendent bluntly stated at a public meeting that if all the Negro children enrolled in that state attended school, there would not be school houses to put them in. Obviously the more children enrolled in a county, the more state funds that county gets. On the other hand, the fewer children who attend school after enrollment, the less that county must spend of its own funds for the education of its children.

School Enrollment in the South 1939-40

	White	Negro
Alabama		
First Grade	56,491	65,305
Fourth Grade	50,037	28,802
Arkansas		
First Grade	53,784	31,460
Fourth Grade	29,981	13,307
Florida		
First Grade	31,927	20,110
Fourth Grade	28,167	12,454
Georgia		
First Grade	74,021	85,074
Fourth Grade	54,461	31,496
Kentucky		
First Grade	102,642	7,693
Fourth Grade	60,904	4,557
Louisiana		
First Grade	32,402	47,137
Fourth Grade	29,632	20,530
Mississippi		
First Grade	49,677	104,250
Fourth Grade	29,632	32,485
North Carolina		
First Grade	79,858	66,480
Fourth Grade	62,865	29,397
Oklahoma		
First Grade	72,037	9,768
Fourth Grade	53,246	4,511
South Carolina (1939)		
First Grade	38,895	65,188
Fourth Grade	28,008	24,558
Tennessee		
First Grade	90,040	24,126
Fourth Grade	54,563	11,469
Texas		
First Grade	142,719	46,674
Fourth Grade	91,750	20,563
Virginia		
First Grade	55,173	32,233
Fourth Grade	44,486	17,187

We Must Comply With What?

Editorial, Southern Frontier, November, 1941

Negro State Teachers Associations are chalking up an increasing number of suits against county or city boards of education to equalize teachers' salaries. The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court which held that a differential in teachers' salaries on the basis of race is unconstitutional, has emboldened many Negro leaders in education to insist that something be done about their salary scale. A casual glance at the table of salaries shows the marked discrepancies between the pay of white and Negro teachers:

Average Salaries for Teachers*

State	White	Negro
Alabama	$ 816	$387
Arkansas	625	367
Florida	1,133	569
Georgia	886	398
Louisiana	1,026	368
Mississippi	750	237
North Carolina	916	647
Oklahoma	1,059	923
South Carolina	939	388
Tennessee	887	580
Texas	1,195	704
Virginia	912	598

The question of salaries is merely preliminary, an entering wedge, which doubtless will be followed by others. It is, conceivably, unconstitutional to differentiate in the expenditure of public funds between children on the basis of race. Teachers' salaries are reflected in the per capita cost.

Current Expenditures per Child Enrolled**

State	Year	White	Negro
Alabama	1938-39	$36.03	$10.65
Arkansas	1939-40	26.84	10.63
Florida	1937-38	55.44	21.64
Georgia	1939-40	43.38	12.47
Louisiana	1938-39	60.37	12.62
Mississippi	1938-39	38.96	4.97
North Carolina	1937-38	39.31	21.71
Oklahoma	1939-40	49.75	51.52
South Carolina	1939-40	46.80	11.40
Texas	1939-40 (appro'd)	54.06	26.32
Virginia	1938-39	30.18	18.22

Then comes the question of capital investment. The financial picture of the Southern public school system is practically complete with the consideration of this third differential:

Value of Buildings, Grounds, and Equipment per Child Enrolled

State	White	Negro
Alabama	$114.71	$23.93
Arkansas	111.46	31.01
Florida	265.56	70.33
Georgia	139.13	34.69
Louisiana	205.88	32.11
Mississippi	175.23	10.68
North Carolina	161.61	52.87
South Carolina	172.35	32.79
Texas	226.51	72.86
Virginia	157.46	60.43

To those who know something of school conditions in the South, nothing more is needed than these three tables. The money is not here to wipe out the differentials on the basis of race; nor is the money here to wipe out the differentials on the basis of geography. But differentials must be wiped out.

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*All figures compiled by R. B. Eleazer, Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

**Kentucky and Tennessee records do not separate public school expenditures by race.

Short Changed — *Courtesy Louisville Courier-Journal*

It is no news nowadays that the South has more children to educate and fewer tax dollars to educate them with than the rest of the country; it is no news that the South's schools are the poorest in the country; nor that the Southern States spend more proportionately on education than do the states in the rest of the Nation.

Then, why doesn't the South—man, woman, and child—work unceasingly for the passage of S-1313 which would broaden educational opportunities for the South's children? The late Senator Pat Harrison, Mississippi, could not convincingly be charged with a subconscious desire to eliminate segregation or to destroy states' rights. Yet for three consecutive Congresses, he was co-author of bills to provide Federal Aid for Public Education. Senate Bill 1313 now before the Congress is the Harrison-Thomas bill.

If the fears arising at the thought of Federal Aid to Public Education are honestly entertained, and if the words of the opponents to the measure mean what Webster says such words mean, then these ten questions embody the arguments against the bill which the bill itself answers:

If the Bill Becomes a Law

Q. Can the Federal government dictate the policies of the States, the curricula, the personnel, the control of the schools?

A. The policy: "Without Federal control over educational policies of States and localities," the States will maintain responsibility in the conduct of education; organization and administration of schools; processes of education; the selection of personnel. (See II, Page 6 of Bill.)

Q. Will Southern States be forced to wipe out biracial school systems?

A. The bill recognizes and accepts biracial schools created by state law. (Sec. IV-2; Sec. VI, 1-e—2-a; Sec. XII, Page 6 et seq. of Bill.)

Q. Who makes the plans for apportioning funds within the State?

A. Each State works out its own plan for apportioning Federal funds but without any reduction in the amount spent out of State and local funds during the fiscal year ending in 1940. (Sec. VI, Page 7 of Bill.)

Q. If the State does not accept the Federal plan, will the money be withheld?

A. There is no Federal plan. (See Answer 1.) Money will be withheld only in case of failure to meet certain conditions or for illegal use of Federal funds. (Sec. VIII, Page 8 of Bill.)

Q. (a) What are the conditions under which funds will be withheld?

(b) How is illegal use determined?

A. (a) These conditions are: Failure to make proper reports to Commission; spending less on Negro schools than the State spent in 1940; failure to abide by the merit system in making appointments; permitting funds to be used for private purpose, and by private agencies. (Sec. VIII, Page 6 of Bill.)

(b) An audit by State departments every six months (Sec. VIII) will determine the use of funds.

Q. Can the Federal government dictate textbooks and the general purposes for which the money can be used?

A. Textbooks are not mentioned specifically. Sec. IV-3 provides that a State may use up to 25% of its money for plants and equipment in national defense areas; up to 25% for the same purpose in other school districts; 2% for expenses of the State Department of Education. The rest—48%—is not allocated by the bill but is subject to distribution by the State Department for "all types of expenses of public elementary and secondary schools."

Q. Will the Federal government compel the appointment of officials of State Departments of Education approved by the Commissioner in Washington?

A. Sec. VII-3 provides for the merit system, specifically excluding from its provisions members of boards of education within the State, all elected officials, and the State Superintendent. All other employees of the State Department must be selected on merit and efficiency and "without regard to political considerations." Sec. II-2 reserves to the State the right to select the "personnel employed by the State and its agencies and local jurisdictions."

Q. Will the money be divided among the States on a per capita basis or on the basis of need?

A. Allocation of Federal funds will be based on the number of educables in the State; the ability of the State to pay; and the extent to which each State is taxing itself to educate its children. (Sec. IV-2a.)

Q. Will the interests of Negro children be protected in their separate schools?

A. Sec. VI-1e provides that a State cannot reduce the amount of local and state funds below that spent on Negro schools in 1940. (See Answer 3.)

Q. Who will determine a "just and equitable apportionment for Negro schools?"

A. The bill itself in Sec. XIV defines "just and equitable proportion for minority races," an amount equal to the percentage of Negro population of the total population of the State. (Page 8 of Bill.)

Education for Security

By C. H. Bynum

America's first line of defense is a people who are experienced in the ideals and practice of democracy. Defense of the chalk-lined cliffs of Britain; penetration beyond the Rhine, over the Alps, and across the Pacific will not avail if America's whole citizenry does not enjoy the full privileges of democracy. Thirty billion dollars for battleships, tanks, airplanes, munitions, and other materials of war will halt the invasion of the evils of Naziism, Communism, and Fascism, temporarily; but so long as inequalities in educational opportunities exist in America, the security of America is threatened.

The fact that inequalities do exist between sections of the nation is subject to proof. Between the South and the rest of the country, these inequalities, without regard to race, are so great that only by repetition of statistics can national responsibility for wiping them out be accepted. On the basis of national standards in terms of average daily attendance, the minimum per capita expenditure required for elementary education is approximately $60.00 and for high school education $102.00. An average daily attendance of 80 per cent of the children of school age in the eighteen states maintaining separate biracial schools, would require an annual expenditure of $450,000,000 for elementary schools and $325,000,000 for high schools.

This $775,000,000 does not include any funds for the improvement of physical equipment. One hundred and twenty-five million dollars annually is required for capital outlay. But because of the present conditions of physical equipment, $125,000,000 is too small a figure for a minimum program for replacements and expansion of facilities.

Since these vast sums of money are needed to bring the educational opporunities of Southern children up to the minimum standard of the nation which spends on an average of 40 per cent of its income on education, could it be assumed that by greater exertion the South might finance its own needs? Facts do not support this assumption.

If the South out of its own resources set out to raise its standard of public education to the minimum national level, it would have to apply practically its total income from all sources to this objective. For in a most favorable year the total taxable resources of the eighteen states would yield approximately one billion dollars, nine hundred million of which would have to be allocated to the support of schools, which would then reach only the minimum average of the nation.

The bare statistics of the financial needs and financial resources are convincing evidence that the South cannot educate for national security without Federal aid. There is no alternative. So long as the South is forced to carry the whole support of its educational system, the security of America is threatened. Any plans for National Defense which do not include long range planning for the eradication of the inequalities in educational opportunities will fail of their ultimate purpose. And the plans must be made and set in motion now. Our peril demands action.

The South's Children Are the Nation's Children

Until the Federal Government aids public education, several million children will not have opportunities which should be theirs, according to Dr. Howard A. Dawson, director of rural education for the National Education Association. Dr. Dawson, speaking to the Fulton (Georgia) County School Principals' Clubs, stated that no local or state tax system could be devised which would meet the educational needs of America's children.

Federal aid to public education is necessary, Dr. Dawson declared, if general conditions are to be improved.

"The government may as well be pouring relief money down a rat hole as under the present system," he said. "The only way to correct the condition that exists is by education, by teaching the underprivileged how to better their situation. The nation's wealth consists of the skills of its inhabitants and its natural resources. Money spent on education is an investment that increases the nation's wealth."

Speaking of Negro education, Dr. Dawson pointed out that one result of discrimination in this field has been to disqualify a larger proportion of Negro than white men for military service since the ruling of the Selective Service Board setting the minimum educational requirement at fourth grade.

"In one camp, Belvoir, near Washington, 76 per cent of the Negro soldiers were found virtually illiterate. Thus white boys must fight in the place of these men who were not given minimum schooling."

TO AMERICA

How would you have us, as we are?
  Or sinking 'neath the load we bear?
Our eyes fixed forward on a star?
  Or gazing empty at despair?

Rising or falling? Men or things?
  With dragging pace or footsteps fleet?
Strong, willing sinews in your wings?
  Or tightening chains about your feet?

—JAMES WELDON JOHNSON.

The Education of Public Opinion

By P. B. Young

The number of lynchings in 1939 dropped to the lowest in the history of this country. This record is generally conceded to be due in part to the education of public opinion through the activities of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Working also on public opinion, but through legislative processes, has been the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Through these organizations it is becoming generally known that the traditionally accepted cause for lynchings is not sustained by the facts. Lynchings are not due primarily to attacks upon women, though this consensus has been religiously cultivated by a considerable body of public officials and newspapers. For instance, in the 1938 Senate filibuster against the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill, this argument was used on the floor of the Senate by some of that body's most important Southern members.

As public opinion has become informed on the thought processes and ultimate purposes of mobs, lynching has declined.

What has been true in educating the public on lynching could be true in the matter of tax supported education. The prevailing opinion is that Negroes contribute virtually nothing to their education. In fact, it is asserted by a large element of otherwise well-informed people, that Negroes pay no taxes.

Recently when the matter of equalizing the pay of white and colored teachers in Virginia on the basis of qualifications and work was submitted to the courts, a leading white citizen, a lawyer and man of mature experience, wrote one of our newspapers that:

> "The white taxpayers of Virginia have cheerfully borne the heavy burden . . . from taxes paid by them for the education of Negro boys and girls since 1865. The white teachers have cheerfully carried their part of the burden, although these large expenditures have kept down their pay."

The assumption here is that white taxpayers bear almost, if not all, the "burden" of Negro education, and that white teachers are paid low salaries partly as a result of this situation. The statements of this gentleman furnishes proof that public opinion in the South is not informed (1) on how taxes are derived, (2) on the wide differential between the amount of tax funds appropriated for white and Negro schools, and (3) on the contributions to supplement tax funds Negroes and others outside the South have made and are still making.

One may not dismiss lightly direct taxes assessed against real and personal property of the nearly eight million Negroes in the South. These taxes are not comparable, of course, to those levied against an equal number of more favorably circumstanced white citizens, but it is a considerable item, nevertheless.

Then, there are the indirect taxes, which no consumer escapes. Well informed people know that every time a person travels on a train, bus, or street car, he pays taxes. Every time a person buys food or clothing he contributes to the upkeep of government. Every time a person rents a house he pays the owner's taxes on that house in the rent. Every citizen pays these taxes, be he white or Negro.

If, however, educational opportunity is to be determined by the amount of direct taxes paid, what would become of the educational opportunity of the thousands of white children whose parents are in as bad economic plight as the parents of the Negro children?

Arguments that Negroes pay little or no taxes give social if not legal sanction to the discrimination in school expenditures on the basis of race. The average ex-

penditure per Negro child throughout the South is $11.00, per white child $44.00. Negro children have shorter school terms, inadequate school buildings, both in number, size and equipment, practically no transportation. Negro teachers are paid smaller salaries, they have more pupils than they can adequately train. The South loses more in this biracial educational policy than the South gains.

Whatever funds the States have spent for the education of its Negro children have been supplemented by contributions from the meager income of Negro parents and from interested philanthropists. The most heroic example of self-help, as well as sacrifice in education in the United States during the past quarter century is the Negroes' contribution to the building of 5,000 Rosenwald schools in Southern States. Though these schools became the property of the State when completed, nevertheless, Negroes themselves contributed over $30,000,000 to the building of the so-called Rosenwald schools.

The building of the school buildings has not been the sole interest of philanthropists. But it was soon recognized that what was taught in the Rosenwald buildings was as important as the buildings themselves. Into this picture came the General Education Board, which for over fourteen years has been carrying the entire expense of the supervision of Negro education in the State Departments of Education in the South.

These philanthropists have now reached the state of financial exhaustion. Negroes are economically depressed after years of struggle with their political and economic disabilities. It would be a service of great humanitarian value, as well as a service of great economic and social value to the South, if the education of public opinion in the matter of public school expenditures could proceed with as much facility as it has progressed in the matter of lynching. To this end Southern women have an opportunity to make an outstanding contribution.

Printed Catalogs Do Not Create Universities

One southern editor has advanced five possible solutions for meeting the question of higher education for Negroes:

1. We can build graduate schools comparable to our white State Universities.
2. We can admit Negroes to our present State Universities.
3. We can lower the white universities to the Negro level.
4. We can sit back and wait.
5. We can pass a scholarship bill to provide some sort of training in institutions out of the state.

The tendency at present is to adopt the first of these solutions. Thoughtful Negroes, however, doubt the financial ability of the states to do more than create Negro Universities by printing catalogs.

If Negroes keep on sniping at Missouri where the heat generates, that State will establish a graduate school at Lincoln University comparable to that of the State University. Maryland sees possibilities in a graduate school at Morgan College; Virginia talks specifically in terms of law and medicine; Florida has plans under consideration; Kentucky and Tennessee are confronted with court battles precipitated by Negroes grown a bit impatient over nothing. From the other states which already have done nothing come a monotonous repetition of "nothing is being planned so far as we know."

The South, the Supreme Court and Negro Education

By Felton G. Clark

The case of graduate instruction of Negroes in the Southern states is one of the most crucial to arise in the entire history of education. The manner in which it is to be provided (in some instances *is* being provided) will reflect among other things the relationship of private to public education, the relationship of education to religion, the place of thoroughness in a scheme of education, the attitude of the educated white South toward the higher education of Negroes, and the respect of the educated white South for constituted authority. Obviously, there is also involved the matter of determining whether or not the South wants to profit by the highest development of Negro brain power with all the favorable concomitant results that may attend the effort.

Why the Negro Wants Graduate Study

The Negro's desire for graduate study is actuated by the same forces that would make any human being seek it. In some instances he wants the prestige given by an advanced degree; in others, he desires a better economic return on his educational investment which may come about as a result of possession of graduate training. In others still, he is motivated by the urge to acquire the attributes that will make him an original contributor to the world of thought. Of late, Negroes have felt a definite urge to marshal their best thinking on problems of their own group: problems relating to the administration of justice, to the adequacy of income, to the availability of employment, to the facilities for appropriating leisure, to the maintenance of health, to the preservation of a well-balanced personality, to the sound development of character, to the facilities to grow in enlightenment. There is no doubt that never before has the Negro group in America been as cognizant of the problems envisaging it as now. To this same extent is there a tendency to procure scientific techniques for analyzing and, if possible, solving these problems. It follows that the desire for graduate instruction should be enhanced by these factors. And since approximately nine million Negroes live in the Southern states, the problem of graduate instruction for Negroes, if it is to be justly and logically considered, weighs heavily upon the doorstep of the South.

Enter Southern Tradition

Of course the South has not fully assumed its responsibility—for two primary reasons. In the first place, general graduate education in the South has been slow in its development. In the second place, the South's traditional attitude toward the Negro has completely denied him access to graduate education other than that which he paid for out of his own pocket and obtained in Northern institutions or from one of the few Negro institutions doing graduate work.

John reports in his *Some Aspects of the Development of Graduate Study in the United States* that only 79 master's degrees and 11 doctor's degrees were conferred on Negroes before 1910. Between 1914 and 1936 master's degrees were given to 1,476 Negroes of which 362 came from Negro colleges. One hundred thirty-nine doctor's degrees were awarded to Negroes during the same period all of which were granted by Northern (mixed) universities. Although Fisk and Howard universities attempted graduate instruction just before the turn of the century, it is felt that the first systematic attempts to offer graduate instruction at a Negro institution were those of Howard University in 1921.

Because of the factors mentioned earlier, especially the desire to become more secure in the teaching profession and to receive larger financial returns for labor expended, the demand for facilities for the graduate education of Negroes was greatly increased following the Howard effort. Moreover, the philanthropic foundations, departments of education in the South, several of the Negro private colleges, and a

few of the Negro public colleges became definitely interested in the enterprise. As a result initial efforts in graduate education were made by Fisk University and Hampton Institute in 1927, Atlanta University in 1929, Xavier University in 1933, Virginia State College in 1937, Prairie View State College in 1938, North Carolina State College for Negroes and North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in 1939.

Supreme Court Forces South's Hand

Adding to the seriousness of the case of graduate instruction of Negroes is the recent ruling of the Supreme Court in the case of *Lloyd Gaines vs. The University of Missouri.* According to this decision, the states of the South must admit Negroes to their general public universities or provide Negroes with education facilities (regardless of level) that are substantially equal to those afforded for persons of the white race. That there is the obligation and the necessity for providing this graduate training for Negroes is admitted by the enlightened white South (as is indicated by discussion at all the more recent meetings of the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools). Their problem is "How?" Four proposals have been made, as follows: (1) Admit Negroes to existing state universities for white students; (2) Add graduate divisions to existing state colleges for Negroes; (3) Provide tuition subsidies for graduate study in schools which Negroes may attend; (4) Provide regional graduate centers in the South. The major problem of the first proposal is the segregation policy of the South. Yet one or two of the more outstanding Southern universities are informally accepting Negroes for class-room work; sometimes it is formally recognized by Northern universities. The major problem of the second proposal is the difficulty of finding funds to finance a respectable program of graduate study in an existing Negro public college when one knows that generally the Southern states have not as yet expended sufficient money adequately to finance graduate education in their white universities, and in their *Negro undergraduate colleges.* The major problem of the third proposal is the Supreme Court decision to which reference has been made and the improbability that a tuition subsidy can really provide equal educational opportunity. The major problem of the fourth proposal is the difficulty of getting the satisfactory cooperation of the states of a given region in matters of financial support and educational policy with reference to a particular graduate center.

A New Pattern is Developing

At present, no Southern state admits a Negro to its graduate school, although one state, Maryland, has admitted two Negroes to the Law School of its state university. Six states have made what President Clement of Atlanta University has rightfully called "limited provisions" for graduate instruction of Negroes, namely: Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia. The trend in the four states last mentioned is toward a fairly definite and effective pattern. In the cases of the other two states, the attempts have been more or less informal, representing work taken by persons already possessing the first degree, which work may be recognized "if and when formal graduate work is actually done." Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, Tennessee, West Virginia as well as Missouri, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia provide tuition subsidies for study in graduate schools which admit Negroes.

As of the last regular school session the nine Negro institutions offering graduate work enrolled 629 students at this level and approximately the same number during the summer term. When one realizes that the bulk of this enrollment was at Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta universities; that the tuition subsidies have hardly made a dent upon the solution to the general problem; and that with about three exceptions graduate work in Negro colleges is generally confined to education and the social studies, he cannot but conclude that graduate facilities for Negroes in the South are woefully inadequate.

A Look at the South, Three Years After Gaines' Suit

Editorial, Southern Frontier, December, 1941

On the 8th of December, 1938, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down the "Gaines decision" on graduate education for Negroes. Under this decision, states must provide equal educational opportunities within the states for all its citizens. Missouri was the state specifically involved but the decision applied in effect to the other sixteen states which maintain separate schools for Negro and white citizens. Immediately the white Southern press began to debate what the South could do to meet the conditions; conferences of white educators were held or were reported about to be held. The average citizen, not greatly concerned, left everything to school men and the legislature.

The "Gaines decision" is no longer news. As far as the general public goes, it is all settled. To Negroes it is far from settled and to politically dominated educators and administrators, an uneasiness moves them at the sight of an occasional Negro application to their college. What they do with these applications is any white man's guess. But what has been done in these three years to provide graduate and professional training for Negroes? What is being planned for the future?

Have the educational lobbies secured increased appropriations for Negro colleges along with those for white colleges? Have administrators seen to it that their Negro state colleges shared Federal funds in proportion to their need?

What Have the States Done?

Briefly, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee have done nothing; Arkansas, Oklahoma, Maryland, and Texas have provided scholarship funds to supplement the cost to Negroes leaving the State for graduate study; North Carolina has established a department of law and a school of library instruction in North Carolina College for Negroes at Durham. Missouri, where the suit originated, has established a law school and is arranging for a school of journalism; Virginia reports progress in increasing teachers' salaries and in introducing courses on the graduate level.

What Is Being Planned Next?

Even the most honest, altruistic, and liberal Southern states could not possibly establish in three years graduate schools for Negroes on a level with white schools. No semi-reasonable person would expect it. But workable plans for future development—what are they?

Either the future of graduate and professional training for Negroes is to be kept a deep dark secret to avoid political repercussions, or there is mighty little future to look forward to if initiative is left to educational authorities.

Do Educational Lobbies Aid Negro Schools?

It is not to be concluded that some white educators in these states are not thinking about the problems confronting them. They are thinking. Certain signs point to the trend their thinking is taking. "Let us build up our State College for Negroes here at home," they say. Now, few white people outside of school men know that colleges must meet certain undergraduate standards before they can give recognized graduate work and almost no Southern legislator knows it. Consequently, it is quite possible that legislatures may attempt, with greater success than they have yet had, to add graduate schools to the catalogs of Negro colleges without an appreciable increase in the appropriations. This theory is susceptible of proof, and with figures. The total net increase in the last appropriation for fifteen Negro State colleges over that im-

mediately preceding was $140,183.50 (Table I). These Negro colleges received from the recent legislatures for all graduate, professional and undergraduate work $3,434,318.50 (Table I).

How much these same legislatures appropriated for their own institutions is not immediately available but one may gather something of the differences in amounts from the appropriations of Texas. Out of a total biennial appropriation for higher education of $22,602,069, the State's only Negro college, Prairie View, gets $349,500.

TABLE I

Appropriations for Negro Senior Colleges

	1940-1941	1938-1939	Increase	Decrease
Arkansas, A. & M.	$ 87,142.50	$ 46,230.00	$ 40,912.50	.....
Florida, A. & M.	277,442.00	277,450.00	.....	$ 8.00
Georgia, Indus. Col.	35,000.00	30,000.00	5,000.00	.....
Kentucky, Indus. Col.	110,000.00	160,000.00	.....	50,000.00
Louisiana, Sou. University	355,000.00	305,000.00	50,000.00	.....
Maryland, St. Teachers Col.	66,025.00	59,025.00	7,000.00	.....
Mississippi, Alcorn A. & M.	46,419.00	46,419.00	.....	.....
Missouri, Lincoln Uni.	805,000.00	806,000.00	.....	1,000.00
North Carolina, A. & T.	615,000.00	550,000.00	65,000.00	.....
Oklahoma, Langston Uni.	186,749.00	199,673.00	.....	12,924.00
South Carolina, A. & M.	90,000.00	89,997.00	3.00	.....
Tennessee, A. & I.	110,000.00	100,000.00	10,000.00	.....
Texas, Prairie View	349,500.00	352,500.00	.....	3,000.00
Virginia, St. College	121,041.00	121,041.00	.....	.....
West Virginia, Teachers Col.	180,000.00	150,000.00	30,000.00	.....
	$3,434,318.50	$3,293,335.00	$207,915.50	$66,932.00

PWA Funds and Southern Educators

By 1933 public construction of educational facilities throughout the Nation had decreased in volume to such an extent that the PWA was persuaded that help from the Federal Government would stimulate the states to greater exertion in providing funds for essential construction. A building program was inaugurated with PWA furnishing 55% of the estimated total cost. The South, in six years, benefited to the amount of $59,452,737 in PWA funds for construction of its institutions of higher learning. This was not, of course, commensurate with the South's needs. It was merely the amount that the South could pay for. But with such a guarantee by the Federal Government, it was not an impossible task to build up the total cost of construction to the not inconsiderable sum of $90,944,180. (See Table II.)

TABLE II

Costs, State and Federal Funds, for Construction, Institutions of Higher Learning

	Total Estimated Cost White	Total Estimated Cost Negro	Total
Alabama	$ 4,999,412	$ 89,091	$ 5,088,503
Arkansas	5,625,654	285,631	5,911,285
Florida	2,335,012	367,282	2,702,294
Georgia	4,570,614	62,389	4,633,003
Kentucky	4,443,796	425,043	4,868,839
Louisiana	9,094,564	1,035,999	10,130,563
Maryland	3,222,751	521,245	3,743,996
Mississippi	1,946,161	63,636	2,009,797
Missouri	3,950,745	181,818	4,132,563
North Carolina	7,234,097	2,051,507	9,285,604
Oklahoma	6,557,956	215,236	6,773,192
South Carolina	5,324,327	61,100	5,385,427
Tennessee	1,369,068	.....	1,369,068
Texas	10,317,349	100,000	10,417,349
Virginia	11,068,859	1,013,845	12,082,704
West Virginia	1,824,322	585,671	2,409,993
	$83,884,687	$7,059,493	$90,944,180

Southern educators insist, and so do Southern editors, that Federal funds should be allocated between the South and the rest of the Nation according to need and not according to ability to pay or to population. So far, politics in Washington has blocked what the South holds to be the only equitable way to equalize educational needs of the Nation. Politics, on the other hand, functions in Atlanta, Austin, Nashville, and other state capitols in an identical groove as in Washington. Consequently, the distribution of public funds—Federal as well as State—in Southern states follows the line of votes and not of need just as in Washington. Had Southern educational administrators and politicians acted according to their well publicized lights, the figures in Table III would be reversed.

TABLE III

Distribution PWA Funds for Construction Institutions of Higher Learning

State	White	Negro
Alabama	$ 3,758,105	$ 89,091
Arkansas	5,501,288	173,631
Florida	2,118,249	367,282
Georgia	2,012,786	25,560
Kentucky	2,558,031	263,751
Louisiana	4,048,062	462,460
Maryland	1,318,525	234,560
Mississippi	1,561,521	28,636
Missouri	1,761,934	81,818
North Carolina	3,178,684	912,745
Oklahoma	4,792,564	214,820
South Carolina	4,031,035	26,100
Tennessee	791,703	.....
Texas	8,770,714	45,000
Virginia	7,124,218	928,845
West Virginia	1,749,342	521,677
	$55,076,761	$4,375,976

Are Negroes Wards of the South?

Southern states will have to spend many millions of dollars for plant and equipment for Negro colleges. Other millions will have to be found to employ more professors and increase the salaries of those already at work. Southern Negroes know this. They have shown a willingness, almost an eagerness, to realize their educational ambition over a reasonable number of years provided they are sure that the "powers that be" are honest with them and that they are included officially in formulating and working out a program for higher education. White and Negro citizens in the field of education need to plan together for the future. It cannot be left to white educators to acquire and distribute funds according to need.

How well the interests of Negroes are served by white educators and administrators, working behind doors closed to Negro educators, is shown by the distribution of funds in the building programs of the decade of the New Deal.

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VIRGINIUS DABNEY, Editor of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, has spent much of the last decade and a half interpreting the South to the country to the North of Virginia. His first book, "Liberalism in the South" was published in 1932. His second, "Below the Potomac: A Book About the New South" will be published March 20.

DR. ELI S. MARKS, Associate Professor and Statistician for the Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, has just completed a study of the housing conditions in Nashville for the Nashville Housing Authority. He has the Ph.D. from Columbia University.

DR. GUY JOHNSON, Professor of Social Sciences at the University of North Carolina, is author of many books on the Negro—his folk songs and culture—and co-author with Dr. Howard Odum of other books on Negro culture.

JAMES C. DERIEUX, son of the late Dr. William T. Derieux, secretary of State Missions for Baptists of South Carolina, is associate editor of *The State*, Columbia, South Carolina, and former associate editor of American Magazine. Mr. Derieux is a graduate of Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina.

DR. C. H. BYNUM is Dean of Texas College, Tyler, and secretary of the Texas Interracial Commission. His special field is Rural Education in which he has established himself as an authority.

The Richmond *Times-Dispatch* on its third Virginia Honor Roll, 1939, designates P. B. YOUNG, Editor of the *Journal and Guide*, Norfolk, as one of 11 citizens "who have reflected credit upon the State through the display of courage, ability, intelligence, tenacity, generosity or unselfishness." The *Times-Dispatch* continues: "He contributed much to the improvement of Interracial relations in Virginia and in the South during the year 1939." Mr. Young, a native North Carolinian, in 1910 became Editor of the *Lodge Journal and Guide* of Norfolk.

DR. FELTON G. CLARK is the President of Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. He was host to the eighth annual Convention of the Association of Negro Colleges and Secondary Schools.

THE DURHAM STATEMENT

October 20, 1942

THE ATLANTA STATEMENT

April 8, 1943

THE RICHMOND STATEMENT

June 16, 1943

Published by
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Ga.

A group of Southern Negroes, acting as individuals but holding positions of influence in their race, held a conference in Durham, N. C., October 20, 1942. They met to discuss the Southern Negroes' status and the changes which, in their opinion, would benefit not only Negroes themselves but the South and the Nation. In December, the results of this meeting were given to the public in a statement which has become known as the "Durham Statement."

Since only Southern Negroes had participated in the conference and in the drafting of the statement, Southern white people could not ignore it. Whether or not there was agreement on their part with what the statement contained, they were impelled to make some formal reply. This reply, signed by more than three hundred Southern white people, was prepared at a conference in Atlanta, April 8, by a hundred and fifteen citizens of ten states. Like the Negroes, they spoke only as individuals, though each held some position of influence in Southern life. Their reply is known as the "Atlanta Statement."

Out of these two conferences grew a third. This one differed from its predecessors in that it was bi-racial in character and composed of delegated individuals. The "Richmond Statement" was made by the Collaboration Committee of Negro and white delegates of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences meeting in Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943.

The demand for these statements has become so great that for the convenience of the public, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., with the permission of the drafting Conferences has brought them together in this single pamphlet. They may be obtained, singly or in quantity, for five cents a copy.

A BASIS FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH*

A STATEMENT BY SOUTHERN NEGROES

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

(1) Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

(2) Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

(3) The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns.

We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds, however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.

(4) We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.

(5) We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS

"1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

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*Statement of Negro leaders attending Southern Conference on Race Relations, Durham, N. C., October 20, 1942.

b. The abolition of the white primary.

c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise.

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice we believe can and should be discontinued now.

3. a. Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

b. It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Negro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

INDUSTRY AND LABOR

"Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.
2. There should be the same pay for the same work.
3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers, on a fair and equal basis.

4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts and other protective labor legislation.
5. It is the duty of local, state and federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.
6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.
7. We regard the wage-and-job-freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income job brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.
8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

"Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified. Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.
2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.
3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.
4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.*
5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories.

We believe that these provisions will help to insure some intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve both the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

EDUCATION

"As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken

*In the present hysteria of many housewives who are losing poorly paid servants to better paying war industries, it seems desirable to emphasize that this proposal bears no relation to the fantastic and probably Axis inspired rumors of so-called "Eleanor Clubs."

to insure an equality of education to Negroes, and, indeed to all underprivileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education is better schools, which involves expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities; this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the under-privileged child, of whatever race, the *same* opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

AGRICULTURE

"The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33 per cent of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:
   a. Written contracts
   b. Longer lease terms
   c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
   d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.
2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.
3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the

Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.

4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

MILITARY SERVICE

"We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH

"1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts even with improvement of their economic status. As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Negroes would include the following:

a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients;

b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practitioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals;

c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general as well as special group advantage. The Federal government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength."

[Signed]

GORDON B. HANCOCK
F. D. PATTERSON
BENJAMIN E. MAYS
ERNEST DELPIT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
HORACE MANN BOND
JAMES E. JACKSON
WM. M. COOPER
P. B. YOUNG
CHAS. S. JOHNSON
Chairman Sub-Editorial Committee

IN ATTENDANCE AT SOUTHERN RACE RELATIONS CONFERENCE

A complete list of those attending the Southern Conference on Race Relations held at the North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, October 20th, is as follows:

DR. CHAS. S. JOHNSON, Director, Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

DEAN R. O'HARA LANIER, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

DR. H. L. McCROREY, President, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. L. F. PALMER, Executive Secretary, Virginia State Teachers Association, Newport News, Va.

O. M. PHARR, Principal, Unity High School, South Carolina.

REV. J. A. VALENTINE, D.D., Durham, N. C.

DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, Department of Sociology, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

DEAN MOSES S. BELTON, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

WILLIAM M. COOPER, Director of Extension Work, Hampton Institute, Va.

ASBURY HOWARD, representing Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO), Bessemer, Ala.

DR. JOHN M. GANDY, President-Emeritus, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

L. H. FOSTER, Treasurer-Business Manager, and Acting President, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

PRESIDENT J. B. WATSON, A. and M. College, Pine Bluff, Ark.

CLARENCE A. LAWS, Executive Secretary, New Orleans Urban League, New Orleans, La.

DON A. DAVIS, Comptroller, Hampton Institute, Chairman Executive Committee, National Negro Business League, Hampton, Va.

REV. H. B. BUTLER, President, Baptist State Convention, Hartsville, S. C.

PROF. J. B. BLANTON, Principal, Voorhees N. and I. School, Denmark, S. C.

WILLIAM Y. BELL, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Ga.

J. A. BACOATS, Vice President, Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.

MRS. R. E. CLAY, Bristol, Tenn.

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, Director, School of Social Work, Atlanta, Ga.

JESSE O. THOMAS, Staff Assistant, War Bonds and Stamps, Washington, D. C.

JAMES T. TAYLOR, Dean of Men, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

DR. AND MRS. J. G. STUART, Columbia, S. C.

ROBERT A. SPICELY, Director, Commercial Dietetics, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

C. C. SPAULDING, President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., and Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.

MRS. ANDREW W. SIMPKINS, Social Worker, Columbia, S. C.

DR. JAMES E. SHEPARD, President, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

REV. J. ALVIN RUSSELL, D.D., President, St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Lawrenceville, Va.

G. D. ROGERS, President, Central Life Insurance Company, Tampa, Fla.

DR. F. D. PATTERSON, President, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

ROSCOE C. MITCHELL, Associated Negro Press Representative, Richmond, Va.

JOHN W. MITCHELL, State Agent, A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C.

DR. BENJ. E. MAYS, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

JAMES G. MARTIN, JR., Business Agent and Financial Secretary, Carpenters' Local No. 544, Baltimore, Md.

DR. HORACE MANN BOND, President, Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga.

THEODORE MALLORY, Secretary-Treasurer, United Transport Service Employees of America, Member International Executive Board, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. AND MRS. D. K. JENKINS, Columbia, S. C.

DR. LUTHER P. JACKSON, Chairman of the Department of History, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

EDGAR P. HOLT, Vice President, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

WALTER J. HUGHES, M.D., State Board of Health, Raleigh, N. C.

JAMES E. JACKSON, Executive Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

J. W. HOLLY, President, Georgia Normal College, Albany, Ga.

K. W. GREEN, Dean, State A. and M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.

ERNEST DELPIT, President and Business Manager, Carpenters' Local, New Orleans, La. (A. F. of L.)

G. HAMILTON FRANCIS, M.D., Speaker House of Delegates, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

REV. JOHN E. CULMER, Rector, Episcopal Church, Miami, Fla.

DR. ROBERT P. DANIEL, President, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

A. B. COOKE, Business Agent, Local No. 815, Carpenters, Columbia, S. C.

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

D. G. GARLAND, Representative, American Federation of Labor, Winston-Salem, N. C.

MAJ. W. M. WHITEHEAD, Principal School for the Handicapped, Newport News, Va.

D. W. BYRD, M.D., Chairman, Health Commission, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

C. H. BYNUM, Field Secretary Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Dallas, Texas.

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, President, Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.

P. B. YOUNG, Editor-Publisher, Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

EDWARD MASON, representing Dining Car Cooks and Waiters, Houston, Texas.

REPRESENTED BY LETTER

C. A. SCOTT, Publisher, Atlanta Daily World, and Scott Chain of Weekly Newspapers, Atlanta, Ga.

CARTER WESLEY, Editor-Publisher, The Informer, Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel, Houston, Texas.

MRS. ZELLAR R. BOOTHE, Oklahoma City, Okla.

DEAN V. E. DANIEL, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

CLAUDE A. BARNETT, Director, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Ill.

Others who sent Telegrams endorsing the Conference were:

DR. J. R. E. LEE, President, Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Fla.

ATTY. J. LEONARD LEWIS, Jacksonville, Fla.

ATTY. J. R. BOOKER, Little Rock, Ark.

MRS. ORA BROWN STOKES, Washington, D. C.

PRESIDENT H. L. TRIGG, Elizabeth City State Teachers College, Elizabeth City, N. C.

PRESIDENT DAVID D. JONES, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

MRS. H. L. McCROREY, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. W. A. FOUNTAIN, President, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.

BISHOP B. J. KING, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT JAS. BRAWLEY, Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT W. J. HALE, Tennessee A. and I. College, Nashville, Tenn.

DR. MARY BRANCH, President, Tillotston College, Austin, Texas.

DR. L. H. BELL, Mississippi State College, Alcorn, Miss.

WILEY A. HALL, Executive Secretary, Urban League, Richmond, Va.

DR. J. M. ELLISON, President, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

M. F. WHITAKER, President, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

STATEMENT OF CONFERENCE OF WHITE SOUTHERNERS ON RACE RELATIONS*

Atlanta, Georgia
April 8, 1943

In October, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves "to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework."

Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate.

We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future cooperative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand the facilities for safety, comfort and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as sewers, water, housing, street and sidewalk paving, playgrounds, public health and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern states. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

In the economic field, unquestionably procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

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*Conference of White Southerners on Race Relations, Atlanta, Georgia, April 8, 1943.

Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents, and supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary

All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which unless checked will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and the colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

We agree with the Durham Conference that it is "unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life." We agree also that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government."

It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect.

(Signed)

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ROGER T. NOOE, Nashville, Tenn.
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RESOLUTIONS OF THE COLLABORATION COMMITTEE*

Richmond, Virginia

June 16, 1943

This is a day of great differences, strong feelings, and epochal conflicts throughout the world. Yet the world's greatest need and hope is to find common ground for universal action and balanced harmony among all peoples. Manifestly, such a goal must be reached through cooperative approximation to the largest measure of agreement in line with the largest number of values and the largest number of people.

We face, therefore, the double crisis of standing firm for the conservation and preservation of human rights; yet to seek these ends by the way of peace and planning rather than by conflict and revolution.

In America, and particularly in the South, we face the problem of readjustments to meet the demands of present and post-war conditions with reference to the Negro and the future development of a great region of the Nation. This, exclusive of the war, is the great crisis of the South and Nation.

This is the problem of two great peoples caught up in the midst of transition between the powerful heritage of the past and the mighty pull of the future. For here is the white South, a *great* people often doing little things and good people often doing *bad* things. And here is the Negro South, caught as always between the upper and nether millstones of conflicting forces and also paying the price of extraordinary transition from level to level of cultural achievement, and needing plenty of understanding and cooperation. And here is the white South inexorably conditioned by cultural complexes, suffering terribly, too, and needing sympathy and help as few peoples have ever needed in the annals of man. And, even more important, the two, white South and black South, are part and parcel of the Nation, whose people need scarcely less than the two regional peoples the sense of time and wisdom.

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status and the welfare of the country as a whole.

This is a rare challenge to the leadership of the South: to the white leadership to find new ways of cooperation and to justify increased confidence of the Negro leadership in the white South; to the Negro leadership, to sense the difficulties involved and to meet increasing demands, without slowing down their essential efforts.

As evidence of the promise of this leadership, two recent Southern conferences on race relations, one at Durham, under the auspices of Negro leadership, and one in Atlanta under the auspices of white leadership, have blazed new trails. As a follow-up of these and with the above problems and backgrounds in mind, we, a group of Southern whites and Negroes, representing both the Durham and Atlanta groups, meeting as a collaboration committee at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, and following the general trend of the Atlanta group, urge the general adaptation of the Durham statement entitled "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South," which has had extraordinary nation-wide endorsement.

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*Joint committee of representatives of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences.

The framers of this covenant, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, have included adequate and searching analysis of the principal issues involved, duly interpreted in their proper perspective. The problems so featured include political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health.

In the area of political and civil rights: the essential problems featured were those of franchise and the ballot, jury service, personal security, services in public carriers, the elimination of violence, within and without the law, the elimination of lynching, and the employment of an increasingly larger number of Negroes in the public service.

In the area of work opportunities: the increased training for all skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and opportunity for employment; the readaptation of labor union policies both for the best interests of Negroes and labor unions; the problems of dual standards of pay; support of, but guarding against discrimination in, local, state, and federal procedures; special problems of service workers and standards of living.

In the area of education: equalized opportunities in all aspects but especially including institutions of higher learning, professional training, and equal salaries.

In the area of agriculture: adequate opportunity for the Negro farmer, including a sound system of tenancy, adequate state and federal assistance, increased opportunity for farm ownership, fair farm wages, and the wider employment of Negro farm and home agents.

In the area of military service: along with the obligation to serve, the opportunity for full participation and advancement in the war activities and a continuing better adjustment of unsatisfactory situations.

In the area of social welfare and health: adequate provisions for safeguarding the public health, for training physicians and nurses, and for their employment. Also, the erection of low-cost housing and other facilities for improving community life.

We recognize now the importance of affirmative action, without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities. To this end, we direct that the continuing committee, as appointed by the two groups now consolidated in this larger collaboration committee, be charged with the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach. We urge especially that efforts be begun to prepare the post-war world for a wise and successful reception of our returning soldiers and to prepare both our soldiers and the people for attitudes and procedures adequate to carry the great load of post-war needs. In all these, we urge the public to a new sense of the meaning of these needs as they accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy.

Signed: Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Virginius Dabney
A. W. Dent
William G. Gehri
Archdeacon B. W. Harris
S. S. Morris
Josephine Wilkins*
Howard W. Odum, Chairman

The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

VOL. V | MAY, 1944 | NUMBER 5

S R C BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETS

Report of Special Meeting

Important business was transacted and the work of the Southern Regional Council was greatly facilitated by a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Council in Atlanta on April 28. The meeting was called by Dr. Howard W. Odum, President of the Council. The Board meeting was preceded by a meeting of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee formulated a number of recommendations for presentation to the Board. The major actions taken by the Board are summarized below.

Standing Committees

Under the authority granted by Article V, Section 4, of the Council by-laws, the Board created the following standing committees: Committee on Membership, Committee on Finance, Committee on Public Relations, Committee on Publications, and Committee on Fellows. The Chairman was instructed to appoint the committees. The complete personnel of the committees will be published in the next issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

Admission of New Members

Since the by-laws provide that members can be elected only by the members or by the Board of Directors, and since the Board of Directors, at its meeting just after the charter meeting in February, did not complete the details of a machinery for admitting new members in the intervals between meetings, the Board passed the following resolution defining the duties of the Committee on Membership: "The Committee on Membership shall have general supervision over questions pertaining to the election of members, shall receive nominations and requests for membership, and shall authorize the Executive Director or the Secretary to extend an invitation to membership to such persons as the Committee may approve, all such elections being subject to confirmation at the next meeting of members or of the Board of Directors." The Council is now able to enlarge its membership by bringing in some of the numerous persons who have been nominated by other members or who have requested the privilege of membership. The Committee on Membership will bring to the annual meeting in October some recommendations on the question of limited versus unlimited membership.

New Directors

The Board elected directors to fill three vacancies occasioned by the election of Dr. Odum to the presidency, the inability of one member to serve, and the death of Dr. J. R. E. Lee. It also voted to enlarge its membership in order to give better representation to several states. New directors who have already accepted election are: Charles W. Anderson, Jr., attorney and member of the Kentucky legislature, Louisville; O. D. Duncan, Department of Sociology and Rural Life, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater; Z. Alexander Looby, attorney, Nashville; Walter J. Matherly, Dean of the School of Business Administration, University of Florida, Gainesville; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Atlanta; N. C. Newbold, Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh; and Thomas S. Staples, Dean of Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas.

Proposed Changes in the By-Laws

The Board voted to recommend to the members of the Council that they amend the by-laws so as to permit the Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director to be members of the Executive Committee. At present the executives cannot be members of the Executive Committee. Mr. Leonard Haas pointed out that their presence is essential to the functioning of the Executive Committee and that it is in keeping with common practice and in the interest of efficiency for them to be members of the Committee. He also pointed out that the laws governing corporations prohibit any officer or employee from voting on matters affecting his own personal interests.

At present the Executive Committee has eleven members, seven elected and four ex-officio, and a quorum must consist of four of the seven elected members. Hence it is possible to have seven persons present, three elected and four ex-officio, and

(*Continued on Page 3*)

RESOLUTIONS

At its meeting in Atlanta on April 28, 1944, the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council unanimously adopted the following resolutions and voted that they be made public immediately.

1. The Race Issue in Politics

In the heat of current political campaigns in various parts of the South, the race issue has been raised by certain candidates or by their promoters. Vicious rumors have been circulated, and the spurious issues of "white supremacy," "social equality," and the like have been dragged forth in an attempt to arouse the passions and prejudices of voters.

We condemn all such tactics as unfair and destructive of the spirit of unity and cooperation which we need now as never before, and we appeal to all good citizens to consider carefully whether those persons who use such tactics are worthy of public trust.

2. The White Primary

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that the exclusion of Negroes from the Texas Democratic primaries is a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The Court has simply recognized the fact that primaries are effective instruments of government, and that the exclusion of the Negro voters from Democratic primaries in some of the Southern states is equivalent to denying them the right to vote on account of race.

This decision has far-reaching consequences, and we appeal to the people of the South to make these consequences positive and constructive rather than negative and destructive.

We deplore the statements of political leaders and others indicating a determination to disregard or nullify the decision of the Supreme Court, and we call on all fair-minded citizens of the South to respect the letter and the spirit of the Court's decision. Let us all, white and Negro, be calm and wise. Let us strive to serve the ends of justice and good government for all of the people of the South.

To allow Negro citizens to participate in the government under which they live

(*Continued on Page 3*)

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, MAY, 1944

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

Most of us have had the experience of dreading a trip to the dentist, or an operation which we know has to come, or an honest coming-to-grips with some personal moral problem. We worry, we procrastinate, we torment ourselves with terrible forebodings. Finally we get the thing over with in one way or another, and when we see that we are going to pull through all right, we say, "It wasn't so bad after all. What was I afraid of?"

Too many white Southerners are still in the worrying stage in their reaction to certain social issues which need to be met. Take the question of Negro voting in Democratic primaries, for example. They postpone it, they evade it, and when they begin to see that perhaps the thing is bound to come they work themselves into a frenzy by imagining that the whole social order is about to crumble. Most likely their fears are groundless, for they are based upon the very shaky assumptions that (1) every Negro of voting age will immediately rush to the ballot box and that (2) Negroes will vote as a solid racial bloc.

There is absolutely no evidence that Negroes will make a mass march on the ballot box. Fortunately or unfortunately, they have that same inertia and indifference toward political participation which white people have. A recent study in Virginia showed that although 32,000 Negroes paid their poll taxes in 1943, about 13,000 of them did not even bother to register. In Atlanta, in spite of the Georgia law which lowered the voting age to 18 (no poll tax is required until the age of 21) and in spite of an intensive campaign by Negro organizations to increase the registration of Negroes, the Fulton County Registrar announced at the close of registration that Negroes made up about 7 per cent of the total number of registered voters. Negroes form 31 per cent of the population of Atlanta. Whatever happens in this matter of Negro voting we can be quite certain that it is not going to be a sudden "revolution" in the political rights of Negroes in the South.

Neither is there any good evidence that Negroes will vote as a solid bloc. White people are likely to overestimate the extent of Negro unity, perhaps because they feel that if *they* were in the Negroes' shoes they would stick together. As a matter of fact, Negroes divide upon political and other issues in much the same way as white people do. The Negro banker is likely to have more in common with the white banker than with the Negro janitor. The nearest the Negro will come to a solid race front will be to show a tendency in the long run to support his "friends" and to defeat his "enemies," but, like other voters, he will frequently have difficulty in deciding who is "friend" and who is "enemy."

At any rate, we shall find that after the dust has settled the earth remains. We shall find that the right to vote, whether that right is exercised to the fullest or not, gives a tremendous boost to the morale and civic responsibility of the Negro. We shall find that the surest way to rid the South of demagoguery and to take the "race issue" out of politics is to take the Negro voter into the fold and train him to use the ballot intelligently. And no doubt we shall say—unless we are so enamored of our worries that we refuse to part with them—"It wasn't so bad after all. What were we afraid of?"

The FEPC and Negro Manpower

The Region VII Office of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice has satisfactorily adjusted several cases which involved discrimination in training against Negroes. Two of those cases arose in Jacksonville, Florida, where the training facilities for Negroes were not comparable to those for whites, and these cases were adjusted by an arrangement that a training school for Negroes which will be adequate to accommodate 600 students will be established immediately in that city.

The national policy with respect to training is set forth in Executive Order No. 9346, in part, as follows:

> . . . The Committee (FEPC) shall also recommend to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission appropriate measures for bringing about the full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

As a result of recommendations made by the committee, on August 2, 1943, an Operating Agreement was entered into between FEPC and WMC. There it is provided:

> Procedures shall be established to assure that equal training facilities and opportunities are available to all trainees and prospective trainees without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. Special procedures shall be established where, because of State or local laws, special training facilities are required for trainees solely because of race.

Thereafter, on September 3, 1943, the WMC issued an instruction to all its regional offices in which it is provided that such offices "shall take steps to have the discriminatory features" removed from training programs. Since, however, State laws generally require separate facilities for education in this region, it has been necessary for the Regional WMC and Regional FEPC to take this fact into account in devising procedures by which the national policy may be effectuated.

The Regional WMC has agreed that, as a matter of policy, it will "make every effort to provide training courses for qualified Negro applicants in all occupations for which training is being given (to whites)." If such facilities are absent, qualified Negro applicants are to be informed by the United States Employment Service offices to which they apply that immediate efforts will be made to provide training. Moreover, under no conditions are qualified Negro applicants to be regarded or classified as ineligible because of a present lack of training facilities since, upon receiving information from a USES office that training facilities are inadequate in a particular area, the Regional WMC will take immediate steps to provide training courses for all qualified applicants.

The question naturally arises as to what extent facilities must be provided for Negroes in courses similar to those being given to whites, in order to assure that discrimination in training is not present in an area where separate facilities are required by law. The WMC has determined that the *minimum* facilities which must be provided for Negro trainees shall bear the same ratio to the total number of Negro eligibles. Thus, in an instance where there are 80 white and 30 Negro eligibles for training, and facilities have been provided for 40 whites, or one-half of the total eligibles, at least one-half of the Negro eligibles must be provided with similar training facilities. This is not to be construed, however, as the test by which to determine the maximum number of Negroes to be trained. On the contrary, it is the viewpoint of both the Regional WMC and the Regional FEPC that qualified applicants of all races should be trained to the maximum extent that funds are available and that the above test should serve only as a guide below which the training of Negroes shall not fall.

Negro leaders, teachers, and those in charge of vocational training facilities for Negroes should make sure that eligible Negroes take all necessary steps to receive training for war work. In the event that they are unsuccessful, and feel that they have been discriminated against because of their race in either their efforts to secure training or to secure employment after being trained, they may make their complaints to the Regional FEPC at Rooms 524-7 Ten Forsyth Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Directors' Meeting

(*Continued from Page* 1)

still not have a quorum. The Board voted to recommend a change in the by-laws so as to permit any six members of the Committee to constitute a quorum. The by-laws can be amended only by members, and these proposed amendments will be submitted to the annual meeting of members in October.

Two Statements

Feeling that the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case and the current efforts of certain political candidates to stir up racial issues presented a challenge to the Council, the Executive Committee approved two resolutions and recommended their passage by the Board. The Board unanimously adopted the statements and voted to give them immediate publicity. The statements are reprinted on the front page of this issue. They were given rather wide publicity in Southern newspapers, were published in the *New York Times* of April 30, and were mentioned in the May 15 issue of *Life*.

Cooperating Organizations

The by-laws provide that organizations having aims similar to those of the Council may become affiliates of the Council on such conditions as the Board may prescribe. It was pointed out in the discussion that since the structure of the Council is based on individual membership, affiliation of other organizations in the technical sense would involve legal and structural problems which could be met only by amending the charter of the Council. The Board therefore adopted the following resolution: "That the relation between the Southern Regional Council and all state and local organizations having aims and purposes similar to those of the council be informal and cooperative, the details to be worked out by the two Executive Directors." The Executive Directors have begun to compile a list of cooperating organizations.

Directors Present

Directors present were: *Florida:* Mrs. Henry Havens, G. D. Rogers; *Georgia:* L. D. Milton, Josephine Wilkins, Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Ryland Knight, T. James McNamara, R. L. Russell, Forrester B. Washington, Philip Shulhafer, Guy B. Johnson, Leonard Haas, Benjamin E. Mays, Ira DeA. Reid; *Kentucky:* E. A. McDowell; *Louisiana:* A. W. Dent, Ernest Delpit; *North Carolina:* Howard W. Odum, Will W. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Clark Foreman, John H. Wheeler; *Tennessee:* Charles S. Johnson, James L. Robb; *Virginia:* Wilson M. Brown, Gordon B. Hancock, Louis I. Jaffe, Luther P. Jackson, J. Garland Pollard, Jr.

The anti-poll tax bill is apparently dead for the present session of Congress. After a move to invoke cloture had been defeated by a vote of 44 to 36, the Senate shelved the bill.

Southern Baptists and the Negro

At the recent meeting of Southern Baptists in Atlanta, the Social Service Commission of the Convention recommended that Baptist preachers and churches work for the "defense and protection of the civil rights" of Negroes.

The recommendations of the Social Service Commission stated:

"In view of the increasing acuteness of the race problem within the nation, and especially in the South, and the danger which crouches at our doors that we shall be guilty of un-Christian attitudes and actions, we recommend that the convention reaffirm and lay upon the hearts of the Baptists of the South the resolutions adopted at the 1941 convention:

"1. That we reaffirm our deep and abiding interest in the welfare of all races of mankind, and particularly our interest in the welfare and advancement of the Negro race, which lives in our midst to the number of some 10 or 11 millions.

"2. That this convention would urge the pastors and churches affiliated with the convention, and all our Baptist people, to cultivate and maintain the finest Christian spirit and attitude toward the Negro race, to do everything possible for the welfare of the race, both economic and religious, and for the defense and protection of all civil rights of the race."

Concerning the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case, the Commission's report said: "The issue will be between establishing a qualification for suffrage that will apply to white and colored alike and the invention of some nullifying device that will deprive an otherwise qualified Negro from voting because he is a Negro. What will be the course of Christian men and women? . . . Let it be urged again that we who are Christ's must exercise the utmost care to find the Christian thing to say and the Christian thing to do. We cannot achieve good by injustice."

Dr. J. B. Lawrence, Executive Secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Board, in an address before the Baptist assembly, said: "Southern Baptists have a responsibility to the Negro which can be met only by knowing their needs as a race and meeting these needs with a well devised program. No segmental approach to this task will suffice."

Resolutions

(*Continued from Page* 1)

is to give democracy a chance in the South. To deny the vote to qualified Negro citizens is inconsistent with the American ideal of justice and equality before the law. The sooner we recognize these simple facts, the better off we shall be. We can not honestly wage a war for freedom and democracy in foreign lands when we deny to our own Negro citizens the rights and privileges which are justly theirs.

A Southern Business Man's Opinion

Mr. Alexander Fitz Hugh, of Vicksburg, Mississippi, has kindly given his permission to reprint the following excerpts from a letter which he wrote to Dr. Howard W. Odum.—Editors.

I note a growing desire on the part of the people to hear the views of all men who give them the facts.

* * *

I think that one trouble in the South has been that the masses of the people have formed their opinions of the economic and social questions that affect the section chiefly from their local and state leaders who are supplicants for votes. Sometimes what they have gotten from such leaders has been good, but often it has not been good, and I think it is an encouraging sign that the people are beginning to want the facts, which as you recall Jefferson said if you will give them they will make wise decisions, and the truth, which Jesus of Nazareth said will make them free.

* * *

The agitation about discrimination in freight rates is exaggerated, and is largely inconsequential. In all of the discussions of the Southern governors about the industrialization of the South, I have never heard them give consideration to the vital problem, namely: What is going to be the position of the Negro in such a movement? Forty-nine per cent of the population of Mississippi are Negroes, and about thirty-five per cent of the population of Alabama and Georgia are Negroes. The highly developed industries of the North and East have had the advantage of labor of European origin which has had generations of industrial background and experience. When we remember that the experience of the Negroes has been almost entirely agricultural or work in the heavy industries, and the experience of the poorer whites little different, I think it is remarkable that Southern industry has made the progress that it has. The paramount problem in all Southern industry is what place the Negro laborer is going to fill in it rather than the question of freight rates. Industries make freight rates rather than freight rates make industries.

* * *

I find an awakening interest on the part of the people in the problems of the biracial economy, and this is definitely encouraging.

ALEXANDER FITZ HUGH.

The Wellesley School of Community Affairs will be held at Wellesley College from June 29-August 10. Anyone interested should [illegible] to Miss Edith R. West, Wellesley College, Massachusetts.

[illegible] under the aegis of the New Deal, RE[illegible] came to Georgia in May, 1935, only 6.8[illegible] Georgia farms had central station elec[illegible] service. Today more than 70,000 [illegible] are electrified.

Miss Margaret Fisher Joins SRC Staff

The Southern Regional Council is happy to announce that Miss Margaret Fisher, of the Atlanta regional office of the War Manpower Commission, is joining the staff of the Council on June 1 as Secretary of Public Relations.

By training, experience, and temperament, Miss Fisher is admirably equipped to make a significant contribution to the program of the Council. Following a period of business experience in the field of insurance, she did personnel and management work for a number of years in the Legal Division of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. She then went to the War Manpower Commission, where she has done industrial relations work since 1942. There her main task was to develop a regional program for the integration of women and minority groups into industrial employment in the South. This work has not only given her a first-hand acquaintance with industrialists but has brought her into contact with various public and civic groups in the South. She has, for example, helped to secure the cooperation of merchants in arranging evening shopping hours for the convenience of war workers, stimulated women's organizations to set up recreational programs for in-migrants, and encouraged labor groups to broaden the participation of women and colored workers in unions. Thus her wide contacts have given her a first-hand picture of what is going on in the Southeast in industrial and civic life.

In addition to this invaluable experience, Miss Fisher has qualities of personal charm, tact, persistence, and a sense of humor. One of her close friends has described her as "a liberal who has her feet on the ground."

Miss Fisher was born in North Carolina and received her college training at Greensboro Women's College. Gifted musically, she specialized in piano and voice and for several years did concert work as a contralto soloist. Then, as she puts it, "My whole pattern of life changed, for I knew that what I really wanted to do was to give my life to the building of a better South." She has retained her musical interests, however, and she will continue as soloist with the choir at St. Luke's Church in Atlanta, where her lovely contralto voice has been an inspiration to the congregation for the past seven years.

Lieutenant-General William S. Knudsen, War Department Production Chief, said in Nashville, Tennessee, recently, "We are capable of great production, but we have not reached top production yet." He added, "The South has demonstrated its industrial power, and there is no limit to what the South and the whole country can do. What we have done has not been miracles, it has been going to work and doing the job." On the question of America's future in the postwar period, General Knudsen commented, "We mustn't sell the hide until we've shot the bear."

In Kentucky

At a recent meeting sponsored by the Union for Democratic Action and the Louisville Committee of the Kentucky Council on Interracial Cooperation, various civic problems were discussed. Among the recommendations growing out of the meeting were the following:

That downtown stores be asked "to adjust their policy toward Negroes" and encourage instead of discourage Negro patronage.

That more Negroes be represented in the war housing units on the basis of need rather than population.

That the Louisville Railway Company be asked to employ Negroes as operators.

That training facilities be provided for Negro doctors and nurses.

That there be a minimum wage and hour law for domestic workers, and a city-wide educational campaign on domestic service problems.

That "some type of assurance against dismissal after the war be given the Negro who adjusts himself to industry."

That a Negro be named to the Louisville Board of Education.

An Institute of Race Relations

An Institute of Race Relations will be held at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, July 3-21. The Institute will include the following areas of interest: Race and Racial Theories; Racial Aspects of Social Problems; Methods, Techniques and Community Planning; The Role of Personal Religion in Human Relations. Among the lecturers and consultants will be Will W. Alexander, formerly Director of Farm Security Administration, now Co-Director of the Race Relations Division of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and member of the Board of Directors of the SRC; Fred L. Brownlee, General Secretary of the American Missionary Association; Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Ellsworth Faris, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago; Lester Granger, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League; Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of SRC; Otto Klineberg, Professor of Psychology, Columbia University; Z. A. Looby, member of the legal staff of NAACP; Liston Pope Professor of Social Ethics, Yale University; Arthur Raper, Senior Social Science Analyst, United States Department of Agriculture; Robert Redfield, Dean of Division of Social Science and Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago; Ira De A. Reid, Associate Director, SRC; T. Lynn Smith, Head of Department of Rural Sociology, Louisiana State University; Charles H. Thompson, Dean of Graduate School of Howard University and editor of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, and Louis Wirth, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago.

The Institute is under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, which is a Division of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches. Anyone wishing further information may write to the Institute of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

An Alabama Statement

Just before the recent Democratic primary in Alabama, the following statement, which was signed by 400 leading white citizens, was made public. Judge Louise O. Charlton of Birmingham was influential in obtaining signatures endorsing the statement.

Fellow Citizens of Alabama:

We, the undersigned citizens of Alabama, are proud of the traditions of our great state and of the part that all its people are playing in this war. We are proud of the thousands of Alabama's young men and women who serve in all branches of our armed forces. Our industrial leaders, the working men and women of our state, the vast number of our farmers have a record of war service of which the entire nation can be proud.

American armed forces, among them the finest sons of Alabama, now await the signal for the invasion of fascist Europe. Now more than ever have we Alabamans a stake in keeping our war production in farm and factory uninterrupted. For this reason we view with patriotic alarm any effort to stir up racial strife and hatred among the people of Alabama.

We consider it our sacred obligation to Alabamans in the armed forces and to their fathers and mothers at home to protest the actions of those men and those newspapers which seek to disturb the present peaceful relations between the races, and divert the attention of Alabama from the cause of speedy victory.

It is our conviction that all papers, whether Negro or White, which incite race hatred, constitute a serious threat to Alabama's war production.

We especially deplore the injection of the race issue into Alabama's political campaign. We believe that those who resort to such tactics misjudge the people of Alabama and their devotion to the democratic faith and to the ideal of Christian brotherhood.

In the same patriotic "spirit of neighborliness" as the citizens of Dallas County evidenced in their condemnation of the *Greensboro Watchman*, we call upon patriotic citizens to condemn all efforts now being made by press and radio to arouse or stimulate race and religious hatred and antagonisms among our people, and to strengthen our common effort for a speedy victory and a lasting peace.

The American Council On Race Relations

A new national organization has been formed for the promotion of interracial adjustment and "full democracy." The organization will be known as the American Council on Race Relations, and will seek to develop a well-rounded program of research, popular education, assistance to local community organizations in meeting their interracial problems, and cooperation with other agencies in the interracial field. The officers of the Council will be Clarence E. Pickett, President, Charles H. Houston, Vice-President, Will W. Alexander, Vice-President and Treasurer, and Mrs. Mary Jane Grunsfeld, Secretary. The headquarters of the Council will be in Chicago.

16 - Human Rights

What Do Negroes Ask of America?

☆

Durham Conference States Their Case; Southern White Leaders Respond

☆

Summaries by R. B. Eleazer

☆

DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
THE BOARD OF EDUCATION
THE METHODIST CHURCH

810 Broadway Nashville, Tenn.

What Do Negroes Ask of America?

Durham Conference States Their Case; Southern White Leaders Respond

Summaries by R. B. Eleazer

Of late numberless disturbing rumors have been floating about as to what Negroes are thinking and preparing to do in this hectic time of war. Most of these rumors, to be sure, are utterly absurd; some of them almost certainly were started by enemy agents with intent to make trouble. Nevertheless, many people have taken them seriously and have been genuinely disturbed by them. The question seems timely, therefore: What actually are the Negroes of America, especially those of the South, asking of the white majority?

The best answer yet given to that question—the fullest and the most authoritative—is embodied in the famous "Durham Statement" of October 20, 1942. This statement was formulated by a conference of 78 of the ablest Negro leaders from twelve Southern States, from Maryland to Texas—ministers, educators, social workers, business and professional men, labor leaders and editors. The signers represent as complete and responsible a cross section of Negro life and thought as it would be possible to find.

Recognizing that, for various reasons, there had recently been a serious growth of interracial tension, this group assembled not to increase the tension by militant protests and demands, but rather to relieve it as much as possible by a friendly, calm, and constructive discussion of the major issues involved. Their basic hope and confidence was thus expressed in the preamble to their statement:

"We have the courage and faith to believe that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want and from throttling fears."

Follows then an extended statement, dealing with practically every important problem involved in the situation, under the heads Political and Civil Rights, Industry and Labor, Service Occupations, Education, Agriculture, Military Service, and Social Welfare and Health. For the read-

ers' convenience all important points of the statement are summarized below.

Political and Civil Rights

1. Naturally the group's first concern under this head was the suffrage. "The ballot," they say, "is the safeguard of democracy;" hence they hold that discrimination against any group in the exercise of the ballot is "detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State." They record themselves, therefore, as favoring abolition of the poll tax, the "white primary," and all other "forms of discriminatory practices, evasions and intimidations" by which citizens are denied their right of franchise.

2. The unconstitutional practice of excluding Negroes from jury service, the statement declares, should be discontinued at once.

3. Abuses of police power in the treatment of Negroes should be stopped, it is held, both "out of regard for the safety of Negroes and of common respect for the diginity and purpose of the law." In this connection the employment of Negro police is recommended.

4. In public carriers and terminals where segregation is mandatory by law and custom, it is held to be the duty of all citizens to insist that provisions for the two races shall be equal in kind and quality, as the law presumes they shall be.

5. The States are asked to take effective steps to eradicate completely the crime of lynching. Should they prove unable or unwilling to do so, popular support of a Federal anti-lynching law is urged.

6. Since the interests of Negroes are deeply involved in many of the programs of social welfare, it is urged that qualified Negroes be used on the boards administering such programs.

Industry and Labor

1. Opportunity for Negroes to work at all levels of industry for which they are equally capable is regarded as "the only tenable basis of economic survival and development" for the race.

2. Negro workers, it is held, should receive equal pay for equal work.

3. Negro workers should seek membership in labor organizations; and the latter, as a matter of self-interest as well as of justice, should seek to organize them.

4. Public agencies should provide "industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind to that provided for other citizens."

5. Negro representation on regional agencies concerned with the welfare of workers is urged.

Service Occupations

Recognizing that probably for a long time Negroes will be employed chiefly in service occupations, the conviction is expressed that better service and greater goodwill may be secured by more thorough training for service workers. Along with this should go corresponding improvement of wages and conditions, including "wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms," and reasonable and definite hours of work. The opinion is expressed that "service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations," and that they should be included in all social security benefits provided for workers of other categories.

Education

Under the head of education the statement enunciates this fundamental principle:

"As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes."

Basic to such opportunity, the statement holds, is the improvement of Negro schools, involving more liberal expenditure of public funds, equal salaries for teachers of equal training and experience, an expanded building program, and equal school terms.

Pointing to the increasing need among Negroes for graduate and professional training, it is held that the States should make such training "available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court" in the Gaines decision.*

In the case of States financially unable to "sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between Southern and national standards."

The statement expresses the belief that, because of the special problems involved, Negroes should have "intelligent and sympathetic representation on school boards," and that Negro truancy officers could be used to advantage.

Agriculture

As a means of "increasing the production of the (*Southern*) area, raising

*This decision ("Gaines vs University of Missouri") held that the several States must either provide equal facilities for Negro graduate and professional students, or else admit them to existing State institutions.

the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and improving the region's contribution to the total war effort," the following measures are suggested:

Better conditions of tenancy and farm labor, including written contracts, longer lease terms, higher farm wages, and balanced production programs to provide food and feed crops for tenants and laborers.

It is held that adequate Federal assistance should be provided Negro farmers on an equitable basis; that Federal funds for agricultural improvement should be more fairly distributed to the Negro land grant colleges; that qualified Negroes should be appointed to public agricultural planning and policy-making bodies; and that Negro farmers should be included in the membership of farm organizations and co-operatives.

Military Service

Under this head we quote the statement in full:

"We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

"Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale."

Social Welfare and Health

"As a means of reducing mortality and public contagion" the statement recommends the following as minimum health measures:

That an adequate proportion of the facilities of all public hospitals be made available to Negro patients;

That qualified Negro doctors, like other practitioners, be permitted to serve their patients in such hospitals;

That Negro public health nurses and social workers be used more extensively;

That the public program of slum clearance and low-cost housing be extended.

That None Misunderstand

All the above suggestions, the statement is careful to point out, represent merely "simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices," and indicate no disposition whatever "to invade the privacy of family life." The two concluding paragraphs, summing up the situation in its world-wide significance, are as follows:

"It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interest of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

"The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in Amercia and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength."

Southern White Leaders Respond

Since this reasonable and friendly statement was addressed to the white South, it is not surprising that the fair-minded white leadership of the region should feel that an answer in kind was due. Such an answer, in fact, was formulated and given to the public on April 8, 1943, over the signatures of 241 men and women in the front rank of the South's religious, cultural and business life. There were, for example, the Governor of Virginia, nine or ten bishops, six of them Methodists, a dozen presidents of colleges and theological schools, many ministers and teachers, editors, lawyers, industrialists, business men, church and club women, labor leaders, and social workers. It was in every sense a group fully competent to speak for the best opinion of the white South. From the statement of this group we quote the following significant paragraphs:

"In October, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves 'to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may co-operate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework.'

"Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to co-operate.

"We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised, nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future co-operative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to co-operate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

"These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little

voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities. . . .

"All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. . . .

"That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions. . . .

"It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, co-operation and mutual respect."

Southern Regional Council Set Up

Following this friendly and constructive interchange of views, representatives of the two groups were appointed to work out plans for a practical approach to the interracial situation. The result was the organization of the Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in the Standard Building, Atlanta. To this body the former Commission on Interracial Co-operation has turned over its work. The Council will continue to foster a program of research, education, and organization of state and local committees to deal with interracial conditions involving neglect and injustice. The religious and civic leadership of the South is conspicuous in the membership of the Council, and it is believed that the organization merits the confidence and co-operation of all persons interested in a constructive approach to the racial situation.

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SRC – Historical Materials

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See origins & aims

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Its Origin and Purpose

File Copy

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
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"A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South."

Published in June, 1944

By

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

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Atlanta, Georgia

10 cents a copy *$1.00 a dozen* *$7.50 a hundred*

I

HOW THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL BEGAN

The Southern Regional Council, which began its existence as a formally organized body in February, 1944, is the product of many factors, but primarily it is the outgrowth of two parent movements. One of these was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The other was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond series of conferences.

1. *The Commission on Interracial Cooperation*

In 1919, during the dark days of racial conflict and Ku Kluxism which followed World War I, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was born. It represented a new idea in race relations—the idea that white people and Negroes should come together and strive to reach a "meeting of minds" on their mutual problems. This idea spread until there were scores of interracial committees operating in the South and elsewhere.

No one contends that the Commission did a perfect job, but no one who has observed the work of the Commission over a period of years can say flatly that it failed. It never claimed that its program would "solve" the race problem. Indeed, its leaders always made it clear that they were trying to take "the next steps" toward greater racial understanding and tolerance. This work has been of inestimable value to the South and to the nation. In its 25 years of operation, the Commission has made interracial conferences respectable almost everywhere in the South, has marshalled thousands of the church women of the South in opposition to lynching and other injustices, has sponsored significant researches on race relations, has issued two million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and has symbolized the faith of the Southern white people and Negro people in the processes of understanding and cooperation.

In 1939 the Commission leaders, feeling that the educational program which it started out to do had become thoroughly established, and recognizing the need for new blood and new ideas, began to explore the possibility of broadening the scope of the organization and improving its techniques. In October, 1940, the Commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on Southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South." Accordingly, an evaluative study of the Commission was made and a plan for expansion was drawn up. In the meantime, the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond conferences matured to a similar purpose, and the outcome was that on the day of the charter meeting of the Southern Regional Council, the Commission met and formally merged its program with, and transferred its assets to, the Southern Regional Council.[1]

The main efforts of the Council in its first few months of existence have been directed toward conserving and stimulating the state and local interracial committees throughout the South, because the Council believes that they must continue to play an important role in race relations and in implementing the program of the Council. The Commission will keep its legal entity for a time, but its program, revitalized and expanded, will be carried on as one phase of the work of the Southern Regional Council.

2. *The Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences*

The younger parent of the Southern Regional Council was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond series of conferences. The first chapter in the story of these conferences began with the meeting of a group of Southern Negro leaders at Durham in October, 1942. This conference was an outstanding event in the history of the South. It was a product of the rising tide of racial friction, and it was also in a sense a product of both the successes and the failures of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. These Negro leaders expressed their purpose as follows:

1. See Appendix E.

> We are proposing to set forth in certain "Articles of Cooperation" just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation. Instead of letting the demagogues guess what we want, we are proposing to make our wants and aspirations a matter of record, so clear that he who runs may read. We are hoping in this way to challenge the constructive cooperation of that element of the white South who express themselves as desirous of a New Deal for the Negroes of the South.

A Committee was appointed to draw up a "Charter" embodying the ideas agreed upon at the Conference, and on December 15, 1942, the Conference issued a document entitled "A Basis for Inter-Racial Cooperation and Development in the South . . . a statement by Southern Negroes."[2] This is a remarkable document. It deserves a place of honor in the annals of American democracy. It tells in plain and dignified language what the Negro wants—not what one or two Negroes want, not what white people *say* Negroes want, but what a large group of representative Negroes say for themselves. Never before had such a large and distinguished group of American Negro leaders come together and agreed upon something. The statement covers the following areas: Political and Civil Rights, Industry and Labor, Service Occupations, Education, Agriculture, Military Service, and Social Welfare and Health.

The second chapter in this movement was written on April 8, 1943, when a group of Southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement which had been issued by the Durham Conference. These white leaders said, among other things:

> Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate. All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism.
>
> It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and mutual respect.[3]

A third chapter was written on June 16, 1943, when a collaboration committee, composed of representatives from the Durham and Atlanta conferences, met in Richmond to work out further details. This meeting urged "the general adaptation of the Durham statement" and directed that a continuing committee be charged with "the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach."[4]

A fourth chapter in this movement was written at Atlanta on August 4, 1943, when a continuing committee of white and Negro delegates again met, this time to draw up specific plans for implementing the Durham statement. The conferees agreed upon "a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society," and the resolution which they passed said:

> We urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life and especially with a similar national group when established.[5]

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2. For the complete text of the Durham statement, see Appendix A.
3. For the complete text of the Atlanta Statement, see Appendix B.
4. For the complete text of the Richmond Statement, see Appendix C.
5. For the complete text of the Atlanta Resolution, see Appendix D.

As in any movement, there were in these conferences conflicts of personalities and of ideas, there were mistakes and limitations; but, considering the unusual variety of persons and interests represented, there was a remarkable spirit of unanimity. The important thing was that Southern Negro leaders had spoken out courageously, that white leaders had accepted the challenge, and that the two groups had covenanted to take the offensive for constructive social action in the South.

3. *Organization of the Council*

Following the Atlanta Resolution of August, 1943, there was much necessary committee work on procedure, finance, incorporation, etc. On January 6, 1944, the Southern Regional Council was chartered as a corporation by the State of Georgia "for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, . . . to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; . . ." [6]

Afterwards the Incorporators met and designated charter members: all persons who had participated in one of the preliminary conferences and all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation residing in the Council's area. Of approximately 270 persons thus designated, over 90% accepted charter membership. About 100 were present at the charter meeting in Atlanta on February 16-17, 1944, and they participated wholeheartedly in the meeting. For two days they discussed, they worked over by-laws, they elected officers, Board of Directors, executive directors, and executive committee. When they had finished, they had constructed a thoroughly democratic structure and government for their Council.

II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNCIL

The Southern Regional Council belongs to its members. It has a Board of Directors and an Executive Committee, but all actions of these groups are subject to review by the annual meeting of members. At the annual meetings, which will be held on the second Wednesday in October, every member in good standing is entitled to vote, either in person or by proxy. The membership can be increased indefinitely, if the members desire to do so. The conditions of membership are: (1) an affirmation of belief in the purposes of the Council, (2) residence in the Council area, and (3) payment of annual dues (at present one dollar). All new members must be confirmed by the members or by the Board of Directors.

The By-laws adopted at the charter meeting define the Council's area as the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Voting members must be residents of this area. Persons who live elsewhere and who wish to keep in touch with the work of the Council by receiving its literature regularly, may become Associates of the Council by paying a fee of one dollar a year.

The Board of Directors is at present composed of 64 persons of whom 58 are elected members and 6 are ex officio members. Every one of the thirteen states in the Council area is represented on the Board. The racial composition of the Board is 27 (42%) Negro members and 37 (58%) white members. The occupational distribution of Board members is as follows: education and related interests, 23; business, law, and medicine, 14; religion, 8; public office and civic work, 9; journalism, 4; labor, 4; miscellaneous, 2. In order to prevent the usual ills of ageing and ingrowing, the By-laws provide that no Board member may serve more than two consecutive terms of four years each.

The Council's By-laws provide for a National Advisory Committee, whose function will be the coordination of the work of the Southern Regional Council with the work of similar organizations in other parts

6. For the Charter of the Council, see Appendix F.

of the nation. There will also be one hundred Honorary Fellows of the Council, drawn from the ranks of young Southerners who show promise of progressive leadership, whose function will be to assist the Council as observers, correspondents, and special investigators.

III

PROGRAM AND METHODS

The Southern Regional Council represents the combined efforts of liberal and progressive people of both races to give democracy a chance in the South. Its long-time goal is the improvement of social, civic, economic, and racial conditions in the South. The Council is not exclusively a "race relations" organization, nor does it pretend to believe that it can "solve" the race problem, but it does believe that any sound movement for social progress must be based on the realization that the South cannot go far without democratizing its social order and giving all of its human resources a chance to develop their potentialities.

The Council's functions may be summarized as follows: (1) clearing-house and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on Southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly paper, *The Southern Frontier*, and through pamphlets, press, radio, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private or official agencies; (5) constructive action at every possible point on the social, economic, political and racial problems of the South.

The immediate objectives of the Council are: (1) to develop its staff and facilities for effective work, (2) to conserve and revitalize the work of existing state and local interracial groups, (3) to promote a strategy conference of the major agencies working on social problems in the South, and (4) to initiate studies and conferences in the areas of police administration, post-war employment, and household service.

As for specific methods, the Council must rely upon the age-old techniques of propaganda, conference, petition, public appeal, personal influence, and the like. It is a voluntary organization, and it has no more power than the combined will, moral conviction, and integrity of its members. It does not believe in miracles, but it does believe that in spite of obstacles there is a range within which hard work and intelligent strategy can induce constructive social change.

IV

THE REGIONAL APPROACH

It is generally admitted, by Southerners and non-Southerners alike, that the South is "a state of mind," and the researches of distinguished scholars have shown beyond all doubt that there are social, economic, political, and cultural traits which set the South off as different from other American regions.

Every region has a certain amount of pride and self-consciousness, and in the South—a region which has long been the object of sympathy, contempt, ridicule, philanthropy, exploitation, and free advice—there is a particularly sensitive reaction to criticism and reform efforts which stem from the "outside." As a matter of fact, in such a situation "outside influences," however well intentioned, can and sometimes do retard progress by provoking defensive attitudes and providing alibis for inaction and demagoguery.

Critics of the SRC have tried to picture it as a "defensive" organization. It is dangerous, they say, because it is trying to solve, on a regional or sectional basis, problems that are really national. However, there is nothing inherently superior about an organization or reform movement

merely because it is "national," and nothing inherently inferior or dangerous about it merely because it is "regional." Many problems are national or even international in their scope, but it does not follow that they will be worked out everywhere at the same time and by the same methods. The test of the value of any movement or strategy is in what it achieves, and the Southern Regional Council believes that the surest and sanest way to achieve social progress in the South is to mobilize the efforts of liberal and progressive people within the region. The statement that "the South must work out its own salvation" is sound common sense and sound psychiatry. Certainly the South cannot achieve its fullest development and share equally with other regions in national affairs until it has taken the lead in working out its own problems.

The Southern Regional Council has posted no "keep out" signs and it has declared its willingness to cooperate with likeminded organizations—state, regional, and national. It has come neither to defend nor defame the South, but to help build a better South in a better nation. It dedicates itself to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

APPENDIX A

THE DURHAM CONFERENCE STATEMENT

On October 20, 1942, a group of Negro Southerners met in Durham, North Carolina, to discuss their problems and the changes which, in their opinion, would benefit not only Negroes themselves but the South and the nation. A committee was instructed to prepare a statement embodying the thinking of the Conference. In December, 1942, the following document was given to the public. It was entitled: "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South: a Statement by Southern Negroes."

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

(1) Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

(2) Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

(3) The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns.

We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races

or classes or creeds; however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.

(4) We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.

(5) We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

Political and Civil Rights

1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.
b. The abolition of the white primary.
c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise.

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice we believe can and should be discontinued now.

3. (a) Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

(b) It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Negro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

Industry and Labor

Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of

scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.

2. There should be the same pay for the same work.

3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers on a fair and equal basis.

4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts and other protective labor legislation.

5. It is the duty of local, state and Federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.

6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.

7. We regard the wage-and-job-freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income job brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.

8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

Service Occupations

Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified.

Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.

2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.

3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.

4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.*

5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories.

We believe that these provisions will help to insure more intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve both the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

Education

As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes and, indeed, to all under-privileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education is better schools, which involves expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities; this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the under-privileged child, of whatever race, the *same* opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

*In the present hysteria of many housewives who are losing poorly paid servants to better paying war industries, it seems desirable to emphasize that this proposal bears no relation to the fantastic and probably Axis inspired rumors of so-called "Eleanor Clubs."

Agriculture

The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33 per cent of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:
   a. Written contracts
   b. Longer lease terms
   c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
   d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.

2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.

3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.

4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

Military Service

We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

Social Welfare and Health

1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts even with improvement of their economic status. As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Negroes would include the following:
   a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients;
   b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practitioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals;

c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general as well as special group advantage. The Federal government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

* * * *

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength.

APPENDIX B

THE ATLANTA CONFERENCE STATEMENT

On April 8, 1943, a group of white Southerners met in Atlanta, Georgia, to consider the statement which had been issued by the Durham Conference. The results of their deliberations were made public in the following document.

In October, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves "to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework."

Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate.

We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future cooperative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop

and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand the facilities for safety, comfort and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as sewers, water, housing, street and sidewalk paving, playgrounds, public health and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern states. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

In the economic field, unquestionably procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents, and supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary.

All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which unless checked will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and the colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

We agree with the Durham Conference that it is "unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life." We agree also that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government."

It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect.

APPENDIX C

THE RICHMOND CONFERENCE STATEMENT

On June 16, 1943, a Collaboration Committee, composed of delegates from the Durham Conference and the Atlanta Conference, met in Richmond, Virginia. The following statement was issued by the Richmond Conference.

This is a day of great differences, strong feelings, and epochal conflicts throughout the world. Yet the world's greatest need and hope is to find common ground for universal action and balanced harmony among all peoples. Manifestly, such a goal must be reached through cooperative approximation to the largest measure of agreement in line with the largest number of values and the largest number of people.

We face, therefore, the double crisis of standing firm for the conservation and preservation of human rights; yet to seek these ends by the way of peace and planning rather than by conflict and revolution.

In America, and particularly in the South, we face the problem of readjustments to meet the demands of present and post-war conditions with reference to the Negro and the future development of a great region of the Nation. This, exclusive of the war, is the great crisis of the South and Nation.

This is the problem of two great peoples caught up in the midst of transition between the powerful heritage of the past and the mighty pull of the future. For here is the white South, a *great* people often doing little things and good people often doing *bad* things. And here is the Negro South, caught as always between the upper and nether millstones of conflicting forces and also paying the price of extraordinary transition from level to level of cultural achievement, and needing plenty of understanding and cooperation. And here is the white South inexorably conditioned by cultural complexes, suffering terribly, too, and needing sympathy and help as few peoples have ever needed in the annals of man. And, even more important, the two, white South and black South, are part and parcel of the Nation, whose people need scarcely less than the two regional peoples the sense of time and wisdom.

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status and the welfare of the country as a whole.

This is a rare challenge to the leadership of the South: to the white leadership to find new ways of cooperation and to justify increased confidence of the Negro leadership in the white South; to the Negro leadership, to sense the difficulties involved and to meet increasing demands, without slowing down their essential efforts.

As evidence of the promise of this leadership, two recent Southern conferences on race relations, one at Durham, under the auspices of Negro leadership, and one in Atlanta under the auspices of white leadership, have blazed new trails. As a follow-up of these and with the above problems and backgrounds in mind, we, a group of Southern whites and Negroes, representing both the Durham and Atlanta groups, meeting as a collaboration committee at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, and following the general trend of the Atlanta group, urge the general adaptation of the Durham statement entitled "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South," which has had extraordinary nation-wide endorsement.

The framers of this covenant, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, have included adequate and searching analysis of the

principal issues involved, duly interpreted in their proper perspective. The problems so featured include political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health.

In the area of political and civil rights: the essential problems featured were those of franchise and the ballot, jury service, personal security, services in public carriers, the elimination of violence, within and without the law, the elimination of lynching, and the employment of an increasingly larger number of Negroes in the public service.

In the area of work opportunities: the increased training for all skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and opportunity for employment; the readaptation of labor union policies both for the best interests of Negroes and labor unions; the problems of dual standards of pay; support of, but guarding against discrimination in, local, state, and federal procedures; special problems of service workers and standards of living.

In the area of education: equalized opportunities in all aspects but especially including institutions of higher learning, professional training, and equal salaries.

In the area of agriculture: adequate opportunity for the Negro farmer, including a sound system of tenancy, adequate state and federal assistance, increased opportunity for farm ownership, fair farm wages, and the wider employment of Negro farm and home agents.

In the area of military service: along with the obligation to serve, the opportunity for full participation and advancement in the war activities and a continuing better adjustment of unsatisfactory situations.

In the area of social welfare and health: adequate provisions for safeguarding the public health, for training physicians and nurses, and for their employment. Also, the erection of low-cost housing and other facilities for improving community life.

We recognize now the importance of affirmative action, without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities. To this end, we direct that the continuing committee, as appointed by the two groups now consolidated in this larger collaboration committee, be charged with the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach. We urge especially that efforts be begun to prepare the post-war world for a wise and successful reception of our returning soldiers and to prepare both our soldiers and the people for attitudes and procedures adequate to carry the great load of post-war needs. In all these, we urge the public to a new sense of the meaning of these needs as they accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy.

APPENDIX D

THE ATLANTA RESOLUTION

On August 4, 1943, a Continuation Committee, appointed by the Richmond Conference, met in Atlanta to consider ways and means of implementing the recommendations of the preceding Conferences. The Committee resolved itself into the nucleus of the Southern Regional Council and elected Dr. Howard W. Odum and Dr. Charles S. Johnson as Co-Chairmen. The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Committee.

We are gathered together here in solemn assembly, conscious of our heritage and opportunity. In the name and spirit of America and all her resources and institutions we covenant together in harmony and unanimity to make this day, or what this day should bring to pass, epochal in a new purpose, a new understanding, and a new fellowship.

In the name and spirit of America's science and education we seek to find and to tell the truth. In the name and spirit of America's democracy we seek the way of equal opportunity. In the name of America's patriotism, we strive for loyalty to the American dream, for leadership to guide, and for statesmanship adequate to carry the burden of the new America. In the name and spirit of America's Christianity, we search for the new faith of fellowship. In the name of humanity, we propose to substitute the measures of the good society for the old biological struggle for physical survival. In the name and spirit of all these and the living reality of a complex world, we dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

Four ways there are, and perhaps more, of approaching these laudable and attainable ends. First, we agree upon a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society. We recognize fully that in the present crisis this covenant is as important as the earlier compacts of the forefathers, and that the framework within which we covenant together must comprehend a concept and a charter which guarantees equality of opportunity for all peoples. This means more specifically as bearing upon the burden of our present counseling that the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has within the framework of the American democratic system of government.

Second, we dedicate ourselves unswervingly to the successful achievement of this task. Since in the order of all nature and creations and of the growth and development of the people and society there are always certain features peculiar to each society; since in the order of democracy there are certain elemental principles of self-government that are inherent in each folk and regional society; and since in both the physical and cultural heritage of the South there are certain cumulative and tragic handicaps that represent powerful factors in the situation, we appeal to the Nation, in covenant with the South, to exercise a wisdom and maturity through which methods, procedures, and rates of change may be worked out in the spirit of, and in conformity with, the principles of our American democracy.

Third, to the end that there will be actual realistic accomplishments rather than mere words and that there may be possible ways and means of actually insuring progress in all approaches to these goals of equal opportunity, we urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life and especially with a similar national group when established.

Fourth, since the crisis is not only southern but national, not only for whites but for Negroes and other races as well, and since the central purpose of the new council is cooperation and the building of active good will, we urge the formation of a National Committee on race and regional development, constituted of representatives of all races and of public and private groups. Such a committee, subscribing to the declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all available agencies and individuals in private and public life.

We recognize the sweep and power of the emotions in time of war and crisis and the rights and tendencies in the democratic way of life for thousands of individuals and groups to agitate, organize, and promote their own peculiar programs. This is and must be the essence of a democracy. But it is also the way of democracy to focus upon fundamentals and to give opportunity to responsible leadership through the orderly agencies of government and of private citizens. To this end no greater service can be rendered to the Nation than to covenant together in responsible organizations, to provide leadership and clearing house, and to avoid

conflicts, waste and overlapping, on the one hand, and, on the other, to minimize the harmful influence of irresponsible forces in this great hour of need for good will and for effective ways of doing what is needed. We feel that in these councils may be approximated needs more nearly than in any other ways that now appear.

The Nation is committed now to what is generally called, both in private business and in public life, post-war planning to the end that we may be ready for the demobilization and reintegration of our millions of returning soldiers into the best possible American way of life. Recognizing that the problems of the folk and of race constitute a more difficult problem than that of physical planning, by the same token we urge all the more the obligation to apply to this great area of our democracy the best the sciences, social sciences, the humanities, and religion can do in the realistic working out of next steps.

To this end, the present membership of the Continuation Committees of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences is hereby constituted the nucleus of the new Council; and the officers are authorized (1) to take immediate steps for the legal incorporation of the Council; (2) to appoint immediately the necessary staff personnel to implement this program, and (3) to enlarge the present membership in order to make it fully representative of all the interests encompassed by this program.

It is also respectfully urged that the President of the United States appoint a National Committee such as is suggested above.

APPENDIX E

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

On February 16, 1944, just before the opening of the Charter Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta and passed the following resolution merging the Commission with the Council.

It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation:

It was, upon motion duly made and seconded—*Resolved* that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.

APPENDIX F

CHARTER OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

STATE OF GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

I, John B. Wilson, Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify that

"SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC."

was on the 6th day of January, 1944, duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia by the Superior Court of Fulton County for a period of thirty-five years from said date, in accordance with the certified copy hereto attached, and that a certified copy of the charter of said corporation has been duly filed in the office of the Secretary of State and the fees therefor paid, as provided by law.

(SEAL)
STATE OF GEORGIA
1776

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 7th day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-four and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth.

JOHN B. WILSON
Secretary of State, Ex-Officio Corporation Commissioner of the State of Georgia.

STATE OF GEORGIA,
FULTON COUNTY.
TO THE SUPERIOR COURT OF SAID COUNTY:

The Petition of DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH McGILL, BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, and DR. HOWARD W. ODUM respectfully shows:

1.

That they desire for themselves, their associates and successors, to be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewal at the expiration thereof, and from time to time, as is now or may hereafter be provided by law.

2.

The principal office and place of business of said Corporation shall be located in the City of Atlanta, County of Fulton, State of Georgia. The Corporation desires the privilege of establishing branch offices elsewhere, either within or without the State of Georgia, as may be desired.

3.

Said Corporation shall not be organized or operated for pecuniary gain or profits to its members, and shall have no capital stock.

4.

The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

5.

The Corporation shall have the right to receive donations, endowments, devises and bequests, and shall enjoy all rights and powers, and be subject to all limitations, of the Corporation Act of the State of Georgia, approved

January 28, 1938, and all Amendments thereto, which may hereafter be adopted, excepting those rights, powers and limitations relating to capital stock, and other matters not pertinent to its organization.

6.

The membership of said Corporation shall be self-perpetuating, and shall be composed of the Incorporators, and such others as said Incorporators shall, at any time after the organization of said Corporation, designate, according to such Rules and By-Laws as may be adopted by said Corporation. The Incorporators, and such other members as may be elected at the first Incorporators Meeting, shall be designated as "Charter Members" of the Corporation.

7.

The rights of any member in the Corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, and his rights shall cease with his death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

8.

All corporate meetings, whether of the members or of the Board of Directors or of any other bodies established by the Corporation, may be held either within or without the State of Georgia.

9.

The Corporation may at any time, by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Corporation, amend, either in form or in substance, its By-Laws and Charter, or either of them, and for any reason, approved by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Corporation, sell and dispose of any or all of its assets, and dissolve and liquidate its affairs.

10.

The name and post office address of each of the Incorporators are as follows:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia,
Mr. Ralph McGill, 3399 Piedmont Road, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia,
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, 1976 North Decatur Road, Atlanta, Georgia,
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

11.

If and when said Corporation, for any reason whatever, shall liquidate or cease to exist as a body corporate, or to function as an eleemosynary organization, the title to all property, money and effects, of whatever kind or character, of such Corporation, after discharging its own obligations and liabilities, shall vest in some organization having ideals and a program similar to those of said Corporation, such organization to be designated by said Corporation before its dissolution.

WHEREFORE, petitioners pray to be incorporated under the name and style aforesaid, with all the powers, privileges and immunities herein set forth, and as are now, or may hereafter be, allowed a Corporation of similar character under the laws of Georgia.

(S) HAAS, LYONS & HURT
Attorneys for Petitioners,
601 Haas-Howell Building, Atlanta, Ga.

APPENDIX G

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE COUNCIL

1944

OFFICERS

President

Howard W. Odum

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Vice Presidents

P. B. Young
Norfolk, Virginia

Homer P. Rainey
Austin, Texas

Carter Wesley
Houston, Texas

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Executive Director
Guy B. Johnson

Associate Executive Director
Ira DeA. Reid

Public Relations Director
Margaret L. Fisher

Secretary-Treasurer
Emily H. Clay

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Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Tryon, North Carolina

Charles W. Anderson, Jr.
Louisville, Kentucky

Horace M. Bond
Fort Valley, Georgia

Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
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Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta, Georgia

William E. Cole
Knoxville, Tennessee

Virginius Dabney
Richmond, Virginia

Ernest Delpit
New Orleans, Louisiana

A. W. Dent
New Orleans, Louisiana

O. D. Duncan
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Clark Foreman
Black Mountain, North Carolina

C. H. Gillman
Atlanta, Georgia

H. D. Goode
Pensacola, Florida

Leonard Haas
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Atlanta, Georgia

Gordon B. Hancock
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Mrs. Henry Havens
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R. B. Herbert
Columbia, South Carolina

Luther P. Jackson
Petersburg, Virginia

Louis I. Jaffe
Norfolk, Virginia

Charles S. Johnson
Nashville, Tennessee

Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Georgia

Ryland Knight
Atlanta, Georgia

J. R. E. Lee (deceased)
Tallahassee, Florida

Z. A. Looby
Nashville, Tennessee

E. A. McDowell
Louisville, Kentucky

T. James McNamara
Savannah, Georgia

Walter J. Matherly
Gainesville, Florida

Benjamin E. Mays
Atlanta, Georgia

L. D. Milton
Atlanta, Georgia

George S. Mitchell
Atlanta, Georgia

Arthur J. Moore
Atlanta, Georgia

N. C. Newbold
Raleigh, North Carolina

Howard W. Odum
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Gerald P. O'Hara
Savannah, Georgia

F. D. Patterson
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Raymond R. Paty
University, Alabama

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Somers, Virginia

Edmund M. Preston
Richmond, Virginia

Homer P. Rainey
Austin, Texas

Jacob L. Reddix
Jackson, Mississippi

Ira De A. Reid
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Athens, Tennessee

G. D. Rogers
Tampa, Florida

R. L. Russell
McDonough, Georgia

Philip Shulhafer
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T. S. Staples
Conway, Arkansas

Edgar B. Stern
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mrs. A. M. P. Strong
Marianna, Arkansas

J. B. Stuart
Columbia, South Carolina

Miss Florence Sytz
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold L. Trigg
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Forrester B. Washington
Atlanta, Georgia

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John H. Wheeler
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WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GEORGIA

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta, Georgia

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

THE WHITE PRIMARY

1944

With Special Reference to Georgia

A Case Study Prepared for Its Members

by

Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta, Georgia

This summary of events attending the "White Primary" in the South was compiled from news stories appearing in the press of Georgia (especially the Atlanta Constitution and the Atlanta Journal) from findings obtained in conferences with groups and individuals, and from certain specific reports mentioned herein. It is designed to give a chronological account of the action and reaction attending the United States Supreme Court decision on the Texas White Primary Case: Smith vs. Allwright.

This report was prepared for the the Southern Regional Council by Margaret L. Fisher during the period of her services as Public Relations Secretary. It is one stop in the Council's program for the South which is based upon the principles - There are things to Know - There are Things to Believe - There are Things to Do.

The Southern Regional Council wishes to acknowledge its indebtedness to the Citizens Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia which permitted use of its extensive news files for the research encompassed by this report.

THE WHITE PRIMARY, 1944

Introduction

When the United States Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case, Smith vs. Allwright, was released, the forces of opposition were already hard at work in the South. A well-organized campaign to kill the New Deal and the threat it represents to 1) the big economic interests and 2) the "tradition" of the South had long been under way. In order to view the reaction to and the effect of the decision in proper perspective, it is necessary to take into account the ground work which has been skillfully laid in the South during the last several years.

In 1936 the famous "grass roots" convention was held in Macon, Georgia. It was planned and sponsored by the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, and purported to represent southern business men and farmers. Eugene Talmadge and other well-known "Democrats" participated. It is an accepted fact that the convention was financed by northern Republican millionaires to a large degree. In his column of July 17, 1944, Drew Pearson stated that these business magnates conceived the abortive southern revolt that was launched at the Macon convention.

Certainly one can follow the same interests and personalities through the following years right up to the collapse of the threatened revolt this fall. Talmadge, O'Daniel, the late "Cotton Ed" Smith, Harry Byrd, Harry Woodring, Jim Farley, and others were all active in this anti-Roosevelt, anti-fourth term, anti-New Deal movement. A significant little side-light occured in September, 1944 when "Cotton Ed" Smith held a rally in South Carolina at which time a new party was to be formed and plans were to be laid to "sweep the South and the Nation". The rally was attended by eight people!

During the last two years the South has experienced, and to a considerable degree resisted, certain developments: large numbers of Negro soldiers were stationed in camps in the South; the resistance to segregation in military forces increased throughout the country; the poll tax fight had been intensified; equalization of teachers' salaries had become an issue; the FEPC threatened the entrenched system of cheap labor; union organization had made great headway -- the hold of the northern Republican-southern Democratic bosses seemed to be losing its grip.

So, the Supreme Court decision was seized upon, blown up, and the "white supremacy" issue was raised. The threat of a political revolt as a result of the application of the Supreme Court decision grew rapidly. However, one after another the threats fell by the way side: using the race issue in the Pepper-Hill campaign in Florida didn't work; southern rebels were forced to drop their fight for a "white" race plank at the Democratic National Convention; plots to defeat the will of the people through a revolt in the electoral college failed in the face of practical common sense.

Over and above the state of confusion and turmoil, which was brought about in the South during this critical period, were many encouraging developments: a large number of leading daily and weekly newspapers went on record as favoring

abolition of the poll tax by the states; several influential papers took a stand for Negro participation in the primaries - most of them after the primary elections were held, it is true; an attempt by 38 men to start a secret Klan-like organization in Atlanta was quickly stopped by violent editorial attack; the Klan itself reportedly was disbanded; and the number of southern white people who are articulate in their support of a practical democracy, with particular reference to the Negro participation in the franchise, increased. All of these things were encouraging and significant.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas case was released to the press on April 3, 1944. It stated, among other things, that "the right to vote in such a primary for the nomination of candidates without discrimination by the state, like the right to vote in a general election, is a right secured by the Constitution. By the terms of the fifteenth amendment that right may not be abridged by any state on account of race. Under the Constitution the great privilege of choosing his rulers may not be denied a man by the state because of his color."

Throughout the South state officials and Democratic Party leaders exercised considerable caution in making immediate comment upon the decision. Some party leaders are known to have made unofficial statements to the effect that the Negro has secured the vote under the decision, but that it would have been "political suicide" to have admitted it this year.

There follows a narrative digest of developments in Georgia as reported in the Atlanta press, together with a supplement covering other states to the extent that information was available in the Atlanta press.

I. Georgia and the Franchise

In January 1944, the Atlanta Chapter of NAACP opened the question of Negro participation in the Democratic primary with a request to Governor Ellis Arnall that such steps as were necessary be taken to make sure that the pending soldier vote measure would extend the franchise to all members of the armed service, without regard to race. The NAACP stated that at that time Georgia had approximately 100,000 Negro men and women in the military service. Governor Arnall replied that "The State Democratic Executive Committee officials advise that, under the laws of this state and rules of the Democratic Committee, Negroes, whether soldiers or civilians, are not permitted to participate in the white Democratic Primary." (Atlanta Journal 1/28/44).

Immediately following the release of the Supreme Court decision on the Texas case, J. Lon Duckworth, chairman, Georgia State Democratic Committee, said that the Court's action in a Texas case "is not a decision affecting the Georgia primary, and I would say Negroes are not qualified to vote in the Democratic white primary of this state." Attorney General T. Grady Head of Georgia declined comment until such time as he was asked for an official ruling. Governor Ellis Arnall said he would not comment until " I read the decision." In Washington, Senator Walter F. George took the position that primaries should be regarded as private affairs of the courts. He said that the United States Supreme Court decision seemed "essentially unrealistic and inevitably leads into a field into which the courts ought not to go." On April 4, 1944, Ralph Smith, Washington correspondent of the Atlanta Journal, headlined his column "Ruling is Meaningless in Primary, George Says. Senator Thinks Decision, However, May be First Step to Break Down Color Line."

It might be mentioned here that at the time of George's statement the entries had been closed and Talmadge was not opposing him for the Senate.

The following excerpts are taken from an editorial in the Atlanta Journal of April 4, 1944, entitled Theory Versus Condition: "Law can be declared, but respect for and observance of the law come only from public sentiment... the decision of the Supreme Court opening Democratic or white primaries to Negroes must rest on public opinion in those communities in which its application involves a political and social revolution... Negroes as a race were disqualified from voting in sections in which they predominated for practical reasons... It is difficult to see how the Supreme Court could have ruled other than it did. The question before it was one which it could consider only in the abstractions of justice and the Constitution. But, unfortunately, we in the South are faced by a condition, not a theory.... It is a matter in which time and education and the development of tolerance on the one hand and of civic responsibility on the other are required." The editorial recognized that disenfranchisement is a grave injustice to many individual Negroes, but stated that the consideration must be the greater good for the greater number.

The Atlanta Constitution editorial of April 5, 1944, on the subject stated that the decision of the United States Supreme Court cannot be ignored, and recommended that southern states should study the effect, examine codes, and set up adequate and fair regulations within the meaning of the court's decision. It called attention to the fact that Negroes vote in the primaries in North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and said that in view of the facts and conditions in those states it is possible that the problem "is not as serious as first appears." "It can be solved fairly and within the meaning of the decision."

The press reported that some leaders said that the Georgia Democratic Party may return to the convention method of picking candidates. Solicitor General Charles H. Garrett of Macon, Georgia, was reported as saying the decision sounds "the death knell of primaries and ... party politics." In an editorial in the Georgia Market Bulletin, published by the State Department of Agriculture, Tom Linder, Commissioner, urged southern states to withdraw from the Democratic convention. He also said that the New Deal is attempting to destroy the traditions of the South. Linder was denounced by the Atlanta Journal and the Bartow Herald for this use of a state publication. Congressman Welchel was reported as opposing the Texas decision, and the press stated that Georgia legal authorities were in disagreement on the applicability of the decision in Georgia.

C. A. Scott, Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the NAACP in Atlanta said, "The Supreme Court decision is clear and cleancut... I expect to cast one (vote) in the primary July 4." A few days later Mr. Scott announced that Georgia Negroes would attempt to vote.

On April 6, Attorney General T. Grady Head ruled that no poll tax would apply to persons from 18 to 21 years of age. He stated that those who were 17 years old might register provided they would be 18 prior to the next general election. A few days later it was reported from Brunswick that 30 teen-age Negroes had registered in Glynn County, one group having been accompanied by a teacher.

The opening of a Negro voting school in Atlanta, to be sponsored by NAACP, was announced by C. A. Scott on April 30. Mr. Scott said that Georgia Negroes desired integration in the present Democratic Party, and that it was unlikely that they would seek representation on the state's delegation to the national Democratic convention, as in the case of the Progressive Democratic Party in South Carolina, because Georgia had not moved to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision as South Carolina did. Church and civic leaders in various Negro communities began educational programs in citizenship, and the program of registration continued throughout the state. It was reported that one Negro paid back poll taxes for eleven years and another for nine.

The first public support of the Supreme Court decision from a group of white citizens was the published resolution of the Georgia Committee for Interracial Cooperation, passed April 14, 1944, which called upon its "beloved state" to respect the letter, the implication, and the spirit of the Texas decision. On April 28, the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., meeting in Atlanta, passed a similar resolution appealing to the people of the South to respect the "letter and the spirit of the Court's decision." Letters from "southern white women" and from men began to appear in the daily press urging that the rights and privileges of full citizenship be extended to Negroes. Many effective letters from Negroes were published. It is interesting to note that the number of letters favoring the action of the Court which were published in the Atlanta papers considerably exceeded the number in opposition.

On April 10, the Atlanta Constitution carried a special news story from Barnesville, Georgia, which stated that a movement was under way to ask the Governor to call a special session of the Legislature for the purpose of repealing all primary rules so as to "beat" the Supreme Court decision. About a week later it was reported that the Governor had refused to take such action upon the ground that the revised State Constitution would take care of the needs of Georgia.

The first definite statement from Democratic officials reported in the press was carried in the Atlanta Constitution on May 7,1944. Augusta officials were reported as having said that Negroes would not be permitted to vote because their names would not appear on the lists of eligible voters; that the registrar would be requested to furnish lists of white voters only.

In Columbus, Georgia, Negro leaders agreed to make only "a token effort" to vote. That agreement was publicized in the press on May 21, and received widespread approval from white officials. The leaders chose the sheriff's race to make a test, and upon refusal of ballots planned to bring a suit in the state courts. Throughout the state there began to appear recommendations that Negroes in Georgia follow the "token vote" procedure.

On June 7, a subcommittee of the Democratic State Executive Committee ruled that the primary would be restricted to white voters and directed chairmen of county executive committees accordingly. The following day Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council was quoted in the Atlanta Journal as hoping the action of the subcommittee "is only a temporary expedient and that the party will solve the problem right." Atlanta Negro Democrats immediately protested the action of the subcommittee and requested the full State Democratic Executive Committee to reverse the subcommittee ruling.

The educational program and registration campaign continued. The importance of quiet and orderly conduct was emphasized in church and other meetings. It was estimated by NAACP that 25,000 of Georgia's 1,300,000 Negroes were registered by the middle of June. Plans for participation in the primary proceeded in orderly fashion, and statements were made that court action would be taken if Negroes were refused ballots.

Shortly before the State Democratic Executive Committee met, a group of Negro leaders in Atlanta called upon Mr. Duckworth, chairman, and other officials and requested that the ruling of the subcommittee be reversed. Messrs. C. A. Scott and A. T. Walden were among the group. During the conference, it is reported by Mr. Walden that Democratic officials asked that an agreement be made for a "token vote." Mr. Walden stated that the group replied that such an arrangement would not be possible, inasmuch as the Negro leadership had already taken the position in the community that all registered Negroes should apply at their respective precincts and request the right to vote. Mr. Walden stated positively that no agreement was made with the Democratic Executive Committee at this or any later time. (Interview September 22, 1944).

Meanwhile, support for Negro participation in the primary increased in letters to the press. The most notable statement was a letter written by Mrs. Dorothy Q. Rainey, member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, addressed to the full committee and delivered to the chairman. A copy of the letter was released to the press and was given national publicity. Mrs. Rainey made a strong plea that the Executive Committee respect the supreme law of the land, and asked that her letter be read to the committee.

Talk of a southern revolt in the electoral college increased, and on June 20 Governor Arnall requested the Democratic State Executive Committee to pledge Georgia electors to support the nominees of the Democratic party. Governor Arnall deplored the action of those who were trying to sabotage the party.

The State Democratic Executive Committee met on June 22, confirmed the ruling of the subcommittee that the primary would be restricted to white voters, and ruled that electors would be required to pledge party regularity. On the same date, the Calhoun Times, a county weekly edited by Roy McGinty, carried an editorial favoring the Negro vote. Mr. McGinty was an unopposed candidate for the State Legislature. It is reported that several hundred struck his name from the ballot as a result of his editorial stand.

The Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs (Negro) met in Macon on June 26, with representatives from eleven clubs attending. The leadership urged all registered and otherwise qualified Negroes in Georgia to attempt to vote in the primary on July 4. The importance of maintaining order and avoiding any kind of trouble was emphasized.

The movement to persuade Negro leaders to agree to a "token vote" grew. Numbers of Georgia newspapers carried strong editorials favoring and urging such a procedure. Rumors and tensions increased.

On June 29, the Citizens' Democratic Club of Fulton County met and passed a resolution recommending that the attempt of Negroes to vote in the Democratic

primary be restricted to officers and members of the executive committee of the club. "B e it also resolved that all Negro registered voters of the Democratic faith comply with the advice of the Citizens Democratic Club of Fulton County in this restricted vote attempt on July 4." The resolution was signed by C.A. Scott, Dr. R. A. Billings, Birdie Wallace, J. A. Batts, A. T. Walden, Rev. L. M. Terrill, J. A. Pierce, and C. A. Bacote. It is reported that the resolution was passed with only one dissenting vote. One of the signers has since stated that the action was taken because of the greatly increased tension in both the white and Negro community, and because it was felt that a token vote effort would be the most expedient manner in which the groundwork could be laid for a court case. He stated emphatically that no agreement was made with the State Democratic Executive Committee; that the resolution was in the form of a recommendation; that the Citizens Club was not empowered to speak for the Negroes of Fulton County; and that no official contact was made with the State Democratic Committee with regard to any token vote arrangement.

This action was given wide publicity in the press and the general impression was prevalent in the white community that Negroes in Fulton County had "agreed" to the token vote procedure. However, it might be noted that the Atlanta Constitution stated on July 1 that only a small group of Negroes would attempt to vote in Atlanta and Fulton County " if the recommendations of the Citizens Democratic Club are followed."

The following excerpts from the July 2 column of Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent retired minister in Atlanta, should be of record: "Their (Negroes') progress educationally and commercially is really unmatched in the story of races ..." (taken out of paragraph which points out the needs for recognizing changes since reconstruction days.) " We cannot much longer continue to subject Negroes to 'taxation without representation' or draft them to jeopardize their lives in defense of a democracy which denies them the right of franchise." Dr. Jones' column is a regular Sunday feature carried on the editorial pages of the Atlanta Constitution.

On the same date there was carried in the Atlanta papers a petition signed by 138 white citizens of Georgia asking the State Democratic Executive Committee to permit Negro participation in the primary. The statement was sent out by the Associated Press and received national coverage.

On either July 1 or 2, the Atlanta Journal stated that Mr. Neill Leach, secretary of the Fulton County Democratic Executive Committee, had stated that that Committee would ask for the names of white registrants only when requesting official registration lists, and that Negroes would not be permitted to vote because box managers would not have their names on the lists of eligible voters.

Registration had closed on May 8. Seven percent of the Fulton County registration was Negro: approximately 64,000 white and 5,000 Negro.

The Attempted Negro vote in Georgia on July 4, 1944 -

Negro leaders were refused ballots at three precincts in Atlanta on July 4. The procedure was reported as follows: each citizen prepared a standard application for a ballot which he handed to an election official who in turn handed it to another official who informed the applicant that his name was not on the registration list, therefore he was not eligible for a ballot. The performance

was orderly and "polite." One New York newspaper account stated that probably never in history had people been "robbed" of their rights with such courtesy!
At Precinct E in the 3rd Ward: Mr. A. T. Walden presented a receipt from the tax collector's office which certified he was qualified to vote in the general election on November 7 to O. L. Walker, election official (box manager), who passed it to Mrs. T. H. Leather, who compared the slip with the registration list and informed Mr. Walden that his name and address did not appear on the registration list. Other Negro citizens who attempted to vote in this group were: V. W. Hodges, assistant publisher of the Atlanta Daily World; Eugene M. Martin, insurance executive; C. A. Bacote, professor at Atlanta University.
At Precinct C, Ward 4: C. A. Scott, publisher of the Atlanta Daily World; Henry F. Shorter, barber; and J. A. Batts, insurance executive, made a similar attempt to vote.
At Precinct B, Ward 4 another group whose names were not listed in the press made an effort to vote.

Others who attempted to vote were:

Cliff Mackay
John Hope, Jr.
Wallace Van Jackson
Ira DeA. Reid
Alfonso Elder
Warren Cochrane
Grace Towns Hamilton
Irene Harris
Rev. M. L. King
H. C. Edwards
C. B. Mitchell
George W. Towns
W. O. Yancey

According to all available reports, substantially the same procedure was followed in each instance, and no Negroes were permitted to vote.

Very little information was available concerning other cities in Georgia. The token effort was made in Columbus.

Shortly after the primary, the press in the state took a much more positive stand on the Negro vote issue. The Calhoun Times on July 6 again editorialized affirmatively on the subject; the Macon News had previously and again supported the decision; on July 18 the Atlanta Journal outlined a four point program for the betterment of race relations in the South in which it recommended that measures be taken to open primary elections to Negroes.

A civil suit was filed in the United States District Court in Columbus, Georgia, brought in the name of Primus King, Negro minister and barber, and naming the eleven members of the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee as defendants, on August 24, 1944 (Atlanta Journal). The suit asked for $5,000 damages for the alleged violation of King's civil rights, and the petition claimed that the committee violated Sections One and Two of Article I and the 14th, 15th, and 17th amendments to the Constitution of the United States. King stated that he was prepared to present evidence to prove that he believes in the tenets of the

Democratic Party, and that he was denied the right to vote "solely because of race and color." Oscar D. Smith, attorney for King, said that the case was brought in behalf of a group of Negroes for the purpose of ascertaining the applicability of the United States Supreme Court decision in the Texas case, and that the King case would be carried to the Supreme Court if necessary. J. E. Chapman, Jr., Chairman of the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee, stated that the Committee would contest the suit.

On August 25, 1944, the following exchange of communications between the Governor and the Attorney General of Georgia took place:

Letter from Governor Ellis Arnall to Attorney General T. Grady Head, dated August 24, 1944, as reported in the Atlanta Journal and the Atlanta Constitution, August 25, 1944:

"It is my belief that the holding in the so-called Texas primary election case is not applicable to primary elections in the state of Georgia because in Georgia the Democratic white primary is not specifically provided for by law nor are all the qualifications of voters determined by constitutional provision or statutory law. Under Georgia procedure, as I understand it, the party convention and committee promulgate the rules and regulations appertaining to the Democratic white primary and the qualifications provided for participation in the primary are to a great extent controlled by the party itself.

"The matter at issue in the Muscogee county suit is of great import and importance to the people of Georgia. Accordingly, I am directing you and the State Department of Law to offer your assistance to the Muscogee county Democratic executive committee, defendants in the said action, and you are directed to take all necessary and proper steps to uphold the rules and regulations of the Democratic party relating to primary regulations in this state."

Commenting on the Governor's letter, the Attorney General was quoted as having said:

"Yesterday when the Governor noticed in the press that a suit had been instituted in the Federal Court against the members of the Muscogee County Democratic Committee complaining of the exclusion of Negroes from the Democratic primary, he wrote me that the matter at issue was of great importance to the people of Georgia.

"He directed the State Department of Law to appear as amicus curiae or in such capacity as it was possible to bring to the attention of the court that the exclusion, if any, was party action which did not offend the Constitution of the United States."

The Attorney General announced, so it was reported, that any action in the Muscogee County primary suit will be as a friend of the court. He pointed out that inasmuch as there is no state law regulating party primaries, he cannot become a party to actual litigation in the case.

It is known that the Department of Justice, through the FBI, has been conducting an investigation in Atlanta as a result of a complaint filed by

A. T. Waldon, Negro attorney. The Department was requested by Mr. Waldon to institute criminal proceedings. So far as is known, no civil suit has been filed in Atlanta.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Meanwhile, a rift developed in the Republican ranks in Georgia in connection with Negro participation in party affairs. The Republicans in Georgia held their state convention on May 22nd and named two Negro delegates to the national convention. The Georgia meeting split into two groups when an all-white delegation withdrew because the District convention seated the Negro-white faction. The mixed group was later recognized and seated at the national convention on June 26.

A coalition was formed between the Anti-Roosevelt Democrats and the "lily-white" Republicans. The Anti--- Democrats had held a meeting in Atlanta on June 20 which was attended by seventy-five delegates from twenty-eight states. Talmadge was reported as forecasting a split in the Democratic Party if the national convention adopted a racial equality plank. On August 9, the Atlanta Constitution reported that the coalition mentioned above had combined to get their electors on the general election ballot in Georgia. On August 20 it was reported that Secretary of State John B. Wilson had certified the joint slate of "lilly-white" Republican and "Independent" Democratic electors for the general election ballot. The Republican group which had been recognized and seated at the national convention charged a conspiracy between former Governor Talmadge and Wilson, and filed an action in the Fulton County Superior Court. On September 9, the Republican National Chairman asked Governor Arnall to use his authority to see that the certification be changed and that Secretary of State Wilson certify the electors of the "regular" Repbulican organization. Arnall refused to interfere. On September 12, the Republican National Committee asked the Georgia Supreme Court to reverse the Fulton County Superior Court's ruling that Secretary of State Wilson was not required to place the names of the "regular Republican candidates for electors" on Georgia's ballot for the November general election. The appeal to the Georgia Supreme Court was originally placed on the calendar for argument on November 13 - one week after the general election. Later the date was changed to October 2. On October 6 it was reported that the Georgia Supreme Court had upheld the Secretary of State, and that the rebel-coalition electors would be placed on the official ballot.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Revised Constitution for Georgia

Almost simultaneously with the release of the Supreme Court decision, public hearings began in Georgia in connection with the revision of the State Constitution. Two actions on the part of the commission have direct bearing upon the problem and require especial attention: 1) recommendations for uncontrolled primaries -- obviously designed to circumvent the Supreme Court decision on the Texas white primary case; and 2) refusal to recommend elimination of the poll tax requirement from the Constitution. A list of the membership of the Commission is included in this report for reference purposes:

Ellis Arnall, Chairman
Fred Hand, Pelham, speaker pro tem of the house of representatives, vice-chairman
B. E. Thrasher, Jr., state auditor, secretary
Roy V. Harris, Augusta, house speaker
A. N. Durden, Albany, house floor leader
Charles Gowan, Brunswick, house member
Jess Pope, Cairo, senator
Justice Warren Grice, Macon, of the state supreme court
Judge Hugh MacIntyre, Thomasville, of the court of appeals
Judge Tom Candler, Blairsville
Judge Will R. Smith, Nashville
J. W. Culpepper, Fayetteville, house member
R. E. L. Majors, Claxton, editor
Mrs. Leonard Haas, Atlanta
Hatton Lovejoy, LaGrange, attorney
Frank Foley, Columbus, attorney
J. V. Carmichael, Marietta, house member
David J. Arnold, Griffin, senator and president of the Georgia Bankers' Association
T. Grady Head, Ringgold, attorney general
J. Roy McCracken, Louisville, editor
David S. Atkinson, Savannah, senator
Hamilton Holt, Macon

On April 11, 1944, the jurists on the commission recommended revamping the voting requirements because of the implications of the Texas decision. It was stated that elimination of present voting laws would enable the Legislature to draft new ones. Justice Warren Grice of the Georgia Supreme Court stated that the Texas decision would affect primaries in Georgia under present laws. The commission voted to abolish the provision in the Georgia Constitution relating to party primaries, with Mrs. Leonard Haas, wife of a prominent Atlanta attorney, casting the lone dissenting vote. On April 16 the commission completed action to kill all reference to primary laws in the state constitution. In May the League of Women Voters vehemently protested the elimination of provisions regulating primaries. A few days later, on May 29, Governor Arnall was quoted in the press as saying, " I am against any regulation of primaries in the constitution or on the statute books of this state." As it now stands, the commission will recommend to the next session of the Legislature that the proposed revised constitution shall contain no provision to regulate primaries.

On the subject of the poll tax, on April 11 the commission voted to retain the poll tax as a requirement for voting in the revised Constitution. James Carmichael, a member of the commission, and Judge Edgar Watkins, a citizen who appeared before the commission, argued for abolition of the tax, pointing out that it encourages machine politics. Governor Arnall was reported as having remarked that no poll tax was required of persons from 18 to 21 years of age nor from men and women in the armed forces - "I wonder just who is left to pay poll taxes.... I have not made up my mind that it should be eliminated," said the Governor. Mrs. Haas and Mr. Carmichael cast the only votes to abolish the poll tax provision. (The "Grandfather" clause was eliminated).

A growing sentiment could be noted in the Georgia press for abolition of the poll tax by the next General Assembly; the Georgia State Industrial Union Council (CIO) urged repeal by the commission; the League of Women Voters urged elimination of the poll tax provisions from the revised constitution, and the Atlanta Constitution on the following day, October 5, disagreed with the League's position, saying it was opposed to elimination of the tax "at this time." The Augusta Herald on September 17 recommended repeal of the tax as a requisite for voting by the next Georgia Legislature, and suggested retaining the tax for cost of education as in the cases of Louisiana, North Carolina, and Florida. Louis D. Newton, Atlanta minister, urged abolition of the tax by the next session of the Legislature.

It will be recalled that during this period of time the poll tax issue had been before the United States Senate with violent opposition to any Federal action being expressed by southern representatives and the southern press. On April 21 the Atlanta Constitution carried an account which stated that Senator Russell was a member of an unofficial three-man committee planning strategy to fight the anti-poll tax measure in the Senate. Both Russell and George were later reported by the Atlanta Journal (September 3) as favoring abolition by the states, but opposing Federal "interference" on the states' rights issue. By and large the press of Georgia took that same position.

Almost without exception Georgia representatives and the Georgia press justified their opposition to any Federal action on the ground that abolition of the poll tax should be left to states -- and almost without exception they approved abolition by the states.

As it now stands, the commission on revision of Georgia's constitution will recommend that the poll tax provisions be left in the constitution without change.

Some Miscellaneous Notes from the Atlanta papers:

April 7, 1944: Georgia led the nation in non-white net loss in population 1935-1940. Decreased net 30,801. (Constitution)

April 13, 1944: A proposal by State Senator David S. Atkinson that membership in the Georgia House of Representatives be based on population was supported only by Mrs. Haas and voted down by the commission to revise the constitution.

June 30, 1944: Atlanta Journal editorial urges "all qualified electors" to vote on July 4, as state officials who will frame new state constitution will be elected, which makes necessary "full participation in the primary.... to the end that the greatest number of Georgians will have participated at least indirectly in the adoption of a new constitution."

July 2, 1944: Excerpt from Constitution editorial entitled Vote in Tuesday's Primary: "Our way of life and our form of government are based on the ballot box. Thousands of men are dying for that way of life and that form of government."

June 30, 1944: United States Court may try Negro's case on school salary. Samuel L. Davis seeks injunction to prevent the Atlanta Board of Education from continuing an alleged discrimination against him and other Negro teachers in pay scale, on the grounds that they are required to have the same qualifications as white teachers. (Journal)

July 13, 1944: Atlanta Board of Education denies charges that it has discriminated against Negro teachers on pay. Demands jury trial on charges. Says: "The Board is working out a method of classifying teachers and a schedule of salaries to be paid teachers, which, in their judgment and discretion, will be fair, equitable, and just. All the teachers in the public schools of Atlanta, both white and colored, will be classified on the same basis, and each teacher, white or colored, will be paid according to his or her classification. Every teacher in the same classification will receive the same pay." Statement signed by E. S. Cook, Devereaux McClatchey, Jr., Charles C. Rife, J. H. Sanders, D. M. Therrell, and J. Austin Dilbeck.

OTHER STATES

There follows a summary of news carried in the Atlanta papers on activities in other southern states.

Alabama

On April 4 Governor Chauncey Sparks said that the decision in the Texas case "by intimation at least leaves with the states the right to determine qualifications of voters." He further stated that the South can adapt itself to the decision by giving the right to vote to all qualified, whether white or black, and at the same time preserve its "party integrity." State Senator Miller Bonner predicted that Alabama would hold its last white primary this year as a result of the Texas decision.

The Hill-Simpson senatorial campaign was at its height when the decision was released. In his column of April 4, Ralph Smith, Washington correspondent for the Atlanta Journal, declared that the fact that Justice Hugo Black voted with the majority in the Supreme Court decision would prove a handicap to Hill - despite Hill's opposition to Federal poll tax repeal and eradication of the color line. Certainly there was a sinister and methodical marshalling of discontents, fears and prejudices by Simpson. His billboards read: "Vote for James Simpson, a believer in Democratic principles, states' rights and white supremacy." He was supported by an inflammatory press and the big economic interests. The employment of Negro supervisors in FSA was attacked by State Senator Bruce Henderson in a speech made in Simpson's behalf, during which he charged that white women were doing clerical work for Negroes. Following up, Simpson warned that the next step would be the forced admission of Negroes to white schools by the United States Department of Education.

The campaign of race hatred became so violent that some of the Alabama press denounced Simpson and his group - notably the Birmingham News and the Anniston Star which later charged that Simpson was attempting to "Talmadgeize" Alabama. Ex-Senator Tom Heflin of Alabama said in a speech in support of Hill's candidacy. ".... any man who raises the race issue in a political campaign is unfit to go to the United States Senate." At its convention on April 22, the Alabama Mine

Workers, District 20, passed a resolution pledging support to full Negro participation in the franchise, and opposing Simpson.

Simpson began to ease off the race issue as condemnation became more pronounced.

Meanwhile, although Hill is regarded as progressive and a New Dealer, there were departures from liberalism on his part - described as being " in deference to the immovable attitudes of his constituency." At the height of the campaign, Hill's law firm volunteered its service to help convict Arthur Madison, Negro lawyer, who had been arrested on a charge of illegally representing other Negroes. Madison was alleged to have been assisting Montgomery Negroes in registering, and it was stated that he had been attempting to qualigy Negro voters since December 1943 and that he intended to register 5,000 Negroes in Montgomery.

In commenting upon Senator Hill's victory, the nation's press commended the people of Alabama for voting against race haters. It was also noted that the Birmingham News added its voice of approval on the state's condemnation of Negro baiters.

The Negro Vote in Alabama

In Mobile, ten Negroes departed without voting when they were met at the polling place by the deputy sheriff and told by him that the primary was restricted to white electors. Two Negroes were permitted to vote in Montgomery. Negroes voted as usual in Birmingham. (Atlanta Journal May 3, 1944)

It was brought out at a meeting of Attorneys General of southern states, held in Memphis, Tennessee, on September 5, that Alabama has four suits pending in connection with refusal to permit Negroes to vote in the primary.

The Democratic Primary was held in Alabama on May 2, 1944.

Note: Governor Sparks spoke to the 26th annual convention of Alabama District Kiwanis International in Auburn, Alabama, on October 11th. He termed the poll tax a necessity, and attacked the War Department ruling which opened the post exchange at Maxwell Field to all. Most interesting was the following statement from his speech: "There is no such thing as equality socially, except such as is determined by the individual." (Atlanta Constitution 10/11/44)

Arkansas

In Washington, Representative Cathings, Democrat, Arkansas, warned the Democratic Party on April 19, ".... in its mad rush to gain the Negro vote.... it may lose the southern vote. The Chairman of the Arkansas Democratic State Committee, J. C. Barrett, had stated at the time the decision in the Texas primary case was released that he wished to study it before reaching a conclusinn as to its applicability in Arkansas. Later he was reported as saying, "Election judges should allow Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary elections this summer, provided that they possess a poll tax receipt and otherwise appear qualified."

At the meeting of the southern Attorneys General in Memphis on September 5, Attorney General Guy E. Williams of Arkansas said that Arkansas laws are similar to Texas and that Negroes will vote there unless the Legislature "does something about it" in January. Williams charged that the Republican Party is causing race tension by catering to the Negro vote. He stated that there are five or six counties in Arkansas where the population is predominantly Negro. (According to the press reports, no one called his attention to the fact that there are nine such counties in North Carolina where Negroes participate in the Democratic primary.)

No record on the Arkansas vote in the primary was available in the Atlanta press. However, the Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, July 1944 issue, states that Negroes voted for the first time in the Democratic primary in Arkansas. No further details were given.

Florida

Immediately following the release of the Texas primary decision, Democratic State Chairman Tom Conley said Democratic leaders would resist the efforts of Negroes to vote in the primary. Governor Spessard Holland declined to make any comment until he had studied the decision.

At the time, Senator Pepper was in the midst of a bitter campaign to retain his seat in the Senate. The race issue was being raised with only slightly less violence than in the Hill-Simpson campaign in Alabama. Pepper faced four opponents. Although the Senator is recognized as one of the most ardent supporters of the New Deal and is conceded to be one of the few progressive representatives from the South, he too spoke out against the Supreme Court decision. He was reported to have said that southerners will not "allow matters peculiar to us to be determined by those who do not know and understand our problems"... and "The South will allow nothing to impair white supremacy". He is reported to have stated further, "I think the Florida law is different from the Texas law on voting in primaries, and therefore the supreme court decision should not affect Democratic primaries in Florida. In Florida not the state but the Democratic party determines the qualifications of members of the party. If, however, there is any question about the form of our statute, it can be altered and the matter left exclusively in the hands of the party of determining who may vote in the Democratic primary. This can be done and the Democratic primaries kept white under the decision of the supreme court". (Atlanta Constitution, April 5, 1944 - AP dispatch, Miami April 4.)

It should be noted that later in Pepper's campaign, while he continued to support "southern traditions", he stated publicly on several occasions that dragging the race issue into a political campaign was neither necessary nor proper.

The Negro Vote in Florida

The Democratic Primary was held in Florida on May 2, 1944.

*In Tallahassee, eight Negroes voted unchallenged. A precinct official was quoted as saying: "They were duly registered as Democrats, and we had no alternative but to let them vote." It was also reported that one Negro had applied for a ballot at another precinct in Tallahassee, and had been asked by election officials to wait until they could get a legal ruling on her qualifications. She left without voting.

In Miami Negroes voted in the Republican primary exclusively.

* The Florida State Democratic Executive Committee had adopted a resolution restricting participation in the primary to white voters.

Louisiana

In speaking of the Texas decision, Governor Sam Jones was quoted as having said, " We've always handled that question.... and always will." The chairman of the Louisiana State Democratic Committee, John Fred Odum, was reported as declining to make a formal statement, saying, " It will require considerable study." In Washington, Senator John H. Overton said,"We are not going to submit to Negroes voting in our elections." (Atlanta Journal , April 3, 1944)

No records were available in the Atlanta press on the Negro vote in the Louisiana Democratic primary.

The State Democratic Committee made a requirement in September that Louisiana 's electors pledge to support the Democratic Party nominees. Five of Louisiana 's ten electors resigned.

Mississippi

"The Supreme Court or no one else can control a Democratic primary in Mississippi," said Herbert Holmes Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee Chairman, as reported in the Atlanta Journal on April 3rd. Senator John E. Rankin was quoted as saying that he saw "one of his greatest fears realized" in the decision. The Mississippi Democratic Convention instructed its delegates to the National convention to support the party only if certain "requirements" were met; the Atlanta Journal on June 10th assailed the action as resorting to trickery which might deprive loyal Democrats of a voice in their government. The Mississippi delegation to the national convention joined in the attempted revolt.

On August 1 , two representatives who wished to remain unidentified stated that it was their belief that some of Mississippi's electors would bolt the party because the national convention had failed to satisfy the demands of the southern delegates. On September 28, the Atlanta Constitution reported that seven of Mississippi's nine Democratic electors had pledged only qualified support to party nominees. On November 1, 1944, Governor Thomas L. Bailey called a special session of the Mississippi Legislature to " consider legislation protecting the voting rights of Mississippi citizens in the selection of presidential electors....(and) .....to force electors to vote for the party nominee of face disqualification."

There were no reports in the Atlanta press on the Negro vote in the Mississippi Democratic primary.

South Carolina

The Washington Post on March 2nd denounced a resolution passed by the South Carolina House of Representatives which affirmed its belief in "white supremacy" as being "so close to the Hitlerian doctrine of Nordic or Aryan supremacy as to be indistinguishable from it." The resolution brought about immediate and heated protest: the Negro Citizens' Committee of South Carolina assailed the action on the part of the House, and asked in a public statement among other things that the electric chair in South Carolina be retained not for Negroes alone, but for all murderers alike when guilty; twenty white men and women in the state released to

the press " A Statement on the Race Problem in South Carolina," in which they said "We do not believe that disenfranchisement of all Negroes in South Carolina can endure indefinitely, and we hope that a careful study of this problem may, in the end, result in a plan of suffrage for the State that will be to the better interests of both races..... The only white supremacy which is worthy of the name is that which exists because of virtue, not power. Good morals, to say nothing of religion or democracy, requires that there shall be drastic revision in our attitude toward our colored citizens."

Manifestly the situation in South Carolina at the time of the release of the Supreme Court decision was a tense one. The 1943 Legislature had acted to wipe out of the state code all party rules as of June 1, 1944--evidently foreseeing the implications of the Lonnie E. Smith case which was pending. On April 13, Governor Olin D. Johnson issued a proclamation calling a special session of the General Assembly to wipe from the code all laws pertaining to Democratic primary elections in order to "maintain white supremacy in South Carolina."

The Legislature convened on April 14, 1944. Governor Johnson addressed the body and called for white control. In speaking of Reconstruction days he was quoted as saying, "They left a stench in the nostrils of the people of South Carolina that will exist for generations." More than 200 state code sections were removed from the statutes in hurried action in order to complete the work before the April 22 precinct meetings which would set the Democratic primary machinery in motion.

Under the uncontrolled system, the Democratic Party will continue to furnish its ballots at general elections, but without the sanction of state laws which had never provided for a state-printed ballot. An Associated Press story from Columbia, South Carolina, carried in the Atlanta Constitution on April 22 quoted Governor Johnson as saying that if the repeals "prove inadequate, we South Carolinians will use the necessary methods to retain white supremacy in our primaries."

Negro leaders in the state deplored the action of the Legislature and announced plans to hold a state Negro convention to form a South Carolina Colored Democratic Party to nominate candidates to the national convention. Subsequently the Progressive Democratic Party of South Carolina (Negro) was formed and did send delegates to the national convention. On April 21, one hundred Negro professional men attending the Palmetto Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association 48th annual meeting endorsed the work of the Negro Citizens' Committee, and denounced the action of the South Carolina Legislature by resolution.

The feature article written by Tarleton Collier on the subject of the uncontrolled primary in South Carolina, carried in a number of southern newspapers on April 28, outlines the involvements clearly. The information contained in the article is of such value that it is included herein for the record:

South Carolina Tries to Get Around Negro Vote Decision-
written by Tarleton Collier, Columbia, South Carolina,
carried in the Atlanta Constitution April 28,1944

"It goes without saying that other states of the South hellbent on keeping the Democratic primary strictly a white man's affair are watching intently the details and effects of South Carolina's formula for bypassing the supreme court decision that Negroes may not be barred from voting in primary elections.

"Consequently, there is no time like the present to tell them what they are in for if they would resort to the same action which the general assembly of this state, in special session to resolve the dilemma, has just completed. They may as well know that the experience will be dizzying and in spots embarrassing, the same as here, and the result very likely will be chaotic, with no certainty that it will stand the inevitable test, even at that.

"What the legislature did, in brief, was to take out of the state laws every discoverable reference, or intimation of reference, to primary elections; and thus to make the selection of Democratic nominees, who are elected all but automatically, a kind of town meeting process within private clubs of controllable membership.

" Everyone seems to agree that it's either this or an attempt to maintain the status quo by main strength and awkwardness, meaning intimidation, force or manipulated rules of registration--or, a thought appalling particularly in areas of heavy or predominant Negro population, simply give up and let 'em vote.

"Primaries

"Fifty years or so ago, South Carolina began writing laws to regulate primary elections. These laws were necessary to stop the old evils of rule-or-ruin political conventions, in which might made right and special interests found a happy hunting ground. Today it is back where it started, the laws rooted out and the convention system or its equivalent in the offing.

"Some effects of the new arrangement are grotesque and a bit disconcerting. For one thing, the groups all over the land who have been crusading against that old southern custom, the poll tax as a qualification for voting, may find themselves with victory at last in their hands, a victory, as it were, by default.

"For it is obvious that if you insist on payment of a poll tax for voting in a primary election, you are recognizing the legal existence of that election, and the idea in the south's present scramble to circumvent the supreme court is to avoid any and all such recognition, expressed or implied.

"True, different from the process in other southern states, South Carolina, in one of its numerous unique political customs, for some time has not insisted upon the poll tax as to primaries. Membership in the Democratic party has been the only qualification. You have to pay a poll tax there to vote in general elections, but nobody cares particularly about that, the fun having ended and the issue having been decided in the primary.

" The legislators gulped a bit when they found that in wiping out all primary election laws, they had perforce to repeal the law against vote fraud, in that connection. They gulped, but they swallowed it. As between the danger of boodle and "letting 'em vote" they didn't hesitate.

"The Ballots

"They found too, that where they had proudly passed at the recent regular session a bill permitting service men to vote, they had to undo that enthusiastically states' rights action pronto. You see, the fresh law had provided that the secretary of state was to send ballots to the men in uniform, and this was an official tie-up, making the government a party to the primary. In the hastily revised version, the service man who would vote as between "Cotton Ed" Smith and Olin Johnson must apply to the party official for his ballot.

"The ballots themselves provided an other contretemps. Another of South Carolina's unique arrangements has been distribution of ballots not by state election officials but by the party organizations. There have been traditionally as many separate ballots as there were parties in the contest, and so a South Carolinian can't split or scratch his vote.

"But manifestly you can't keep this up, because if you recognize a party ballot in a general election, you have to accept legally and officially the action of the party primary which selected the nominees. And there you are again, face to face with the supreme court decision in the Texas case which says that a primary in which the established government has any part of a hand must be opened to all citizens and taxpayers, black or white.

"This one still has them bothered. Whether state or party provides the election ballots, there's a loophole for a suit.

"And South Carolina has plenty of warning that there will be suits, by Negroes and friends of Negroes' civil rights. A Negro Citizens' Committee here has announced that it has a war chest of $3,400 to fight the issue in the courts.

"The greatest irony of all, and a thing which has many an old-line Democrat red in the face, comes out of an announcement in a local Negro newspaper, the Lighthouse and Informer, that there will be a colored Democrat party, which will put its ticket in the field to resist the "lily-white" Democrats in election and in being seated at the national convention.

"Now for generati ns, good southern Democrats have been poking fun at the clash of "lily whites" and "black and tans" among Republicans. Now look who's talking about whom.

"Confusion

"First and last the new arrangement leads to prospect of confusion of split delegations and disputed delegations, of convention rows even when none but white factions are involved-- and, naturally, the evolution of machines to resolve the disputes in favor of the right boys.

"All these are but the high spots of the problem involved in the desperate effort to "keep 'em from voting" in South Carolina. But you must have a rough idea by this time of what the other white supremacy states will encounter if they try the same strategy. The supreme court is hard to beat."

The statement of State Senator R. M. Jeffries, carried in the Atlanta Constitution of April 22, is an interesting side note. He charged that "Cotton Ed" Smith was responsible for the racial troubles in the state, and was quoted as saying, "Anyone continually making the addresses he (Smith) makes on the floor of the senate is enough to picture South Carolina and the people of the South as an uncivilized race that is depriving human beings of human rights....the South must stop 'Negro baiting and Negro petting'."

Both Senator Maybank and Senat r Smith had opposed the Supreme Court decision.

The 46 county Democratic conventi ns which were held in South Carolina on May 1st emphasized white supremacy, states' rights and anti-fourth term declarati ns. The Richland county convention received a request from the South Carolina Negro Citizens' Committee for full participation in Democratic party affairs- which was undoubtedly ignored or refused, although the papers did not report the action taken.

At the meeting of the South Carolina State Democratic convention on May 18, the New Deal was denounced for seeking to force racial equality upon the South. The convention resolved to uphold states' rights; oppose Federal anti-poll tax legisleti n, anti-lynching laws or interference with racial segregation, sociolized medicine and the FEPC. The body voted to send an uninstructed delegation to the national convention. It refused to recognize the South Carolina Progressive Democrats, which group announced that it would contest the seating of the "all-white" delegation at Chicago. (The all-white delegation was seated by the national convention.) Senator Maybank was reported as saying that the white supremacy fight would be carried to the convention floor in Chicago.

There is no record of Negroes voting in the South Carolina Democratic primary.

Texas

According to a statement carried in the Atlanta Constitution on April 5, 1944, Governor Coke R. Stevenson said that Texas would ask for a rehearing of the Smith vs. Allwright case by the United States Supreme Court. (The Supreme Court rejected two requests for rehearing of the case on May 8.) Representative Nat Patton was quoted as saying, "Let the Negroes form their own primaries if they like." A press story on April 4 said that Mr. Patton had stated that he had faith in the great Democratic hordes of Texas to control their primaries and that Negroes would not vote in white primaries. Chairman George T. Butler of the Texas State Executive Committee was quoted as saying, "we'll find a way out of this." Senator W. Lee O'Daniel called the decision a "purely political decision dictated by the political dynasty in Washington responsible for their appointment." He said further that the Constitution 'guarantees white people the right to organize into a party and hold primary elections.

The Democratic delegation in Texas split into two factions in June: a pro-Roosevelt group and an anti-Roosevelt group. The State Executive Committee refused to recognize the pro-Roosevelt group, and voted to send the anti-group to the national convention, its only instruction being to vote for the party nominees only upon the condition that "certain requirements" were met.

Both factions attended the national convention. Half of each group was recognized by the convention, whereupon the rebel anti-Roosevelt group withdrew.

The Negro Vote in Texas

Texas did not "find a way out of this." Negroes voted in the Texas Democratic Primary for the first time. The primary was held on July 22. The State Democratic Executive Committee had left the decision as to whether or not they would receive ballots from Negroes up to local election officials. Indications were that, by and large, Negroes voted where they had paid poll taxes and registered, although the Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, July 1944 issue, prepared by Fisk University, Nashville, reported that some precinct chairmen in Texas prevented Negroes from registering.

At Silabee in East Texas the Negro vote was reported heavier in proportion to the population than the white vote.

On September 23, the Texas Supreme Court directed Secretary of State Sidney Latham to certify the names of the pro-Roosevelt Democratic electors for printing on the general election ballot. No motion for rehearing was entertained.

The September 28 issue of the Atlanta Constitution reported that Texas voters would have a choice of two slates of Democratic electors because of two court decisions. Further information for clarification was not located.

Conclusion

All clear-thinking people have recognized the far-reaching implications of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case, Smith vs. Allwright. However, there has been widespread confusion as to what is necessary or what will follow in order to translate the decision into action which will bring about unrestricted participation in primary elections. Three basic questions have been uppermost in the minds of the advocates of freedom of the ballot: First, what is the applicability of the Texas decision to other states which have controlled primaries; secondly, what will be its effect in those states which have unregulated primaries (such as South Carolina); and third, what action can be taken to expedite the matter and bring about the quickest possible observance of the Supreme Court ruling?

In an effort to find the answers to these three questions, the Southern Regional Council has made contacts with a number of lawyers, politically minded citizens, and with the United States Department of Justice. The principal opinions advanced may be summarized as follows:

1. It is believed that the provisions set forth in the Supreme Court decision on the Texas white primary case apply to all elections where any type of state control is involved and that it will apply to the election of any public officials right down to municipal elections-school boards, etc. The decision is based upon the 15th Amendment to the Constitution.

2. It is impossible to tell just what action will be necessary in those states which have unregulated primaries. However, it is the consensus of opinion that it will be impossible for any state to completely divorce the primary from the general election. For example, how is a candidate's name to get on the general election ballot? Or, if there is no official certification of names for a general election ballot, how will the successful candidate be certified? How is registration to be controlled? The involvements are endless, and it is believed that at some point in the election process the state must come into the picture, in which event it is likely that it would be held that the state does in fact exercise some control which effects the primary. There is no doubt but that it will be necessary for court action to be taken in those states which have unregulated primaries, and it is likely that it will be necessary for a case to be heard by the Supreme Court before a precedent can be established.

Aside from the legal aspects of the problem, it is the opinion of many people that a review of history will prove that uncontrolled primaries will not last. They open wide the gates for all kinds of fraud, and present the outlaw groups with an unobstructed field. There seems little question but that a system of unregulated primaries would prove the death of the one party system in the South-an end which might be welcomed, but probably by means which would be painful indeed.

3. Two procedures which can be followed in bringing about Federal court action in order to bring about observance of this law are: The first is by bringing a civil suit in the District Federal Court; the second is by filing a complaint with the Department of Justice and asking the Federal Government to bring about criminal prosecution. For future action, the civil suit process is considered advisable.

In such cases, any qualified Negro who is refused a ballot brings a civil action against one or more state or party officials on the ground that he was denied the right to vote solely on account of race or color. Such a suit involves damages. If a civil suit is lost in the District court, it can be appealed to the Supreme Court. Such is not the case in criminal prosecutions which are brought by the Federal government.

The Southern Regional Council was advised that the Department of Justice received only thirteen complaints from Negroes in the entire South following the 1944 primary elections. If that fact were widely known, there is no question but that it would be interpreted as indifference on the part of southern Negroes.

A course of action seems very clear: Throughout the South, qualified Negroes who were refused the vote should file civil suits. Care should be exercised that all legal technicalities with respect to qualification have been observed and that an orderly procedure was followed in requesting a ballot. Damages, over and above legal fees, should be kept at a low figure- sufficient to represent a large sum of money where numbers of cases are involved, but small enough to indicate that the complainant is interested in VOTING- not in making money! Expert legal advice should be had though it may be difficult to obtain in certain areas. In some communities it would seem advisable for influential and liberal white citizens to assist in persuading competent attorneys to handle such cases. This procedure should be followed in future elections. If Negroes are not permitted to take part in any public elections, which will undoubtedly happen in many places in the South, there should ensue a volume of civil suits.

The Department of Justice in Washington should be informed in writing by the complainant, or by his attorney, when such suits are filed.

Inasmuch as the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been conducting an investigation in Atlanta preparatory to the bringing of a criminal action by the Federal government, it may well be that civil suits should not be brought in this District court at this time. However, it would appear that action should be taken elsewhere by the bringing of civil suits where the legal requirements can be met.

The Department of Justice has been subject to a great deal of criticism because it has not acted on any of the complaints it has received. It should be pointed out that the Department has had very meager information upon which to proceed. Of the thirteen complaints received from the South, a number had to be disregarded because certain legal requirements had not been met. In other cases it is likely that investigations involving much time and care have been necessary. There is no question but that the Department of Justice is prepared to enforce the law when bonafide complaints are filed. If we are to learn lessons from the past, it would seem that in the future it would be well to secure expert legal advice and to follow through in the establishment of cases which are clearcut and which will furnish the type of evidence which will allow for prompt action.

Building public opinion in support of any law is important. When the next and all following cases, civil or criminal, are brought in the South, every effort should be made to secure a sympathetic press and widespread public support.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

218. ATLANTA, GA., SUNDAY MORNING, JANUARY 19, 1919.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

AUGUST 13, 1938. PPP THREE CENTS

EVENING, OCTOBER 28, 1929

MARKET CRAC

GANIZING SOUTH'S WEALTH ND PROSPERITY, OOSEVELT SAYS

3 NEGROES KILLED IN ALABAMA BATTLE

Group of 100 Wounds Four Officers Attempting to Serve Writ on a Farmer.

RISING LAID TO RADICALS

Outbreak Ascribed to Share Crop pers' Organization

Report A 'POOR RICH LAND'

NEGRO EXODUS GROWS; SOUTH IS ALARMED

Hundreds Leave

ference to Probe orale Negro Troops

Ga., January 11 — (Spe- H. Watson, prominent ne his city, in speaking recent- e negro delegates who have

SEVEN DEAD IN RACE RIOTS

The Policemen and Fo killed in Georg

ANARCHISM

AN EXPERIMENT IN GOOD-W

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Through 800 county and city inter-racial committees the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., has been able since the World War to raise the level of thinking and to create attitudes and resolutions which bound to make for an imp relationship between the white negro races in the South in years to come.

It is a constructive progra peace and good-will between races living side by side in the community, with represent white and colored leaders cons

ing the committees on whic meet jointly from considering such matte housing, education, c crime prevention, law child welfare, rural de the home. Patiently

SOUTH SOLVING TS OWN PROBLEMS

Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation Has Improved Conditions in Many Plans Further Investig

By R. L. DUFFUS.

ELEVEN years ago a group of Southerners met in Atlanta to consider one of the gravest sit- utions which had threatened the South since Lee's surrender. The general unrest caused by the War, the migration of Negroes not only to the North but to congested sections of Southern cities and immobilization of Negro troops w had served in France had bro the tension between the white and colored populations to a point w widespread violence threatened to break out at any moment. In several instances, in both North South, bloodshed had already occurred. It was in these circ stances that the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation, which now completed more than a dec of work and which is making plans for extending its activities d ing a second decade, was born.

from eighty-t to ten. Despite thes the Southern way off "In so-called 'blac statement to t racial conditi ably primitive

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO

An Account of Efforts Made in the South to Brin Interracial Conditions.

By WILL W. ALEXANDER, Director of the Committee on Interracial Coop

Sixty years ago the people of the South took up the task of building a new civ- ilization. The Civil War had destroyed

hidden causes wh those affected by the will show that ext

RECENT LYNCHINGS LAID TO NEGLECT

Interracial Commission Blames Official Laxity and "Local Religious Indifference."

Race Co-operation in the South Cultivating Better Relatio

To the Editor of The New York Times:

As a negro I am deeply interested in the various movements looking toward the cultivation of better relations between the races and I especially object to the publication which will tend to remove misunderstandings, especially in the South. My connection with the Inter-racial Commission has led me to believe, in the language of George M. Slaton Martin, that "it represents the most enlightened conscience of the South

HOOVER AIDS RACE DRIVE.

Lauds Work of Commission to Ease Friction in South.

Approval of the wor mission on Interracia which seeks to wipe friction between Negro and which is now se for its operating expe ensuing decade, has a letter written by Pr William Jay Schieffel the campaign commit yesterday.

"I have been great Mr. Schieffelin quote dent Hoover's letter structive work of the Interracial Cooperatio of all conflict is that of good-will shall sear areas where we can thus minimize differe the same, simple, and of the commission. I tional importance. have the widest supp

GIVING NEGROES A CHANCE

Commission on Int Says Press Has Decreased Lynching

The Commission on Int ATLANTA, Ga., April 24.—Newspapers operation is not heard of are largely responsible for the decrease mass of Americans. It was of 20 per cent in the lynching record ters to newspapers: its office during the last three years, it papers give out no inflamm Pleasant, publicity director of the Inter- ments when some manifest racial Commission told the commission prejudice appears. So far today. Truth which is in session here monials to the service of newspapers none of its officials, whit to the South in promoting better race relations were offered by Mr. Pleasant in the form of clippings from many news have written plays or nov that the jazz of Harlem is the tempo of our time. But ever since the commission was formed in the South in 1919 it has been doing remarkable work in adjusting racial contacts. It has prevented some race riots; it has aided greatly in providing the Negro population of the South with parks and schools, and it has ameliorated the social condition of black people in that part of the country where they are most populous. Formed in 1919 by whites and Negroes, fearful lest the changed demeanor of returning Negro soldiers would provoke massacres all over the land, the commission has worked so intelligently, so efficiently and withal so quietly that what every one in 1919 discussed as an impending social crisis has passed out of the national consciousness.

Southern Males At Plowing

By The Associated

WASHINGTON, A

expected problem Farm Administra reduction camp at the mule

H. A. Porter of in Jackson from yesterday that m implied they n getting the city while pi

the mule Porter exp ers he has he wanted a Now it is Being ask stamp do was carefully trained

FIGHT RACE

Supreme Court to That Case

NEGRO IS BU IN PUBLIC SQUARE

Victim of Texas Mob Had Just Been Sentenced to Be Hanged for Murder of Woman and Child.

S OUS NRA IN

Differential Dr. Moton Principle of P

BEANS Home

WATERMELON

LETTUCE Iceberg Head 12½c

No. 1 White POTATOES 10 lbs. 15c

Complete line vegetables and fruits—Okra, Beets, Cucumbers, Cabbage, Squash, Butter Beans, New Field Peas, Tomatoes, Lemons, Oranges, Apples, Cantaloupes, other seasonable, home-grown eatables

Grandmother's BREAD 16 oz. Loaf Wrapped 5c

Peanut Butter A&P Fancy lb. Jar 19c

Pillsbury's Best FLOUR 24 lb. Bag 99c

EAGLE MILK 2 Cans 35c

Crisco FIG BARS lb. 10c

SUGAR Finest Granulated lb. 5c

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 30TH ANNUAL MEETING

Souvenir Program | Atlanta, Ga., Friday-Saturday, November 15-16, 1974 | Souvenir Program

1919-1944 • The Commission on Interracial Cooperation

1944 • THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

"The Commission on Interracial Cooperation is not heard of often by the mass of Americans. It writes few letters to newspapers; its officers and members give out no inflammatory statements when some manifestation of race prejudice appears. So far as is known, none of its officials, white or Negro, have written plays or novels to prove that the jazz of Harlem is the tempo of our time. But ever since the commission was formed in the South in 1919 it has been doing remarkable work in adjusting racial contacts. It has prevented some race riots, it has aided greatly in providing the Negro population of the South with parks and schools, and it has accelerated the social condition of black people in that part of the country where they are most populous. Formed in 1919 by whites and Negroes fearful lest the changed demeanor of returning Negro soldiers would provoke massacres all over the Land, the commission has worked so intelligently, so efficiently and withal so quietly that what every one in 1919 discussed as an impending social crisis has passed out of the national consciousness."

THE NEW YORK TIMES,
MARCH 16, 1930

"I have been greatly impressed by the constructive work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The solution of all conflict is that men and women of good will shall search and find the areas where we can cooperate, and thus minimize differences. That is the sane, simple and sensible plan of the commission. It is of real national importance. I trust it will have the widest support."

President Herbert Hoover

The New York Times, July 3, 1927

Dr. Will Alexander

Ms. Jessie Daniel Ames

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

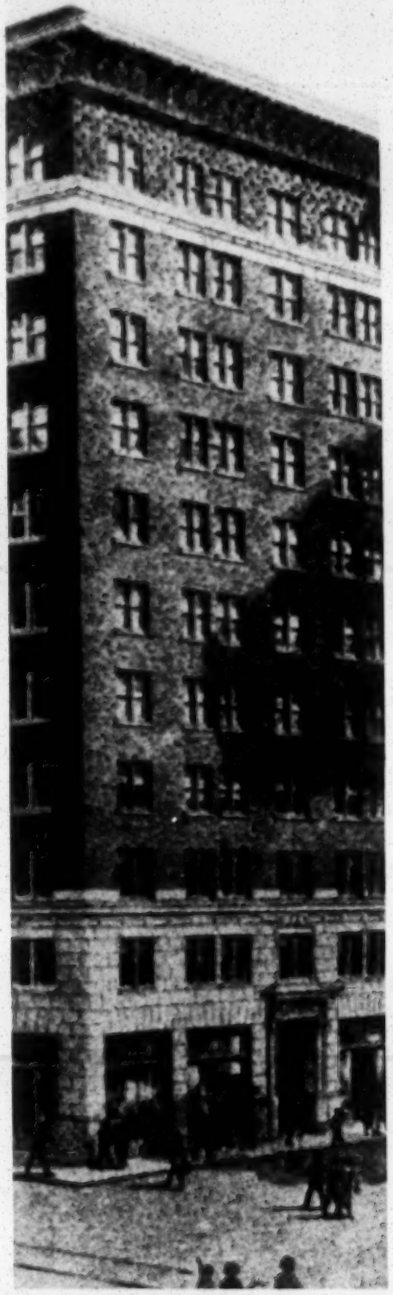
Photographs:

Standard Building: Atlanta Historical Society Archives

Wesley Memorial Church Building: Guy Hayes

Dr. Will Alexander and Ms. Jessie Daniel Ames:
SEEDS OF SOUTHERN CHANGE: THE LIFE OF WILL ALEXANDER: Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, The University of Chicago Press.

Program text by Josephine Wilkins.



The Standard Building, Atlanta, where until the mid-forties, offices of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and later the Southern Regional Council were located.

1919-1944 • The Commission on Interracial Cooperation

The roots of the Southern Regional Council reach far back, to 1919. World War I had ended the summer before, and within weeks the wartime spirit of cooperation between the races began to disappear, and racial tensions were mounting in communities throughout the South. Black soldiers who had been praised for their service records, were coming home unprepared to return to the old ways and to their old status. Also returning were the blacks who had migrated North seeking higher wages during the war years, many forced North by the ravages of the boll weevil, to the cotton producing sections of the South. They, too, had experienced new freedoms.

There were rumors in most areas among whites that the blacks were arming, among blacks that the whites were. The year 1919 was to see twenty-six race riots, more than seventy lynchings of blacks, several still wearing the uniform of their country as they were shot, beaten and burned to death.

It was in this atmosphere that a group of prominent white southerners met in January, 1919, in Atlanta. Their backgrounds were varied. There was Dr. Will W. Alexander, the youngest, a Methodist minister, fresh from war work with black and white soldiers; John J. Egan, a wealthy Atlanta industrialist; Dr. M. Ashby Jones, a widely respected Baptist minister; W. D. Weatherford, longtime YMCA official and its international student secretary; James E. Dillard, a member of the boards of trustees of the General Education Board, the Jeanes Fund, and the Slater Fund, each of which had done much to arouse interest in black education; and Richard Hayne King, with years of work with the YMCA, who also had been in war work with the soldiers. Two non-southerners met with them, Dr. Wallace Buttrick, president of the General Education Board, probably the most widely known of the group and Thomas Jesse Jones, a sociologist with special interest in the plight of blacks, and director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. While they were to play no key role in any action toward trying to meet the tense situation, they brought enlightened outside concern.

For the better part of the week, this group of men sat around and discussed the racial crisis, groping for some way to dissipate the fear and hysteria and avoid the threats of violence that hung over the South.

During the war effort there had been a new kind of contact between blacks and whites. Blacks had been called on to participate and whites had discovered the black leadership in their communities and had experienced a new kind of relationship with them. After much discussion, the group decided that the thing to do was to go, quickly, right back into these communities, to these same people who had handled the war enterprises, and see if they could be brought together on the postwar situation. And, aware that the sudden end of the war had left many of the civilian war agencies with considerable money, the group appealed to several of them for funds. Finally, out of the war funds of the YMCA $150,000 was secured.

Dr. Alexander was commissioned to assemble, as quickly as possible, a staff

of two men for each Southern state, one white and one black, to go into centers where tensions were worst. Another decision made by the group was to find others to join them, and a list was compiled of white southerners "known to be sympathetic and intelligent regarding the race situation". Helpful to this were the YMCA secretaries over the South.

Thus a new method of dealing with racial problems in the South was launched, the appeal jointly to both races to come together and discuss the problems and how best to go about solving them. It was agreed that the work would be done quietly and without publicity at the grass-root level, in the communities.

Other meetings of the group followed. "Dr. Will" kept in touch with his men daily by phone and poured over their reports nightly for answers. Eight conferences of white men, lasting from five to ten days each, were held in the North Carolina mountain retreat of the YMCA, with a total of eight hundred and twenty-four attending.

In the tense atmosphere that prevailed, suspicion of all whites by blacks was strong. Aware of this, it was not until well into 1920, after the work proved to be more than just that of a small group of well-meaning white men, that an effort was made to bring prominent blacks into it. Visits were then made to Dr. Robert R. Moton, president of Tuskegee, and to Bishop R. E. Jones. Weeks passed, but when their acceptance finally came it was the signal that led other black leaders to follow.

The group that informally had called itself the interracial committee, had now become truly interracial, and they incorporated as the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. John J. Egan, the Atlanta industrialist, was its first president; Dr. Alexander, its director.

Women were later brought into the work, though not until after the expressed fear that they might be too emotional was overcome. Under the leadership of Jessie Daniel Ames, director of women's work, they proved to be a dynamic force.

For twenty-five years this undertaking was carried on by the Commission. This time-span was to see the terrible "red summer" of 1919 (so called because of the riots and lynchings that took place), the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, the countless bank failures and foreclosures of the mid-twenties that occurred in the South, the stock market crash of 1929, the years of the Great Depression, the New Deal, the rise of facism elsewhere give new impetus to racism here, and then, again, world war. All had their impact, but the quiet work of the Commission went on. Those were days when the very act of whites and blacks meeting together was generally an act of courage for both races. A place to meet was always a problem.

The Commission had two basic goals during its twenty-five years of operation. One, to correct injustices and inequalities wherever possible, and the other, to improve southern attitudes on matters of race. Toward these ends, 800 interracial committees were established over the South, thousands of southern church women were marshalled in opposition to lynching and other injustices, significant research on race relations was undertaken, and some two million copies

of pamphlets and leaflets were issued. Throughout the life of the Commission, Dr. Alexander served as field representative and its director, and almost as long, Mrs. Ames, as its director of women's work. Others who will be remembered in the work are, R. B. Eleazer, T. J. Woofter, Arthur Raper, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Clark Foreman, and Emily Clay, the Commission's able secretary.

Under the influence of Dr. Howard Odum, of the University of North Carolina, and his writings on the southern region, and following the report made to President Roosevelt on the economic conditions of the South, the Commission leaders prior to U. S. entry into World War II had begun to explore the possibility of broadening the scope of the Commission's work. Dr. William Cole, of the University of Tennessee, was secured to make a study of the Commission and bring in recommendations for its future. But this was thwarted by the war and other events. Meanwhile, a series of meetings were held, in which the Commission played a vital role, which would shape the future of interracial work in the South. They culminated in formation of a similar purpose organization but with a wider scope than had been earlier envisaged. Therefore, on the day of the charter meeting of the new organization, the Commission merged its program with and transferred its assets to the new organization, the Southern Regional Council. The program and the spirit of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was thus continued in broadened and new form.

Drawn largely from
SEEDS OF SOUTHERN CHANGE
By Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely
with grateful acknowledgement.

1944 • THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Southern Regional Council was chartered by the State of Georgia in 1944 after a series of meetings which began in 1942.

World War II had contributed to an increased awareness by blacks of their rights, particularly in the South. When Churchill and Roosevelt drew up the historic Atlantic Charter on the four freedoms, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock of Virginia Union University, wrote in one of his syndicated columns to the Associated Negro Press, that blacks should draw up their own charter of what they wanted in the postwar South. Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, was impressed by Dr. Hancock's comment and wrote asking him to elaborate on it for the Commission's publication, *Southern Frontier* (which later, under the Southern Regional Council, became *New South,* and is now, *Southern Voices.)*

In a letter to Dr. Hancock acknowledging his article, Mrs. Ames urged him to take the leadership in convening a meeting of Southern blacks for the purpose of drawing up a statement of grievances. He discussed the possibility of such a meeting with a number of people, including P. B. Young, Sr., editor of the

Norfolk Journal and Guide. Almost immediately, the Northern black press attacked the idea on the grounds that any statement from Southern blacks would be entirely inadequate. When the attack became vicious and personal, there was discussion about dropping the matter. Mrs. Ames, however, went to Virginia urging that the meeting be held. She also pledged that white Southerners would hold a meeting in response to the black demands. Following this agreement, a call for the meeting went out from a committee headed by Mr. Young.

Thus a conference of Southern blacks was held in Durham, N.C., on October 20, 1942. It was chaired by Mr. Young, with Dr. Hancock delivering the opening statement. Of the 75 blacks invited to participate, 65 attended. Most of those who could not attend communicated their support and approval by letter and telegram. Never before had such a large and distinguished group of black Southern leaders come together to agree on a list of demands.

After day-long discussions, the substance of a statement was agreed upon, and on motion from Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, a committee headed by Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, was authorized to draft the statement.

The statement that was issued made clear what a large group of representative blacks wanted for themselves—not what whites said they wanted. "We are fundamentally opposed," the long document stated, "to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds, however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to current problems of race discrimination and neglect . . . We have the courage and the faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fear." The statement covered the following areas: politics and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, and social welfare and health.

Mrs. Ames carried out her commitment to the Durham group. On April 8, 1943, a group of white Southerners met in Atlanta to respond to the statement. Since she felt that the bi-racial Commission on Interracial Cooperation should remain in the background in preparing for the all-white meeting, Mrs. Ames asked Josephine Wilkins, an Atlanta resident, to help coordinate the meeting. They prepared a list of carefully selected Atlanta men who were invited by Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church to meet for dinner to discuss the Durham Statement and whether a response should be made. Two other meetings followed and when the decision ultimately came to call a Southwide conference of white Southerners, it was agreed that the call should come from the entire group. It consisted of C. H. Gilman (Regional Director, CIO), George L. Googe (Regional Director, AFL), M. Ashby Jones (minister), Ryland Knight (minister, Second Ponce de Leon Baptist Church), Ralph McGill (editor, *The Atlanta Constitution*), Stuart R. Oglesby (minister, Central Presbyterian Church), Gerald P. O'Hara (Bishop, Catholic Church), Dean S. Paden (President, King Hardware Co.), J. McDowell Richards (President, Columbia Theological Seminary), John

Moore Walker (Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church), and Goodrich C. White (President, Emory University).

The call went to a list of some 300 white Southerners representing religion, labor, business, education, and others. Bishop Moore offered to receive replies.

Then came the attacks, this time by letter and more subtle and less personal than those made on the black meeting—"meddlers and carpetbaggers from the North who are stirring up this trouble," ". . . not the approach to the Negro question. . . "; ". . . bound to do more harm than good."; ". . . approve of what you are trying to do but disagree strongly with the way you are going about it."; ". . . postpone until the war is over."; " . . . . the thousands of white boys in the armed forces would not appreciate any effort by this group."

Those attending the conference numbered 115 and represented 10 Southern states. Others expressed interest and a desire to cooperate. Ralph McGill chaired the meeting and a statement prepared by a small committee which he headed was read. It commended the tone of the Durham Statement and offered to cooperate in attaining the goals it set forth. There was discussion throughout the day, and when the statement was finally approved it was signed by almost all in attendance. Others who associated themselves with the statement by telegram and letter brought the total number of signers to 292. Before adjournment, the participants authorized the appointment of a committee to meet with a similar committee of blacks from the Durham group.

These two committees met in Richmond, Virginia, on June 16, 1943, and combined to form the Collaboration Committee. Following the procedure in Durham, Mr. Young served as chairman and Dr. Hancock made the opening remarks. Unfortunately, Dr. Hancock was followed by an elderly white minister who cautioned gradualism in the paternalistic manner of the old South. This was just what the black participants had feared. However, the expression of this cautious approach served to rally the whites and the tone of the meeting was reversed.

The day-long conference ended with the adoption of a Richmond Statement and the creation of a bi-racial Continuation Committee. The committee was responsible for determining ways in which white and black Southerners could work together toward implementing the Durham Statement. In addition, the committee was further charged with seeing that efforts begin to prepare the postwar South for its returning soldiers—both black and white.

The success of these three meetings won the full support of Dr. Will Alexander, director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and Dr. Howard Odum, president of the Commission. They were joined by Dr. Charles Johnson, president of Fisk University, who had headed the editorial committee for the Durham Statement, in bringing considerable influence to the movement.

It was the interest of these three men that revived an idea that had lain dormant for a number of years—a southern regional council. This idea had been under consideration several years earlier when the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was discussing broadening its scope.

Thus when the Continuation Committee, which had been appointed in Durham,

met at Atlanta University on August 4, 1943, Dr. Odum was elected chairman and a proposal was drawn up to create a southwide organization. Following discussions throughout the day, the proposal was approved and a resolution was adopted establishing the organization now known as the Southern Regional Council. The Continuation Committee served as the organization's nucleus, with Dr. Odum and Dr. Johnson as co-chairmen.

A charter was applied for by Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles Johnson; Ralph McGill; Bishop Moore; and Dr. Odum and was granted on January 6, 1944. At the charter meeting, held at Atlanta University on February 16 - 17, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation merged with the newly formed Southern Regional Council.

Events during the Council's thirty years of existence are too fresh in mind to need detailed recounting. Still, certain events during that period stand boldly out: the white primary declared unconstitutional, repeal of the poll tax, the 1954 Brown decision, Little Rock, the Montgomery bus boycott, the sit-ins, freedom rides, the marches, Selma, Pettus Bridge, Birmingham, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. All of these events have had their influence on the work of the Council and many were influenced by that work.

The role appropriate to the Southern Regional Council is evident in its origin and make-up. The Council's main asset is and has always been the people of the South who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and who at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South. From such people is the Council's membership drawn. They have wanted a regional organization, not from a provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the nation's, but from the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and conscience; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race and can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to agencies outside the region.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, emphasizing working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. Organizationally today the Council consists of a newly-expanded membership of 120 Southerners representing the eleven state region and a 70 member staff located in Atlanta, Georgia. The Council is a private non-profit and non-partisan organization funded by foundations, organizations and individuals.

The Council's program for the Seventies encompasses many strategies—including research, publishing, governmental monitoring and encouragement of innovative community groups—to bring about positive action in a wide range of social concerns. Major subject areas of its program activities center around improved health care, education, economic development, housing and rural development.

In brief, the Council draws upon and emphasizes its strengths of the past while broadening its constituency to reach many previously unaffiliated Southerners who share its vision of a better, more livable, more just and more humane region for all of the South's people.

1944 • THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Dr. Howard W. Odum
President, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Chairman, Executive Committee, 1944

Paul Williams
President, 1944

Marion A. Wright
President, 1952

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Chairman, Executive Committee, 1954

James McBride Dabbs
President, 1958

John Wheeler
Chairman, Executive Committee, 1961
President, 1964

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
Chairman, Executive Committee, 1964
President, 1969

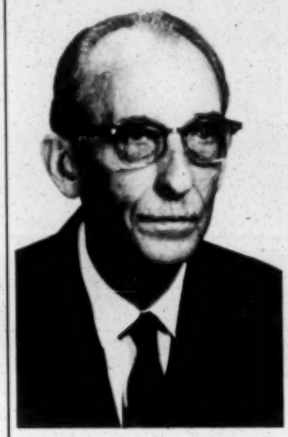
Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
Chairman, Executive Committee, 1969

WHAT OTHERS HAVE SAID ABOUT SRC

"In working to make equal opportunity a reality in all parts of our national life, the Southern Regional Council is advancing the cause of all Americans."—John F. Kennedy.

"Over the last two decades the Southern Regional Council has played an indispensable part in the growth of dignity and opportunity for all our citizens."—Lyndon B. Johnson.

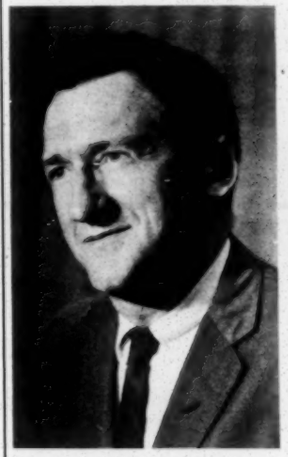
"On to Moscow with the Southern Regional Council."—Lester Maddox.



Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director, 1944

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, 1947

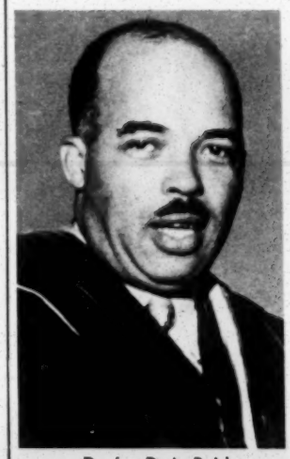
Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director, 1957



Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director, 1961

Paul Anthony
Executive Director, 1965

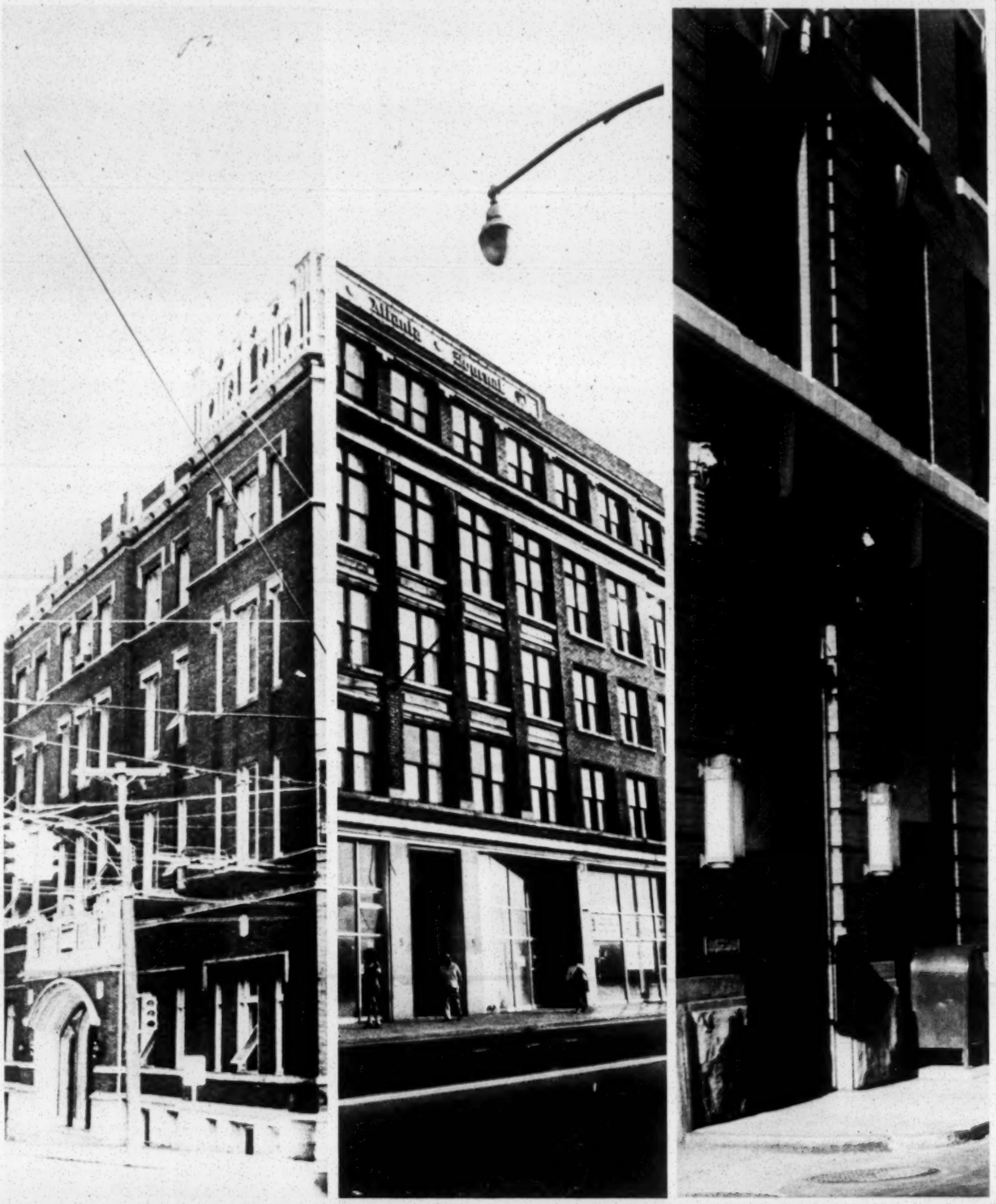
George Esser
Executive Director, 1972



Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
Associate Director, 1944

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Director, 1945

Harry Bowie
Associate Director, 1972



The Southern Regional Council had offices in these Atlanta buildings from the mid-forty's to the present.

63 Auburn Avenue — 5 Forsyth Street — 52 Fairlie Street

The Atlanta Journal

COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW

War on All Fronts

LL'S MOTION SUSTAINED

Jurist Suggests S. C.
ake Law School 'Equal'

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Draft Program
On Race Issue

The task of drafting a program for better inter-racial understanding is in its preliminary stage under the Southern Regional Council, newly chartered by the state of Georgia.

Co-chairmen of the council, for which a charter was issued Saturday, are Dr. Howard Odom, of the University of North Carolina, and Dr. Charles Johnson, of Fisk University.

Dr. Will Alexander, one of the organizers, said yesterday their attention would be directed to developing a preliminary program to be presented to the entire council next month.

The organization was formed, Dr. Alexander said, to carry out biracial principles formulated at meetings of white and Negro leaders at Durham, N. C., Richmond, Va., and Atlanta.

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BY REGIONAL COUNCIL

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LEADERS IN SOUTH
ACT TO EASE BIAS

Regional Council, Marking

Racial Council Works
For School Integration

Racial Group in South P...
Broaden Drive for Equa...

In the Deep South one organization stands out as likely to wield the most powerful influence in shaping the region's attitudes toward integration. Here is the story of the Southern Regional Council, ...

BODY WOULD DEFY
SEGREGATIONISTS

...So. Regional
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With King

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Council Asks

Southern Regional Council
Says Many in South Are
Ready for Integration

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Placement Laws

...ncil urges desegregation pla...
Southern Councils Asks
Kennedy Action On
Broad Rights

'Truly Massive'

Southern Regional Council
Reports On "Freedom Rides"

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Regional Council To Help Eliminate Slums

Inaction Council Charges Racism
On Hunge... Prevents Assistance To Poor

'Incredible' Study Says South Imposes
Heavy Tax Onus on Poor

Doctor Puts Blame
Congressmen

...dents sitting alone at the Woolw...

...VIL R...

...egration...

...KING SHO...

SRC Historical Material

A CONFERENCE

on

The South's Post War Economy

Atlanta Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

April 11-12, 1945

Sponsored by the

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Economic South . . .

- Is a community of approximately 42,000,000 people, containing approximately one-third of the Nation's total population, but more than one-half of its farm population.

- Has more children born per 1,000 women of each generation than any other region. It is able to offset the large migration to other regions by having the Nation's highest rural-farm net reproduction rate. Yet Southern urban communities have the lowest net reproduction rate in the Nation.

- Contains approximately one-third of the Nation's workers whose annual median salary or wage in 1939 (based on reports made by 9,000,000 of them) was $599—almost one-third *lower* than the national average wage of $877.

- Paid a lower per capita income tax in 1943 than any other region. For every dollar per capita of income tax reported from the United States as a whole, the southeastern states reported 63 cents and the southwestern states reported 77 cents.

- Has 42 per cent of the Nation's houses regarded as "needing major repairs." In every 1,000 Southern dwelling units there are 271 such structures; in every 1,000 houses for the United States 183 need major repairs.

- According to the United States Senate's Special Committee to Investigate Industrial Centralization, ten Southern states, having 15 per cent of the Nation's land area, 14 per cent of its minerals, 10 per cent of its manufacturing, and 39 per cent of its farm population, receive only 11 per cent of the national income and 20 per cent of the national farm income. They had a smaller volume of war contracts than any other region, and in 1943 had the lowest increase in value of manufactures over 1939—69 per cent. Other groups of states increased this value by 227 per cent, 270 per cent, and 639 per cent in the same period. The committee's report says if the "per capita income of these states were raised to the level of national per capita income, total national income would be increased by $10,000,000,000 annually."

- Pertinent to a discussion of current problems in this field is this statement from the *Monthly Review* of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (September 30, 1943):

  > "It would seem therefore that a soundly based regional economy should be related to the region's own great resources and to a peacetime market structure rather than be tied, as a result of uneconomic conversions of war plants, to capacity designed for a totally different economic situation."

Program

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11

10:30 A. M.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.

HOW SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT-OWNED WAR PLANTS CAN AID SMALL BUSINESS. Roger Stevens, Chief of the Industrial Plant Division, Smaller War Plants Corporation

* * * *

2:30 P. M.

Presiding: Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

POST WAR FOREIGN TRADE AND THE SOUTH. August Maffry, Chief of the International Trade Unit, U. S. Department of Commerce

SOUTHERN INDUSTRY AND POST WAR MARKETS. Wilford White, Acting Chief, Division of Small Business, U. S. Department of Commerce

* * * *

8:00 P. M.

Presiding: E. B. Schultz, Chief, Personnel Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON SOUTHERN LABOR. A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor

SOUTHERN POST WAR AGRICULTURE. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser, U. S. Department of Agriculture

THURSDAY, APRIL 12

10:30 A. M.

Presiding: C. F. Palmer, President of Palmer, Inc., Atlanta

FREIGHT RATES AND SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH. Judge Edgar Watkins, Special Assistant Attorney General of Georgia, Atlanta

THE SOUTH'S POST WAR HOUSING PROBLEM. Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Administrator, National Housing Agency

* * * *

2:30 P. M.

Presiding: M. T. Van Hecke, Chairman, Regional War Labor Board, Atlanta

POLITICAL FACTORS IN ECONOMIC PROGRESS, Glenn Rainey, Georgia School of Technology

WHAT NEXT? Lawrence Drake, Research Specialist for Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council

ORIGIN The Southern Regional Council is the outgrowth of a number of factors. One was the growing consciousness among progressive Southerners of the need for a Southwide agency for the promotion of constructive social and economic reforms. Another was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences of 1942-43, in which Southern leaders, white and Negro, covenanted together to work for a better South for all. The Council was chartered by the State of Georgia on January 6, 1944, and it held its charter meeting on February 16, 1944.

PURPOSE The Council represents the forward-looking conscience and efforts of liberal Southerners to give democracy a chance in the South. Although it is bi-racial in its membership and staff, it is not exclusively a "race relations" organization. It believes in the improvement of economic, civic, political, and educational conditions for the good of all people.

METHODS The Council believes that sound information, honest discussion, and cooperation, rather than agitation, are the best methods for promoting social progress. Its functions are: (1) research and survey to find the facts and to determine the possibilities of constructive action; (2) educational work through its own publications and through the press, radio, exhibits, conferences, and personal contacts; (3) cooperation with other agencies which have liberal and humanitarian aims; (4) consultative services to private or public agencies; and (5) formulation of constructive plans and proposals for "the South that could be."

MEMBERSHIP It welcomes to membership persons who believe in its purposes and methods. Voting members must be residents of the Council area: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Dues are one dollar a year, but members are urged to contribute additional amounts according to their financial ability. Members receive all Council pamphlets.

OFFICERS and DIRECTORS The officers of the Council are: *President:* HOWARD W. ODUM, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; *Vice Presidents:* P. B. YOUNG, Norfolk, Virginia, HOMER P. RAINEY, Austin, Texas, CARTER WESLEY, Houston, Texas; *Executive Director:* GUY B. JOHNSON; *Associate Executive Director:* IRA DEA. REID; *Secretary-Treasurer:* EMILY H. CLAY, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Among the members of the Board of Directors are some of the outstanding Southern leaders in education, religion, business, and labor.

SRC-Historical Materials

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1945

The Members Meet . . . .

The recent annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council marked a forward step in the life of movements designed to make human relations democratic in the South. Paradoxical as it may seem race relations movements seldom have been democratic in their structure and function. In the past they operated in two ways: first, they relied very heavily upon the one-man type of leadership, one person being a spokesman for each race; second, they leaned very heavily upon the wisdom and wishes of a select few whose actions were either supported or repudiated. Today, more so than ever before, the wishes of the many become the foundation stone of action in the field of race relations. As we have implied, this is a very significant index to the changing character of movements in race relations, and if the Southern Regional Council's Member Meeting may be regarded as indicative of any trend at all it does reflect a growing desire on the part of people to face situations frankly, collectively, and fearlessly.

The executives of the Council were heartened by the courage and forthrightness with which chronic and acute problems of southern life were introduced. True, SRC members did not possess all of the information, hold to all of the beliefs, decide on every action that would make living utopian, but they did make a light for ways that have been dark. No phase of relations between the races was ignored in discussion. The members realized, however, the mighty potency of words and stultifying effect of fear in furthering or arresting any program they might undertake. Though our emotions were quickened with reports of "incidents" of sex and race, of injustices, of official lethargy and community inactivity, our reason was challenged with programs of correction, amelioration, even the complete undoing of ways that had perpetuated an undemocratic South. We met to find ways of doing something more about and with all of these people, communities, and problems. We stuck to our last.

Above all, perhaps, this achievement seems outstanding—we learned to discuss all of our ills without venom and emotional distress; we made new covenants and resolutions, openly arrived at. And though the SRC's diagnosis of the South is not yet complete, the organization's therapy for what is known continues. There is abundant life in the membership of the Southern Regional Council. That gives us hope.

Authorize . . . .

The Executive Directors, in their reports offered several suggestions and recommendations on the program of the Council during the coming year. The procedures authorized were:

1. The Organization of State Divisions of the Council

As soon as there are one hundred members of the Council in a given state, they will be organized as a nucleus for action on the state level. The by-laws and policies of such divisions would, of course, have to be in harmony with those of the Council.

2. A Series of South-wide Conferences

Within the limits of the budget and with the advice of the Executive Committee, the SRC will sponsor several important annual conferences. One would be a conference for the leaders of the state and local interracial committees. Another would be a strategy conference of the leaders of the major agencies working on problems of the South within the framework of the Council's interests. Still another would be a conference of religious leaders in programs of social action, with particular emphasis, perhaps, on the women's divisions of the various church bodies.

3. A Series of State-wide Race Relations Institutes or Forums

Each of these would run from three to five days and would attempt to reach a better cross-section of the public than is usually reached by such meetings. The Department of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association is preparing to promote a series of institutes and has asked the Council to share in their planning and sponsorship.

4. Special Visiting Committee

The officers of the Council, or such other groups as the Executive Committee might choose, are authorized to seek private conferences with as many Southern governors as possible in the next three months. Their discussions will not be confined to race relations, but will include the main problems of social and economic welfare in the South.

5. Civil Rights Committees

From time to time arise cases which the SRC might well handle for the protection of the civil rights of citizens in the region. The central staff cannot undertake to investigate personally all such cases. Therefore, the Council members approved the establishment of Civil Rights Committees in all our thirteen states. Each committee might be composed of five Council members and a legal advisor who may or may not be a member of the Council, and the duty of these Committees would be to advise the Executive Directors and the Executive Committee as to what action the Council should take in cases involving civil rights.

6. Youth Work

The Council authorized the taking of steps that would permit youth direct participation in the Council or the sponsoring of some sort of auxiliary or correlated youth division of the Council.

7. Study of Police Systems

One of the most urgent needs in the South is reform of police training and administration. Along with its program of promoting improvement wherever it can, the Council authorized the sponsorship of a comprehensive study of Southern police systems in cooperation with one or more universities. An approach of this sort would permit the Council to embark on a program which would not necessarily be tied in with the race question, yet would permit the treatment and analysis of a problem that is closely allied with race tensions.

8. Study of Segregation and Discrimination

The Council authorized the drawing of plans for a comprehensive study to be carried on throughout the South in the field of legal discrimination and segregation. It is proposed that ameliorative action be based upon a

study of the facts as to the human and economic costs of segregation and discrimination. Such a study should provide useful material for molding public opinion on the question of equal opportunity. This study would be preceded by a conference on the subject of segregation and discrimination.

9. Primary Test Case

The Council authorized the Board of Directors to proceed with a legal test of the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in Smith vs. Allwright in the State of Georgia if it appears that no such case is already under way.

And Resolve for 1945

1. General Resolutions

We believe that every effort must be made to prepare the people of the South for the returning Negro and white soldiers. The problems which are arising already as they come back from active service or are demobilized into civilian life call for prompt and constructive action on local, state, regional, and national levels.

With a view to encouraging the returning Negro soldiers to have faith that the democratic principles for which they have fought are to be translated into reality, we recommend:

1. Employment of all persons on the basis of ability, with due regard for seniority rights.
2. Abolition of the white primary where it exists.
3. Extension of the growing practice of employing Negro policemen and firemen in Southern cities and equal treatment of members of both races by the police and the courts.
4. Equalization of educational opportunity and of pay for teachers of both races.
5. Extension of publicly financed low cost housing.
6. Increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis.
7. That equal accommodations for Negroes as provided under the law, be actually provided on all public transportation facilities, and that discriminatory practices now common in travel be abolished.

2. Post War Employment

The Southern Regional Council realizes the importance of encouraging and planning for an effective program of full employment in every Southern community.

We, therefore, urge that such planning include the initiation and maintenance of an effective public employment service which within its ranks and among employers will promote the effective utilization of all workers in terms of their skills and training, without regard to their race, color, or creed.

(Continued)

We recommend that equal and effective opportunities for the technical and vocational training of Negroes be made available.

We recommend the creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee to promote the non-discriminatory use of manpower.

3. Education

In the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which require separation of the races in their public school systems, continuing and substantial differences in the public schools for white and Negro children prevail despite requirements of educational statutes, that separate and uniform school facilities be established and maintained. These differences are reflected in the buildings and equipment, in the length of the school day, in the teacher-pupil loads, in the per-pupil expenditure, in the investments in public school property, and in teachers' salaries.

Recognizing the necessity and continuing obligation to establish equality of educational opportunity for all in order to further the establishment of a sound economy in the Southern region, and recognizing the opportunities inherent in the post-war plans for school improvements now developing in communities within these states, we accept the principles that:

1. There should exist and be available for Negro children the same types of educational opportunities as there are for white children.
2. The teacher-pupil ratio in Negro schools should be as low as that in schools for white children.
3. The length of the school day should be the same for the Negro child as it is for the white child.
4. The same types of physical accommodations and facilities in the public schools should exist and be available for Negro children as are available for white children.

We recommend these principles for the consideration of all law-abiding citizens, and responsible school officials in Southern communities, and urge, in behalf of the common welfare, that action be taken to make these principles operative in all plans for public school improvements.

4. Homer P. Rainey and the University of Texas

The Southern Regional Council wishes to protest the dismissal of Dr. Homer P. Rainey as President of the University of Texas. The Council believes this is a startling infringement of personal and academic freedom, and a severe blow to those Southern persons and agencies working for democratic rights.

The Southern Regional Council believes in Dr. Rainey because of his long and effective participation in progressive movements. It believes in him because of his close association with us in the formation of SRC which he now serves as Vice-President. The Council commends him for the stand he has taken, and applauds those Texas citizens and those students and faculty members at the University of Texas who gave him such unqualified support.

Reprint from The Southern Frontier, December, 1944.

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

Is the Monthly Bulletin of the Southern Regional Council

The Southern Frontier is also the area in which you and I live and work.

It is a frontier of opportunity to do the best that can be done toward attaining the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

It is a frontier of EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING, DELINQUENCY, AGRICULTURE, POLITICS, INDUSTRY, HUMAN RELATIONS, TRANSPORTATION, AND 40,000,000 PEOPLE.

It is a frontier that should be explored, pushed forward, and cultivated.

You can help!

Your club can help!

Your church can help!

Your business can help!

Your community can help!

For further information concerning membership in the Southern Regional Council or Council publications write

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Georgia's Only State-Wide Weekly Newspaper

The Statesman

Published In the Interest of ALL the People

A Recorder of Georgia Governmental Affairs—Municipal, County and State

Vol. 14, No. 23 — HAPEVILLE, GA., THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1946 — COPY 5c

Talmadge Opponents Attacked For Failure of Veterans Program

All This Good Government Crowd Can Do Is Argue About Who Is Boss While Veterans Lose Their Rights.

One of the candidates for Governor has developed a deep love for veterans here in the past few weeks. My father's platform for veterans must have brought him around to that, for, during the four years he occupied the Governor's chair there was not the scratch of the pen for veterans except to reduce veterans of the sixties from the high and honorable status of Confederate veterans to federal relief clients. When the ranks of that immortal army of the Confederacy was thinning to the vanishing point this candidate ceased to recognize them as soldiers and permit them to receive a pension which they had earned and transferred them in mass to relief rolls. He had no recognition at all for Spanish and World War veterans.

He says he has committees right now writing bills to be introduced in 1947. His committee is about 10 years off schedule.

The other candidate dismisses veterans—all veterans—with the statement that they will get "quick service" if he is elected. The crowd which is running him say that my father's recognition of the men and women who fought the nation's wars is a "hand out". Any veterans legislation is looked upon by them as a hand out.

They have wrecked the administration of the GI Bill in Georgia. It has bogged down in indifference and incompetence and red tape. Less than 15 per cent of the

Wait 'Till The Sun Shines, Nellie!

Nellie jumped the gun. Now, Nellie is "Negro people", she says, and [illegible]actions out in the Ashby Street section in [illegible]d helped swing the pendulum to ring[illegible]swoman.

Nellie walked rig[illegible]d tossed her "pancake" into the ring for public office—against a white incumbent—subject to the Arnall-revised (or Arnall-colored) Democratic White Primary.

A white man and a colored man came to see her, she said, and told her the time for negroes to run was at hand—and it looked like, from the papers that it was.

But Nellie jumped out again. C. A. Scott, President of the Fulton County Democratic Club went to see her. "See here, Nellie," he said, "this'll never do! Wait till the sun shines, Nellie—'till we get 'Gene Talmadge out of the picture; wait 'till we get Jimmie in—then you can run!"

The Next Governor

A farmer donned in [illegible]ger-alls,
Trod the furrows o[illegible] a two horse plow,
Tilling the soil in a l[illegible]ely field—
As the sweat pour[illegible] off his brow

Is This The Good Government You Propose, Mr. Carmichael?

The good people of Georgia should know that the Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Mr. Ralph McGill, is a charter member and one of the organizers of the Southern Regional Council. This "uplift" society was one of three such societies to receive a $25,000.00 appropriation from the Rosenwald fund in one single handout.

The sole purpose of the Southern Regional Council as reported in the columns of Mr. McGill's newspaper, the Atlanta Constitution, is to improve race relations between the Negro and the White people. In order to accomplish this, they propose nothing for the White people, but for the Negro they recommend.

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2. Abolition of the White Primary where it exists. *(Georgians are, of course, aware of the support given to this plank by Governor Arnall, Mr. McGill, Mr. Carmichael, the Atlanta Constitution and James M. Cox.)*

3. Extension of the growing practice of employing Negro policemen and firemen in Southern cities and equal treatment of members of both races by the police and the courts. *(Those who have the opportunity of seeing out-of-state newspapers will know that this "uplift" society has accomplished its purpose of placing Negro policemen in the city of Richmond, Virginia.)*

4. Equalization of educational opportunity and facilities and pay for teachers. *(We wonder if the good people of our State realize that this simple sounding phrase "equalization of educational opportunity and facilities" really means that these "up-*

For Failure of Veterans' Program

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They have wrecked the administration of the GI Bill in Georgia. It has bogged down in indifference and incompetency and red tape. Less than 15 per cent of the veterans of Georgia have received anything whatever from the GI Bill—except unemployment pay, and if they had administered this law with reasonable fairness not a veteran would have needed to draw pay for unemployment.

They are sitting over there at the capitol right this minute with a Veterans Resettlement Corporation which could be put to work in the morning, and which would finance the purchase of homes and farms and businesses for these veterans—so they could get started and get off the unemployment pay and begin to earn money. But all this "quick service", "good government" crowd can do is to hinder and delay, and fuss about who is the boss. The whole structure blew up last week when the men acquainted with educational matters were let out; the Board, not a member of which purports to know anything about schools and schooling, hamstrung them until they could not get the GI Schools started. And they quit in disgust. That means more delay, and thousands of veterans have thrown up their hands and kissed the GI Bill goodbye.

We had this "quick service" crowd after the first World

(Continued on Page 2)

Eugene Talmadge Will Speak

Millen, Georgia, 4:00 P. M., Wednesday, June 5th.

Short stops will be made in Camden, Charlton, and Brantley Counties, Thursday, June 6th.

Blackshear, Georgia, 4:00 P. M., Friday, June 7th.

Quitman, Georgia, 11:00 A. M., Saturday, June 8th.

Cairo, Georgia, 3:30 P. M., Saturday, June 8th. Will be broadcast over WSB 4:00 P. M.

Winder, Georgia, 11:30 A. M., Monday, June 10th.

Elberton, Georgia, 11:00 A. M., Tuesday, June 11th.

Clarkesville, Georgia, 4:00 P. M., Tuesday, June 11th.

Indian Springs, Georgia, 3:30 P. M., Wednesday, June 12th .

OVER WSB

4:00 P. M., Saturday, June 8th.

6:30 P. M., Monday, June 10th.

Hon. Roy Harris Will Speak At

GAINESVILLE—Tuesday, June 11, 8:00 P. M.

BUFORD—Saturday, June 15, 3:00 P. M.

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The Next Governor

A farmer donned in over-alls,
Trod the furrows of a two horse plow,
Tilling the soil in a lonely field—
As the sweat poured off his brow.

Verdent fields were his source of strength,
There under the deep blue sky;
His ardent friends were laboring men
And neighbors, who lived near by.

Days passed on—the harvest came—
Then he found his account in red!
Again he studied the farmer's needs,
Who were entitled to more than bread.

Obviously, his thoughts were solemn now,
As he remembered in ages past;
When times were hard and men depressed,
A leader was chosen—at last.

With steadfast hope and courage true
And campaign pledges fair;
The man who toiled in the lonely field,
Was elected to the Governor's chair.

His name is known [illegible] north to south,
From the west[illegible] to Maine;
He put on sale th[illegible] tags—
His promises a[illegible] in vain.

Although maligned by slandering press,
He is not alone in his fight—
Georgia will rally to his support,
Keeping a White Primary—White.

He remembers his friends in over-alls,
And those who are in despair,
He knows their every problem—NOW,
And will go back to the Governor's chair.

Thus, friends in office, shop or field,
May render some helpful deeds—
By supporting the man who kept his word,
In relieving human needs.

—A Talmadge supporter.

Did You Know?

That Mr. Carmichael recommended that the Revenue Department be allowed 10 percent of any delinquent remittance it could obtain from County Tax Collectors or other persons it could catch and fine.

For proof see—Communication No. 15, House Journal, Volume I, Special Session, dated February 8, 1939, page 486.

You Propose, Mr. Carmichael?

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4. Equalization of educational opportunity and facilities and pay for teachers. *(We wonder if the good people of our State realize that this simple sounding phrase "equalization of educational opportunity and facilities" really means that these "uplifters" propose that the Negro use the same "facilities" as the White people, which means that White children should go to the same schools with Negroes and use the same teachers.)*

5. Extension of publicly financed low-cost housing.

6. Increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis. *(This means that both races use the same Doctors and Dentists, at the same time, on an equal basis. If you doubt it, read the next proposal by this negrophile group whose principal backers in Georgia are also the principal supporters of Mr. Carmichael.)*

7. That equal accommodations for Negroes as provided under the law be actually provided on all public transportation facilities and that discriminatory practices now common in travel be abolished. *(Street-cars are public transportation facilities, so are busses and trains. When they speak of "discriminatory practices now common in travel being abolished" they simply mean that a negro may take a seat beside a Southern white lady on a bus, train or street-car and nothing should be done about it.)*

Is this the good government you propose, Mr. Carmichael?

The above seven recommendations, minus the Italics, is what Mr. McGill and the Southern Regional Council refer to as a progressive movement. This is their "good government". Read the rest of the article printed in the Atlanta Constitution of December 7, 1944.

Rainey Incident

"In another resolution the council protested the dismissal of Dr. Homer P. Rainey, as president of the University of Texas, calling the action 'a startling infringement of personal and academic freedom and a severe blow to those southern persons and agencies working for democratic rights'."

"That resolution commented further:"

" 'The Southern Regional Council believes in Dr. Rainey because of his long and effective participation in progressive movements. It believes in him because of his close association with us in the formation of Southern Regional Council, which he now serves as vice president'."

Mr. McGill has repeatedly told the people of Georgia that there was no attempt being made to allow the negro to vote . . . that there is no attempt being made in Georgia to break down southern traditions. He keeps telling the people today that there is no movement to destroy southern traditions . . . that Eugene Talmadge is merely raising a smoke screen upon which to run a campaign. He tells the people this when he is a charter member, an organizer and one of the incorporators of the very organization whose sole purpose it is to abolish the segregation laws and destroy southern traditions.

But today the newspaper of which he is Editor, the Atlanta Constitution, has given him the lie.

(Continued on Page 4)

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

The Statesman

Published Weekly

The Statesman Publishing Co., Inc.

1422 Wm.-Oliver Bldg., Phone MA. 7525
Atlanta, Georgia

THE PEOPLE _____ EDITOR

EUGENE TALMADGE _____ Associate Editor

W. H. Kimbrough _____ Managing Editor

Member Georgia Press Association

Entered as second-class matter April 17, 1939, at the Post Office at Hapeville, Georgia, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, PER YEAR $1.50
6 Months _____ 75c

Lincoln's Views On Political Equality

From his speech at Charleston, Ill., September 8, 1858.

"I am **not** now, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social or political equality of the white and black races. I am not now, nor never have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor of inter-marriages with white people. There is a physical difference which will forever forbid the two races living together on social or political equality.

"There must be a position of Superior and Inferior, and I am in favor of assigning the superior position to the White man."

See "Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln", pp. 492-493. Edited by Philip Van Doren Stern. Published by Random House, New York, 1940.

Talmadge Cites Primary Laws At Moultrie

Moultrie, Ga., June 1.—Eugene Talmadge invaded Mou

Talmadge Opponents Attacked For Failure of Veterans Program

(Continued from Page 1)

War. They objected to Spanish and World War veterans having the free business license which my father sponsored in 1935. They brought suit to have it declared unconstitutional on the grounds that it was "class legislation"—that it was a "hand out". That grand old man of the Georgia Supreme Court, Justice Marcus Beck, wrote the opinion in the case and he said this:

> I heard nobody object to putting these young men in a "special class" when they were being summoned to the draft boards to be trained to fight a ruthless enemy on foreign soil. And I am not going to hear anybody object now to putting them in a class to receive free license.

And another grand old man of the Georgia Supreme Court, Chief Justice Richard B. Russell, saved this law from another attack. It stood on the statute books until Ellis Arnall, and this "good government", "quick service" crowd tore it to bits in 1943.

This crowd didn't yell "hand out!" when drill sergeants were passing out rifles. They said nothing about "special class" when they were be[illegible]ed into draft boards.

It is bad grace for the [illegible]lling it now!

Now, my father did no[illegible] he got into a political campaign to become veter[illegible]d.

The word "veteran" was not mentioned in the campaign of 1932. After he had been elected by the white people of Georgia, and at a time when there was not the slightest need to curry favor of veterans, he walked out on the platform at the Democratic State Convention in Macon in October 1932, and, among other things, he said this:

> "I shall not forget the debt of honor which this state owes to its veterans, and that means the veterans of the Spanish-American and World Wars as well as Confederate Veterans and their widows."

That was the first time a governor designate had mentioned veterans in an acceptance speech since the days of John B. Gordon and Alfred Colquitt.

And he followed this up—not mealy-mouthed and half-heartedly. He paid back pensions to Confederate Veterans and their widows—the first time they had been paid in full since Appomattox. He redeemed Georgia's debt of honor to them, and his successor—a candidate in this race—reduced them to relief clients.

Many years before my father became Governor the state had obligated itself to pay the burial expenses of Confederate Veterans and their widows. Not a cent had

He says that Talmadge has turned right around now, and wants them repealed.

Ralph reminds you of a good old immigrant woman who hadn't been in the country long. "I was goin' to the spring for a pail of water," she said, "and the wind was blowin' right in my **face.** And when I was comin' back with my pail of water the wind was blowin' right in my **back.** America is the changeablest country I ever saw!"

Rosenwald Ralph is confused. He has turned around, and he thinks the wind has changed.

Talmadge did sponsor laws to protect elections against fraud, and to protect the County Unit System against such fellows as consort with the Rosenwald Foundation emisaries in Georgia. And we had a fine, well rounded, system of elections which enabled us to have a white primary.

This "good government" crowd attacked the White Primary in such an insidious way that they cut the heart out of the plan which white people in Georgia had built up. They brought a fake case against themselves, filed a false answer and made a false statement of facts which they knew would make it impossible for them to win. Then they streamlined it through the courts in six weeks so they could have a bloc of negro votes this summer. If the case had been honestly defended it would have required 18 to 24 months for it to have been decided by the Supreme Court.

They did not destroy all of our election laws—if they had we would have had a white primary. They left enough of our election laws hanging on to prevent a white primary. Talmadge urged a special session of the General Assembly to repeal the only laws left to prevent any argument that a white primary could not be held. But they are swinging onto these laws, and the Governor said he would veto any bill which repealed them.

We had a white primary based upon party rules up until the Neil Primary laws were passed. All we need now to have a white primary is to get a State Democratic Executive Committee that wants a white primary. South Carolina met the situation very promptly, and Georgia can meet it when the state government and the party machinery is returned to the control of white people who live in Georgia.

We can have a White Primary and a County Unit System. Under the police authority of the state, we can have laws regulating fraud and corruption in the ballot box. Any person who has the slightest knowledge of the law knows this fact and Judge Samuel B. Sibley, when writing this decision, went out of his way when he specifically stated, "For example, the forbidding the sale or furnishing of intoxicants on election days, whether the election

Entered as second-class matter April 17, 1939, at the Post Office at Hapeville, Georgia, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Lincoln's Views On Political Equality

From his speech at Charleston, Ill., September 8, 1858.

"I am **not** now, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social or political equality of the white and black races. I am not now, nor never have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor of inter-marriages with white people. There is a physical difference which will forever forbid the two races living together on social or political equality.

"There must be a position of Superior and Inferior, and I am in favor of assigning the superior position to the White man."

See "Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln", pp. 492-493. Edited by Philip Van Doren Stern. Published by Random House, New York, 1940.

Talmadge Cites Primary Laws At Moultrie

Moultrie, Ga., June 1.—Eugene Talmadge invaded Moultrie today and took the city by a storm of public approval. Speaking to the large crowd which gathered here, he urged voters to unite under a banner of Southern tradition and heritage to preserve the white primary.

Close attention was paid by the audience when Talmadge revealed that negroes comprise over 55 per cent of the population in 92 counties of Georgia and 50 per cent or more of the population in 47 counties of the state.

"The people of Georgia must decide whether or not the white people will continue to run the state or whether they are willing to turn it over to the Moscow-Harlem zoot suiters. If the white primary is not preserved, the negroes will vote in a block and soon will dominate the elections. Colored candidates will then be elected to office and our Jim Crow laws will be destroyed. South Carolina retained their white primary and so can Georgia."

Talmadge explained that the white primary can be retained without jeopardizing the county unit system. The county unit system can be written in the State Constitution. The white primary can be included in the rules of the State Democratic Committee with a provision that such rules cannot be changed except by four-fifths vote of the delegates assembled at the Democratic Convention.

Promising a broad progressive government with better jobs, opportunities and a better livelihood for the people of the state, the former Governor offered a constructive program for increased salaries for school teachers and bus drivers, loans and local vocational training for veterans, an effective health service with hospitals for rural areas, hard surfaced post and school roads, improved farming conditions.

Turning to the provisions for aid to our old persons, the Gubernatorial candidate said that "he had received thousands of pitiful letters from old persons in Georgia who are hardly existing on the bare necessities of life. These people who are entitled to a pension are getting a mere pittance or nothing at all. When elected Governor, I shall work to see that every old person in this state who makes application receives a pension substantial enough to support himself and his family."

Do we want honesty in government as we have had for the last three and a half years? Do we?

We want another administration that will write us up in the South—hating, Negro-loving Collier's and refer to our inferiority complex, do we?

So that's what constitutes a good, honest and clean administration, is it? Honest administration, hey! Its to laugh.

JOSH MOSES.

Fitzgerald.

receive free license.

And another grand old man of the Georgia Supreme Court, Chief Justice Richard B. Russell, saved this law from another attack. It stood on the statute books until Ellis Arnall, and this "good government", "quick service" crowd tore it to bits in 1943.

This crowd didn't yell "hand out!" when drill sergeants were passing out rifles. They said nothing about "special class" when they were be[illegible]ed into draft boards.

It is bad grace for the[illegible]lling it now!

Now, my father did no[illegible]he got into a political campaign to become veter[illegible]d.

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Many years before my father became Governor the state had obligated itself to pay the burial expenses of Confederate Veterans and their widows. Not a cent had ever been paid, and practically every undertaker in the state held these unpaid bills. He paid every one of them.

Out of a sense of justice to Spanish and World War veterans he sponsored the Veterans License Law of 1935, the first Georgia Governor since the Confederate Home was built.

We had some veterans legislation back in 1924, but that was sponsored by veterans' organizations.

But every bill sponsored by the veterans' organizations at the last session of the Legislature was killed by this "good government", "quick service" crowd. These bills were designed to clear up the trouble which came to the surface last week when the group of educators quit in disgust.

You veterans, and friends and relatives of veterans, know my father's legislative program for those who left their homes, and their businesses and schools to engage in war. This program has been widely publicised, particularly in the May issue of the Georgia Legionnaire.

Instead of costing the taxpayers of Georgia money, this program will be the backbone of the state's economy for a generation. For every dollar we put in it we will get back ten.

Now, it will cost a few [illegible] dollars to exempt veterans from state ad valo[illegible] for five years, and tax collectors will miss a few [illegible] and if we give veterans free business license and an honorary driver's license.

But, balance this off with the money available under the GI Bill to give farm training, and other vocational training, to around 300 thousand Georgia veterans—and balance it off as against the millions of dollars now available to veterans for low-interest, long-term loans.

We are losing this under the policies of the present administration—about 85 per cent as regards schooling and training, and about 98 per cent as regards loans available.

The loss in dollars and cents is staggering—but consider the loss of opportunities to the veterans, I mean individual veterans. You will understand the loss when you compare a job-hunter, drawing unemployment pay, to a trained man, or woman, operating a farm which they own, or a skilled worker or a man running his own business. And when you consider this as to a single individual, multiply it by the number of veterans in Georgia and you will see what a continuation of the Arnall policy will cost.

Now, for your amusement: You probably read an editorial in this morning's Atlanta Constitution—written by Rosenwald Ralph McGill.

Rosenwald Ralph says that back in 1938, and as late as 1941, Talmadge wanted laws to protect the white primary against fraud; that he wanted laws to protect the County Unit System.

out of the plan which white people in Georgia had built up. They brought a fake case against themselves, filed a false answer and made a false statement of facts which they knew would make it impossible for them to win. Then they streamlined it through the courts in six weeks so they could have a bloc of negro votes this summer. If the case had been honestly defended it would have required 18 to 24 months for it to have been decided by the Supreme Court.

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We had a white primary based upon party rules up until the Neil Primary laws were passed. All we need now to have a white primary is to get a State Democratic Executive Committee that wants a white primary. South Carolina met the situation very promptly, and Georgia can meet it when the state government and the party machinery is returned to the control of white people who live in Georgia.

We can have a White Primary and a County Unit System. Under the police authority of the state, we can have laws regulating fraud and corruption in the ballot box. Any person who has the slightest knowledge of the law knows this fact and Judge Samuel B. Sibley, when writing this decision, went out of his way when he specifically stated, "For example, the forbidding the sale or furnishing of intoxicants on election days, whether the election is a party primary or an election by the people, Georgia Code 58-609, is for the peace and good order of the community, an ordinary exercise of police power. So are the statutes which are designed to prevent frauds, for the State can rightly concern itself in the prevention of fraud in any sort."

Newspaper files of 1939 and 40 will show that Talmadge defended the County Unit System against the attacks of the Atlanta Constitution and the Atlanta Journal. They were directing their fight against the County Unit System then. They are using it now as a subterfuge—making out like they are afraid it will be endangered if we repeal the Neil Primary law. They ought to be honest enough to tell the people of their designs.

If they are returned to power for four more years of radical control by their out-of-state friends they are not above "throwing" a case which will destroy segregation laws. There is a terrific onslaught being made on these laws right now—from all over the North and East. Another fake case or two and we will have a worse than F.E.P.C., and federal officers will hound men down to force them to mix the races in stores and factories, in hotels and restaurants, in schools and everywhere else. And this will cease to be a white man's country.

Rosenwald Ralph and his crowd want it that way.

Rosenwald Ralph and his crowd have just turned around—the wind had not changed directions.

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Did You Know?

That the Atlanta Journal, and its present candidate for Governor now expressing such concern over the County Unit system, strongly advocated in 1940 the reduction of Georgia's counties to 40 in number, which would of course mean the loss of the County Unit system.

For proof see—Editorial in the Atlanta Journal dated April 30, 1940.

The Plan Unfolds

The action of the Fifth Congressional District Executive Committee in abolishing the rule of electing candidates to Congress by popular vote and substituting therefor the county unit system brought bitter recriminations and denunciations from certain interests in Atlanta. These same interests raise their pious hands in holy horror when a rule is changed by a committee but suffer no qualms of conscience whatsoever in attempting to change a constitutional law that had been approved by the people.

At the same time a speaker who enjoys the support of these same interests was making a speech before the State Democratic Executive Committee advocating the retention of the county unit system.

Some one was paying lip service to this principle. Who do you think it was; the servant or the master?

Now, as Ralph McGill said in Tuesday's Constitution, "this is neither pro nor con. These are facts."

Now, what follows is editorial opinion and you can take it or leave it. But, just as sure as God made little green apples, these same interests are laying the groundwork for the abolition of the county unit system. When they get a certain element of our population registered, and they are certain that they control the balance of power, then they are coming out in the open and put the question to the vote of the people. This accomplished, the next step will be the consolidation of Georgia's 159 counties into about fifty, and they'll see to it that these fifty will contain a majority of the urban vote, combined with the element now registering, will give them absolute control of Georgia politics. Then goodbye to local self-government.

Oh, you'll be reassured with pious platitudes and glittering generalities, all in the name of good

Time to Wake Up!

For sometime there has been a constant drive put on by the Atlanta newspapers and a bunch of politicians around the state capitol, who are drawing large salaries from the State funds, to make the country counties pay more money into the State treasury.

They claim that Fulton, Bibb, Chatham, Richmond, Muscogee and a few other counties pay into the State treasury the greater part of the State funds. They call Talbot county and other country counties "pauper counties." They argue that these counties receive more money from the State treasury than they pay into the State treasury. This is true if we count only what Talbot county and other similar counties pay in State ad valorem taxes.

This propaganda has been put out so much that some citizens in this county actually believe that our county is an object of charity, supported by tax funds from the larger counties. Those who argue that we are not paying our prorata share of the State taxes only take into consideration the ad valorem tax. They never mention the special taxes we pay, not the corporate taxes, the intangible taxes, the gasoline and oil taxes. All of these make a considerable amount.

Another feature that some of our citizens fail to consider is that the cities in these larger counties Atlanta, Columbus, Savannah, Macon and Augusta, are fed and supported largely by the smaller counties around them. Thousands upon thousands of dollars are spent in Columbus from Talbot county every year. Also a considerable amount is spent in Atlanta and Macon. In that way the people of Talbot county contribute, indirectly, to the State treasury through Muscogee, Fulton and Bibb counties.

Being country counties, with

Lady Writes Editor McGill

Atlanta, Ga.,
May 23, 1946.

Mr. Ralph McGill,
Editor, The Constitution,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. McGill:

You recently wrote in your column that the better element of Georgia was backing Jimmy Carmichael, and I was just a little curious to know who they were. Being a neutral, or rather endorsing neither candidate, I have been attending these rallies to see what I could learn from these men. This brings me up to the rally, Tuesday night at the Erlanger Theatre, by ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge. There, I really got a dose of the "better el-e mint" as Ed Rivers so ably put it. There was a bloc of about one hundred teen-agers, who, by their own acknowledgment, said they were for Mr. Carmichael; pleaded guilty to attending G[illegible]gia Tech and who boo-ed [illegible] heckled two war veterans [illegible] they attempted to speak. [illegible]member, those two veterans were sent into foreign lands and seas to fight for freedom of speech but when they attempted this in their own country, the privilege was denied them. This was no compliment to Jas. Carmichael or was it? Is it what the people will get when, and if, this man is elected governor of Georgia? Will free speech, even by our veterans, be abolished and a totalitarian form of government set up? Remember a man is known by his works and his works live after him. This demonstration was a disgrace to the homes these boys and girls represented and to the teachers who taught them. They did not go there with an open mind to learn, instead they went with that in their minds which had been taught them in the home and their school. It proves, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that teen-agers should not fight and

Rally Held To End Racial Segregation

Speaking at a Rally attended by a crowd of more than three thousand at an "I am an American Day" program, co-sponsored by the Pittsburg Courier, Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior, advised the Negroes of the Nation not to yield too quickly to either the Republican or the Democratic party but to use their balance of power to divide and conquer the politicians.

The Rally was sponsored by the "Committee for Racial Democracy" and more than $1,000 was contributed toward a $25,000 fund sought by the Negroes to fight Racial Segregation in Washington.

Former Secretary Ickes advised the predominantly Negro group that without the Negro vote neither the Republicans nor Democrats can hope to win in at [illegible]st 5 crucial States in the North, [illegible] carrying of which would be [illegible]ary for either party to win [illegible]e elections in November or [illegible]1948.

Mr. Ickes told the negroes that a balance of power is as effective in politics as a majority. He cited the House of Representatives as an example and further told the group that in possessing the balance of power they were in a position to form alliances with independent political groups that would be more interested in the causes of men, than in offices.

Mr. Ickes said that because he is for freedom, he is against segregation and explained that all public properties should be for the use of all citizens. He pointed out to gathering that he had recommended William H. Hastie as Negro Governor for the Virgin Islands.

The Committee for Racial Democracy using as its theme: "We are Americans, too," demanded that Washington end all Racial Segregation. Leon Ransom, Negro Chairman of the Committee,

Better Postwar Race Relations Urged By SRC

From the Atlanta Constitution of December 7th, 1944 By The Associated Press

Asserting "every effort must be made to prepare the people of the south for the returning Negro and white soldier, the Southern Regional Council adopted yesterday a seven-point program of recommended action.

The council, composed of white and Negro leaders sponsoring better race relations, adopted as a basis of its program six points offered by Editor Virginius Dabney, of the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, as chairman of the resolutions committee. The seventh point was added from the floor at the council's annual meeting here.

The recommendations:

1. Employment of all persons on the basis of ability, with due regard for seniority rights.

2. Abolition of the white primary where it exists.

FOR NEGRO POLICEMEN

3. Extension of the growing practice of employing Negro policemen and firemen in Southern cities and equal treatment of members of both races by the police and the courts.

4. Equalization of educational opportunity and facilities and pay for teachers.

5. Extension of publicly financed low-cost housing.

6. Increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis.

7. That equal accommodations for Negroes as provided under the law be actually provided on all public transportation facilities and that discriminatory practices now common in travel be abolished.

RAINEY INCIDENT

In another resolution the council protested the dismissal of Dr. Homer P. Rainey as president of the University of Texas, calling the action "a startling infringement of personal and academic freedom and a severe blow to those southern persons and agencies working for democratic rights."

That resolution commented further:

"The Southern Regional Council believes in Dr. Rainey because of his long and effective participation in progressive movements. It believes in him because of his close association with us in the formation of SRC, which he now serves as vice president."

ing space is defeated by the school segregation policy because opponents successfully argue that it

Miss. Methodists Hit Church Editors

IVERNESS, Miss., May 30 (U.P.) — A Mississippi Methodist district conference charged Thursday that Methodist Sunday school literature had become "political" and aimed at "social equality," and asked the church to investigate.

State Senator Oscar Wolfe, of Duncan, Mississippi Methodist leader, charged that Methodist church school publications "for the past two years have been an offense to the intelligence of the average pupil."

"We have lived peacefully with other races for centuries," a motion adopted by the group said, "are perhaps better qualified to know just how to live with these people in brotherly love than some who prepare the material." —Atlanta Journal, May 30, 1946.

Rosenwald Money Given Race Council

The Southern Regional Council on Race Relations in Atlanta was

who enjoys the support of these same interests was making a speech before the State Democratic Executive Committee advocating the retention of the county unit system.

Some one was paying lip service to this principle. Who do you think it was; the servant or the master?

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Oh, you'll be reassured with pious platitudes and glittering generalities, all in the name of good government and democracy, and all the while being prepared to be taken for a ride. Notice the straws in the wind, they'll give you some insight what's in store for you. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The camel is pushing his nose into the tent. If he is not given a sharp rap upon it, he'll soon push you out and possess it for himself.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." — The Oglethorpe Echo.

Did You Know?

That Mr. Carmichael proposed to reduce Georgia's Senators from 52 to 10 and her Representatives from 206 to 52 in number.

For proof see pages 542 and 666 of Georgia House Journal of 1939.

REGISTER NOW

In all counties, other than Fulton, it is possible to register and vote in this year's primary up until July 5, 1946.

Since the abolishing of the poll tax law in Georgia, it is now possible for many citizens to be restored to the voters list.

Be sure to register before July 5, and see that your name is on the voters list—AND VOTE.

You do not have to pay any poll taxes to register or any back poll taxes. The Attorney-General, Mr. Eugene Cook, has ruled that back poll taxes will be wiped out and they cannot collect them from you. This applies to young and old, male and female.

All white people that will be 18 years old before the general election in November 1946 should go to the Courthouse and register with the Tax Collector or the Tax Commissioner.

Register NOW and see that your name is on the voters list.

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This propaganda has been put out so much that some citizens in this county actually believe that our county is an object of charity, supported by tax funds from the larger counties. Those who argue that we are not paying our prorata share of the State taxes only take into consideration the ad valorem tax. They never mention the special taxes we pay, not the corporate taxes, the intangible taxes, the gasoline and oil taxes. All of these make a considerable amount.

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Being country counties, with the population not as dense as in the larger counties it naturally costs more for education per child than in the more densely populated towns and counties.

We deny the charge in full that Talbot county is receiving more from the State treasury than the county is putting into it. It is time for the people of Talbot and other small counties to wake up and stop swallowing the dope dished out to them by politicians whose ever cry is "More Money" and who have concocted this scheme to have the valuation in the smaller counties doubled, so they can have more money to squander on their pet schemes.

Talbot county is paying its part of the State's expenses and has been all along and we do not believe that there is any reason to increase taxes now.—Talbotton New Era.

PASS THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

Incorporators Of The Southern Regional Council

The purpose of the Southern Regional Council has been outlined elsewhere in the Statesman under an article entitled "Is This The Good Government You Propose, Mr. Carmichael?"

The incorporators of this council are as follows:

Rufus E. Clement, Negro, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

MR. RALPH McGILL, 3399 Piedmont Road, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Bishop Arthur J. Moore, 1976 North Decatur Road, Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fiske University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

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The ministers are using their pulpit time to discuss the Klan and racial equality. A Bible student knows why a Negro is a Negro and even though we were created equal, there is no such thing as social equality anywhere. As to the Klan, there is no difference in it and any other secret order, the Masonic for instance, except those who discount it, are not members for some reason. What can we expect of our chil[illegible] when the home, school [illegible] church, put words into [illegible] mouths that can do nothin[illegible] stir up strife?

Being a Republican, I am for neither candidate, however, I am proud that none of those in the catcall gallery Tuesday night were of my politics; refusing men, who had given up everything they held precious to fight for what they were told was democracy, the right of freedom of speech. Instead these rabble-rousers were a very good specimen of the "BETTER EL-E-MINT."

Thank you.

—Mrs. Maud S. Wright.

Did You Know?

That James V. Carmichael, ignoring the wishes of the people as expressed by a referendum, sponsored and passed the bill to legalize the sale of liquor in the State of Georgia.

For proof see — substitute to House Bill, No. 427, dated March 17, 1937, page 2834 of the House Journal.

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The Committee for Racial Democracy using as its theme: "We are Americans, too," demanded that Washington end all Racial Segregation. Leon Ransom, Negro Chairman of the Committee, charged that discrimination had its genesis in the segregation policy of the public schools. He said, "We can't grow up to know each other and to discover that we are all are Americans."

Ransom further charged that the effort to get better jobs for Negroes, to provide adequate recreation facilities and more living space is defeated by the school segregation policy because opponents successfully argue that it would involve a violation of the accepted pattern of segregation.

The present Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, co-sponsor of the Rally, stated that the Negro press will continue to demand first-class citizenship for Negroes and will keep alive insults and humiliations until such things are abolished.

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close association with us in the formation of SRC, which he now serves as vice president."

Miss. Methodists Hit Church Editors

IVERNESS, Miss., May 30 (U.P.) — A Mississippi Methodist district conference charged Thursday that Methodist Sunday school literature had become "political" and aimed at "social equality," and asked the church to investigate.

State Senator Oscar Wolfe, of Duncan, Mississippi Methodist leader, charged that Methodist church school publications "for the past two years have been an offense to the intelligence of the average pupil."

"We have lived peacefully with other races for centuries," a motion adopted by the group said, "are perhaps better qualified to know just how to live with these people in brotherly love than some who prepare the material."
—Atlanta Journal, May 30, 1946.

Rosenwald Money Given Race Council

The Southern Regional Council on Race Relations in Atlanta was one of three organizations to receive a $25,000 appropriation from the trustees of the Julius Rosenwald Fund at a Chicago meeting.

The Bureau for Intercultural Education, at New York, and the American Council on Race Relations at Chicago were the others.
—Atlanta Journal, 11-22-44.

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$1,615,513 Spent To End Segregation

Yes, Mr. McGill and Mr. Atlanta Constitution, let us stick to the record. Let us review the record. This time let it be your record that we review.

In 1942 you and the Carmichael crowd, which you term the "Good Government" crowd, were telling the people of Georgia that there was no effort being made or any money being spent, to break down the segregation laws and the Southern traditions of the Southland.

While doing this you referred to Mr. Embree, President of the Rosenwald Fund, and his paid employee, Walter D. Cocking, of the University of Georgia, as being great statesmen with no intent whatever in the back of their minds toward abolishing the segregation laws in the South or permitting Negroes to go to school with whites, or to ride on streetcars, busses or trains with white Southerners.

At the very same time you were telling the people of Georgia this through the columns of the Atlanta Constitution, Mr. McGill, you were a member of a group, whose policies, recommendations and purposes are outlined in another part of this issue of the Statesman. Your group has been the recipient of $25,000 in one handout of the Rosenwald Fund for the purpose of breaking down the segregation laws in the South.

You knew of this drive, Mr. McGill, because you were a member and a part of it. But you did not tell the people of it. In fact, you denied it.

Yes, Mr. McGill, let us stick to the record. Let us review the record, Mr. McGill.

A portion of the record is as follows, reproduced from the columns of the New York Times of November 20, 1944. A newspaper of excellent repute concerning the truthfulness of its news columns.

Mr. Edwin R. Embree, president of the Rosenwald Fund, said in part: "In spite of continued segregation and discrimination, the training and experiece in the armed forces has been tremendous." . . . "Coming back from such experience, the whole male population of the race will never again fit into the serfdom of southern feudalism or into second class status in Northern industrial cities." "It is too late ever again to keep the Negroes in their place."

The group, known as the Southern Regional Council, of which you are a charter member and one of the incorporators, has been the recipient of $25,000.000 of this Negro money in one handout, Mr. McGill.

You know the purpose of this movement of which you are one of the incorporators, Mr. McGill. Yet you deny it. Why, Mr. McGill?

Is this your "Good Government," Mr. Carmichael?

If so, let us pray.

The article from the New York signs—in employment, growth unions, rising political power ucation, civil rights defend the courts, the spread of int cial organizations, new opportunities in the armed services, etc.—Mr. Embree concludes:

"In spite of continued segregation and discrimination, the training and experience in the armed forces have been tremendous. A million Negroes, practically all the young men of the group between 18 and 30, have been given an education far beyond any school or college. They have been well housed and well fed. Their health has been safeguarded and their strength built up. They have been trained disciplined—for the most part in wholesome fashion. They have seen other parts of the country and of the world. Along with slights, most soldiers have sensed wide horizons and have had some warming experiences of respect and admiration as they moved over America, through the Pacific and in Europe.

Is This The Good Government You Propose, Mr. Carmichael?

(Continued from Page 1)

Little did he know when he printed the story of what the Southern Regional Council proposed as "Better Postwar Race Relations" that the people of Georgia would discover that he was a charter member and organizer of this group which proposes to destroy Southern traditions. Thus it comes to pass, that the very man who has shouted the loudest that there is no movement toward social equality in the South, is the leader of that same movement in Georgia.

Yes, Mr. McGill, when we said "them lyin' newspapers" that is what we meant.

Yes, Mr. Atlanta Constitution, let the people reason together, in order that they may determine what can be done to protect themselves from these marplot, outside, alien influences, led by certain misguided individuals within our State.

Since you are the hand-picked candidate of this group, Mr. Carmichael, may we ask again. Is this your idea of "Good Government"?

doubt that he should be the recipient of all of the well thinking people of Georgia who want clean and honest government. Especially did he outline himself where there should not be the slightest doubt in any Negro's mind throughout the state, but if their votes would have anything to do with it he will be the next governor of the state of Georgia. His stand for good government cannot help one group and have an ill effect on another, but would be the good, fair and honest government for all.

His stand against such organizations as the K. K. K. is encouraging not only to the Negro but to any race which would stand for the better elements of life. His position on the teachers' pay would encourage not only the Negro teachers' vote but all teachers' vote. His stand on the color line is in line with the decent thinking Negro and the decent thinking white man. Negroes are not disturbed over social equality a decent living condition and ht to better his economic, so- nd political standards. To who did ask of him as to how he stood on the "white primary" issue he immediately told them that the law of the land had settled that issue and he showed that he had the utmost respect for the law of the highest court of the land. The Voice goes for Carmichael.

—From the Macon Voice,
Middle Georgia's only
Negro Weekly.

PASS THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

Negro Women Suggested As Labor Source

The Southern Frontier, a publication of the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated, Atlanta, stated that Negro women offer a virtually untouched labor source

OVER THE MILL WHEEL

By CLARA ROBBINS

I can't find any yellow, second-sheet paper in my desk this morning. That sister of mine has a way of writing on my typewriter though she has a better one of her own; she musses up my stuff, moves the envelopes, clips, pencils, etc., and has used all the yellow paper. When she wakes up—I am writing early—she will hand me over a fistful of white paper and let it go at that. But somehow I don't seem to think as easily on white paper as I do on the other, from force of habit. I use second-sheets for first draft of anything to be published; then I put white paper in the machine, and go over making corrections taking out and putting in, etc.—I know you wish she hadn't taken that yellow paper, so you wouldn't have to read all this.

Have been sick for a week, but feeling lots better this morning. Have suffered terribly, it seems that old arthritis came back on me and with a vengeance; even a slight case of arthritis is withering. I had it two years ago for a long time and it almost put me out. Managed to get to Sunday school yesterday, bad as I felt. As I sat down by a friend she naturally asked how I was getting on, knowing I was sick. I told her I still was feeling pretty bad, just could get there. She smiled, and said, "Well, I am going to tell you something that will make you feel better." Of course I wondered what she had to impart, thought most likely it was some friend-tried prescription that would help this "misery in the back," and to the drugstore I would go. But she had something even better than that. Listen, friends, here's what she said:

"Last night Mr. X signed a check for _____(away up in

ther and full cooperation in every way.

Well, the campaign is progressing, mills grinding slowly, but I hope exceedingly fine. Good reports that Talmadge will be the next governor—but we never can tell. With the Journal and Constitution fighting as they do there is not much place for a let-up for any of us. Some one may say, "I can't do much, can not give big checks, or even small ones, nothing I can do." Suppose we look around and see. I believe I have said before, every little bit helps; despise not the day of small things. One of the easiest things to do is to listen to every one of the Talmadge radio addresses. That is the most pleasant duty. If you have a radio, you can do a good service by insisting that some people who have none come in and hear the Talmadge address with you. If no radio in your home mention to some friend that you want to hear these speeches, and almost any one will ask you to come over and listen with them on the campaign hour.

Another way to help, read the Statesman thoroughly—even my articles, if not asking too much—send the paper to others when you have read it, and ask them to send it on to some one else. The state needs a man of Governor Talmadge's type to be the head of it, and ask all your friends to vote for him, without fail!

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If so, let us pray.

The article from the New York Times follows:

Embree, in Review on Rosenwald Fund, Says Two-Year Outlay Aids Democracy.

CHICAGO, Nov. 19—In the review of the Julius Rosenwald Fund just issued, Edwin R. Embree, president, reports that during the past two years, 1942-44, the fund expended $1,615,513 on its programs in education and race relations.

The largest single payment was $617,000 to Dillard University in New Orleans, in completing the fund's efforts to build up this and three other university centers for Negroes: Howard University in Washington, Fisk University and Meharry Medical College in Nashville, and the group of colleges in Atlanta, Ga.

Other expenditures included $336,000 for the preparation of white and Negro teachers for rural schools; $226,000 for race relations; $185,000 for fellowships for forty-three Negroes and thirty-one white Southerners; $94,000 for concluding payments on the Negro health program officially ended in 1942.

In reviewing events in the general field of race relations during recent years, Mr. Embree lists the and in Europe.
debits and credits in the balance sheet of race relations.

"The balance," he states, "is tremendous gain for democracy. Never before in America have Negroes been given the opportunities they have today. And they are making the most of them."

After discussing the hopeful signs—in employment, growth [illegible] unions, rising political powe[illegible] ucation, civil rights defende[illegible] the courts, the spread of inte[illegible] cial organizations, new opportunities in the armed services, etc.—Mr. Embree concludes:

"In spite of continued segregation and discrimination, the training and experience in the armed forces have been tremendous. A million Negroes, practically all the young men of the group between 18 and 30, have been given an education far beyond any school or college. They have been well housed and well fed. Their health has been safeguarded and their strength built up. They have been trained disciplined—for the most part in wholesome fashion. They have seen other parts of the country and of the world. Along with slights, most soldiers have sensed wide horizons and have had some warming experiences of respect and admiration as they moved over America, through the Pacific and in Europe.

"Coming back from such experience, the whole young male population of the race will never again fit into the serfdom of Southern feudalism or into second-class status in Northern industrial cities. It is too late ever again to keep Negroes 'in their place.' If we wanted that, we should never have drawn them into war production nor called them to the tremendous education of the armed forces.

"We now have the problem, and the opportunity, to build Negroes, with all other citizens, into a common working force, which may then produce the highest standard of living ever known by any people; into a common culture, which will be enriched by the wisdom and ingenuity of this race as it has been by their art and music; into a common social and political order which may then become a true democracy."

Did You Know?

That James V. Carmichael recommended that the Legislature pass a law to prevent any State Official or Department head from even seeing or talking to an applicant for a state job, except on one set day per month.

For proof see — Volume 1, House Journal, Special Session, dated January 30, 1939, page 270.

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$25.00 Cash for New Subscribers

I believe that your fight for better government can best be advanced by increasing the circulation of the STATESMAN more than in any other way.

I am the widow of Fred B. Lynch, member of the National Democratic Executive Committee of Minnesota for 20 years and Chairman of the Executive Committee during the Wilson administration. I am a native Georgian and I am, at present, living at my home in Lexington, Georgia.

I will give twenty-five ($25.00) dollars in cash to the person sending in the greatest number of subscriptions for the period from MAY 15 to JUNE 15, 1946.

Let's increase the subscription list to Mr. Talmadge's paper, THE STATESMAN.

Send your subscriptions to THE STATESMAN office, 1422 William-Oliver Building, Atlanta, Georgia, where the contest records will be kept.

With best wishes for your success, I am,

Sincerely,
MRS. FRED B. LYNCH
Lexington, Georgia.

Negro Weekly Endo[illegible] Carmichael

Georgia's only weekly Negro newspaper has already placed its stamp of approval on Carmichael's candidacy for Governor. The front page editorial follows:

MARIETTA CANDIDATE COMES OUT WITH TWO-FISTED ATTACK; SAYS COURTS HAVE DE[illegible]DED ISSUE OF THE VOTE

Coming out with a two-fisted attack and drawing no punches, the Honorable James V. Carmichael, of Marietta, on last Friday, May 17, proved beyond any [illegible] for the better elements of life. His position on the teachers' pay would encourage not only the Negro teachers' vote but all teachers' vote. His stand on the color line is in line with the decent thinking Negro and the decent thinking white man. Negroes are not disturbed over social equality [illegible] a decent living condition and [illegible]ht to better his economic, so[illegible]d political standards. To [illegible] who did ask of him as to ho[illegible] he stood on the "white primary" issue he immediately told them that the law of the land had settled that issue and he showed that he had the utmost respect for the law of the highest court of the land. The Voice goes for Carmichael.

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Negro Women Suggested As Labor Source

The Southern Frontier, a publication of the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated, Atlanta, stated that Negro women offer a virtually untouched labor source for Southern industrialists.

Calling attention to Government reports that the textile mills are behind on production and that thousands of workers are needed, the publication asked:

"Would it not be sound business practice for the cotton textile industry in the South to turn its attention to this almost untapped reservoir of woman power?"

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., headquartered in Atlanta, is an interracial relations organization composed largely of Southerners, whites and Negroes.

The council paper said its suggestion would be met with the time-worn cry—"White workers will quit. It can't be done."

"It is being done—and successfully," it replied. "A number of the largest textile plants in the South have been employing Negro women as machine operators [illegible] many months. One plant [illegible] employs more than 5,000 [illegible] is over 40 per cent operat[illegible]y Negroes, predominantly Ne[illegible] women. That plant is meeting its production schedules, employe relations are good, and management is well pleased with the performance of the Negro women."

The paper said the plant referred to approached the matter of employing Negro women by a plant education program in which white workers were consulted on every step taken.

"The number of white workers lost was negligible," it said, "turnover and absenteeism have decreased; production is up to schedule; and that plant has no 'labor shortage problem.'

"There can be no doubt that, regardless of a company's sectional location or past employment practices, Negro workers can be introduced into a plant or their employment opportunities extended, provided management really wants to use a total labor force and is willing to approach the situation squarely."—From the Atlanta Journal 11|19|44.

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"Last night Mr. X signed a check for _____(away up in three figures), and Mr. YZ signed one for four times that amount, as an offering to the Talmadge campaign!!!"—I forgot I had arthritis—for the time, anyway.

I wish I could tell you the names and the amounts as she gave them to me, but you can see that the gifts were indeed sizeable, from these friends of hers, who had also pledged their fur- ones, nothing I can do." Suppose we look around and see. I believe I have said before, every little bit helps; despise not the day of small things. One of the easiest things to do is to listen to every one of the Talmadge radio addresses. That is the most pleasant duty. If you have a radio, you can do a good service by insisting that some people who have none come in and hear the Talmadge address with you. If no radio in your home mention to some friend that you want to hear these speeches, and almost any one will ask you to come over and listen with them on the campaign hour.

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That Mr. Carmichael recommended that assets of the Milledgeville State Hospital amounting to approximately $30,000.00 be turned over to the Director of Public Welfare to spend as he might see fit, without accounting for the same to the Hospital Authority or the State Treasury.

For proof see—Volume I, House Journal, Special Session, dated February 23, 1939, page 853 and 854.

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Southern Liberals On the Move

Liberalism in the South was until very recently a career for the hardy few: Hodding Carter writing fiery editorials in the Mississippi Delta country, Frank Graham, now a U. S. Senator, building a great university at Chapel Hill, and Aubrey Williams preaching simple truths to the dirt farmers. These are the South's famous liberals—each working with great energy, unflagging conviction, and some effect. But until the Southern Regional Council was organized in 1944, many Southerners who had liberal inclinations but less glamorous jobs had failed to pitch in and do their part. This failure, the underlying reason liberalism has been so long taking root in the South, has stemmed mainly from a sense of aloneness. The independent liberal, constantly pitting his ideas against the status quo thinking of his neighbors, has had only his own standards to guide him and nothing to brace him when he began to sag. He could not evaluate his shortcomings objectively.

Northern liberals criticize the Southern liberal mercilessly, but make little effort to understand him. They rail at his tendency to insist that economic progress must come before civil rights. They get disgusted with him because he persists in remaining aloof, feeling that Northerners are persecuting him—a feeling which springs from his lonely urge to feel at one with the South.

The kind of cooperation needed to relieve this loneliness has been a long time coming. There was quite a stir in 1938 which seemed destined to lead to a working union of liberals. The President's *Report on Economic Conditions in the South,* which appeared that year, pictured a region rich in people and natural resources, but desperately poor in money and industrial development; a region whose one-third Negro population was living in poverty, ignorance, and sickness. More than fifteen hundred dismayed Southerners gathered in Birmingham, Alabama, to discuss this report—and stayed to form The Southern Conference on Human Welfare.

The conference did not get far in the South. It was directed not by fatigued liberals, but by a species of hyperthyroid liberals. With more zeal than realism, its leaders set out to storm all the battlements of Southern reaction at once. While the Southern liberal admitted there might be a need for an organization pursuing an "all-or-nothing" policy, it was not *his* need. He was not prepared—he was not quixotic enough—to tear away from the community he lived in.

Fifty-six Negro leaders made the next move, when they gathered in Durham, North Carolina, in October, 1942, and issued a statement on "just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South and nation."

In response, a group of white Southerners, meeting in Atlanta, found this statement "so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat or ultimatum, that we gladly pledge our cooperation." The groups came together and the Southern Regional Council took form. It is a membership organization, chartered under the laws of Georgia, with control in the hands of its members. Any citizen of the thirteen Southern states who subscribes to its principles may join.

One exuberant member of the council has called it "the South thinking." More modestly, it represents the homegrown Southern version of liberal thinking — a thinking not in conflict with liberalism elsewhere but shaped to a certain extent by the exigencies of the region. It cannot be judged abstractly. It can be judged in terms of what it tries to do—to bring about the active

cooperation of whites and Negroes.

The council member has not been upset by criticism coming from some Northerners and a few super-zealous Southern liberals. He admits that the council has taken no firm stand against segregation — the principal charge so far brought against it — but he believes there are justifiable reasons for this failure to act. The council includes a great variety of liberals, some more concerned over the evil of segregation *per se* than others. But they unite on one fundamental issue: the Negro must have equal rights to citizenship, health, employment, and education; and the South must be raised to the nation's level.

There is no segregation inside the organization. Negroes and whites work together in the central offices in Atlanta and wherever the council holds local meetings. Its members have not stirred up any furor because they have gone about things discreetly. They meet in a church, a university building, or maybe a public recreation center. They take into account local prejudices; they want meetings, not riots.

The council is not, and does not expect to be, a mass-membership organization. Most of its energy is devoted to stirring others to attack existing wrongs. It cares less about being theoretically right than about discovering practical techniques for promoting community action. Nor does the council sponsor specific bills; it prepares material and testifies in support of a wide range of progressive legislation on the state level. In towns and villages, it attempts to prod groups of interested citizens to undertake self-surveys of what is wrong with their communities and advises them on procedure.

Reform movements in the South have always been characterized by a certain obliqueness of attack. When the council campaigns for more widespread use of Negro policemen in Southern communities, it emphasizes not the constitutional rights of the Negro but how this will keep down disorder in the Negro neighborhoods. The theoretical liberal might say this is weaseling. But the council liberal, trying to win over the group which holds the real power, the Southern whites, is interested in getting practical results.

Because the council is bi-racial, it has been a valuable instrument for working against racial violence, which was expected to flare up in the post-war period. The council provides a network of people of both races who can come together easily, discuss tensions and grievances, and get public action to prevent outbreaks. There is no way to measure how much trouble has been prevented in this way, but the record shows that there have been ten lynchings since the Second World War, compared to nearly two hundred during the three years after the First. There were fewer lynchings in the South last year than there were plays on Broadway about lynchings in the South.

The council had its trial by fire last year during the hectic period which followed the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The challenge of civil rights was put squarely to the South, and that region gave forth a cry of enraged anguish. Much of the ensuing controversy was carried on with no real knowledge of the President's report or of what it recommended. The Southern press started with basically inaccurate information, then enlarged on it. In this explosive atmosphere the council put out a digest of the President's report entitled *To Secure These Rights,* and circulated more than 10,000 copies to newspaper editors, educators, and lecturers. It followed up with a companion piece, *The Condition of Our Rights,* which showed factually how much the South was found wanting.

Last September, with the civil-rights controversy at white heat and the Dixiecrat movement seemingly sweeping the South, the council's twelve-man executive committee unanimously adopted a resolution, called *An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy,* asking the South to face up to its task, to turn itself constructively to legal, educational, and economic reforms. The resolution also asked the rest of the country not to adopt the "irreproachable in spirit" but "exclusive" attitude of trying to force change by legal mechanism alone, ignoring the adjustments which must be made at "the operating level of society."

The council member does not think a great deal about long-range objectives in the field of race relations. He knows vaguely that the ugly reality of segregation must end some day, but he does not know exactly how this will come about. He knows that in many ways segregation is a farce — that physical segregation is a fantastic illusion in the minds of Southerners. The white man and the Negro go to different theaters, but the Negro lives and works in the white man's house and eats from the same dishes. It would not take much of a satirist to ridicule the Southern white man's notion that he has managed to keep the two races physically apart.

But it will take more than satire to eliminate the segregation that exists in the mind. The white man and the Negro in the South will be segregated in their minds as long as the white man has political rights and the Negro has none, as long as the white man has health and money and education, and the Negro has so little. Breaking down these differences will do more to undermine segregation than occasional legal victories involving bus seating.

To break down these differences requires discipline that only organized effort can give. That is what a Southerner, a charter member of the Southern Regional Council, was talking about when he said: "Personally, I should rather help to capture the foothills which have to be captured sooner or later than merely to point out a distant peak and urge my comrades to storm it at once. I, too, can see the peak, but I see no particular virtue in starting an association of peak gazers."

NEW SOUTH

JANUARY 1964

The Southern Regional Council 1944-1964

NEW SOUTH

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New South is published 11 times a year. Subscription cost is $2 a year. Single copies are 20 cents each, or less in quantity.

Introduction

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was formed during the closing years of World War II by Southerners who wanted at home better practise of the ideals for which that most terrible of wars was being fought abroad. These leaders, Negro and white, came together voluntarily, without coercion, without rancor, to try to do something about problems arising from culture and history that crippled this southern land and people they loved.

That was 20 years ago. The spirit of that beginning is recalled in the reprinting here of the three documents involved with the founding of the Southern Regional Council, and in articles about them. History and development of the Council is indicated in the two other documents included in this issue of *New South*.

A group of Negro leaders wrote the first document, The Durham Conference Statement. It stated first their belief that "compulsory segregation" is unjust, and the specifics of reform they considered the most important for political and civil rights, jobs, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare, and health.

A group of white leaders met in response, and adopted an Atlanta Conference Statement which in sum agreed with the Durham Statement, and pronounced its objectives just. At Richmond, a committee from both these groups was empowered to organize a Southern Regional Council, and did so, incorporating it with the following set out as its reason for existence:

> . . . For the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practises of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

The early documents were conceived with an obvious awareness of a new opportunity for the South. The hope then was to solve simultaneously a whole set of social problems of which race was merely the most notorious. Failure during the years since then to make the most of this new chance has centered around southern reluctance to undo racial injustices, and as a consequence, race emerged, stark and alone, as the number-one problem. It had to be solved before the other problems could be finally solved, and the other problems had to be viewed in relation to solving it.

Awareness of this by the Southern Regional Council as far back as 1951 is indicated in the document, *The South and the Future*. And its fullest implications are stated in the final document, a Statement of Views adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council in the fateful late days of 1963.

This final document came at a time when racial strife had spread—or been acknowledged—across America. In all the land, there had come awareness of the need for racial rapprochement, something beyond court orders or negotiation pres-

sured by demonstrations or legislation or other forms of coercion, necessary though these remained. The demand was for the mutual understanding and respect that is the real basis for human cooperation.

Toward this, the founding spirit of the Southern Regional Council has much to offer. Despite the discouragements of the past 20 years, that spirit is still alive. Progress has come. Though most of it had to be imposed upon the South, growing numbers of Southerners of both races found the courage to fight for and support each new change. Because of them, and a new atmosphere they have been crucial in creating in all but perhaps two states, once more there seems to be for the South one of those times of great opportunity—this time to lead the nation.

It is therefore appropriate to recall the original vision that founded the Southern Regional Council—a vision of a great and growing body of concerned Southerners of both races, led by all the best minds from their midst, cooperating creatively for the betterment of all aspects of southern life.

So in this issue of *New South,* we look back to the beginnings of a work that is not yet done, and to a spirit which seems more than ever necessary. We look back, and we look forward in the only way possible at this stage of the work, and at this time in history—with rededication.

PAT WATTERS
Director of Information

The Durham Conference Statement:

A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South*

A STATEMENT BY SOUTHERN NEGROES

THE WAR HAS SHARPENED the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

(1) Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

(2) Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

(3) The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns.

We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds; however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.

(4) We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.

(5) We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

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*Statement of Negro leaders attending Southern Conference on Race Relations, Durham, N. C., October 20, 1942.

POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS

1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

b. The abolition of the white primary.

c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise.

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice we believe can and should be discontinued now.

3. a. Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of he law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

b. It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Negro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

INDUSTRY AND LABOR

Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.
2. There should be the same pay for the same work.
3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers, on a fair and equal basis.
4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts, and other protective labor legislation.
5. It is the duty of local, state, and federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.
6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.
7. We regard the wage-and-job-freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income job brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.
8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified. Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.
2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms, and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.

3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.
4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.*
5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories.

We believe that these provisions will help to insure some intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve both the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

EDUCATION

As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes, and, indeed to all underprivileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education are better schools, which involve expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities, this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs, and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the underprivileged child, of whatever race, the same opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

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*In the present hysteria of many housewives who are losing poorly paid servants to better paying war industries, it seems desirable to emphasize that this proposal bears no relation to the fantastic and probably Axis inspired rumors of so-called "Eleanor Clubs."

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

AGRICULTURE

The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33% of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre, and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:
   a. Written contracts
   b. Longer lease terms
   c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
   d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.
2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.
3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.
4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

MILITARY SERVICE

We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH

1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but

that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts even with improvement of their economic status. As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Negroes would include the following:

a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients;

b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practitioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals;

c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general as well as special group advantage. The Federal government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength.

[Signed]

GORDON B. HANCOCK
F. D. PATTERSON
BENJAMIN E. MAYS
ERNEST DELPIT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
HORACE MANN BOND
JAMES E. JACKSON
WM. M. COOPER
P. B. YOUNG
CHAS. S. JOHNSON
Chairman Sub-Editorial Committee

IN ATTENDANCE AT SOUTHERN RACE RELATIONS CONFERENCE

A complete list of those attending the Southern Conference on Race Relations held at the North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, October 20th, is as follows:

DR. CHAS. S. JOHNSON, Director, Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

DEAN R. O'HARA LANIER, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

DR. H. L. McCROREY, President, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. L. F. PALMER, Executive Secretary, Virginia State Teachers Association, Newport News, Va.

O. M. PHARR, Principal, Unity High School, South Carolina.

REV. J. A. VALENTINE, D.D., Durham, N. C.

DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, Department of Sociology, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

DEAN MOSES S. BELTON, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

WILLIAM M. COOPER, Director of Extension Work, Hampton Institute, Va.

ASBURY HOWARD, representing Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO), Bessemer, Ala.

DR. JOHN M. GANDY, President-Emeritus, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

L. H. FOSTER, Treasurer-Business Manager, and Acting President, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

PRESIDENT J. B. WATSON, A. and M. College, Pine Bluff, Ark.

CLARENCE A. LAWS, Executive Secretary, New Orleans Urban League, New Orleans, La.

DON A. DAVIS, Comptroller, Hampton Institute, Chairman Executive Committee, National Negro Business League, Hampton, Va.

REV. H. B. BUTLER, President, Baptist State Convention, Hartsville, S. C.

PROF. J. B. BLANTON, Principal, Voorhees N. and I. School, Denmark, S. C.

WILLIAM Y. BELL, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Ga.

J. A. BACOATS, Vice President, Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.

MRS. R. E. CLAY, Bristol, Tenn.

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, Director, School of Social Work, Atlanta, Ga.

JESSE O. THOMAS, Staff Assistant, War Bonds and Stamps, Washington, D. C.

JAMES T. TAYLOR, Dean of Men, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

DR. AND MRS. J. G. STUART, Columbia, S. C.

ROBERT A. SPICELY, Director, Commercial Dietetics, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

C. C. SPAULDING, President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., and Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.

MRS. ANDREW W. SIMPKINS, Social Worker, Columbia, S. C.

DR. JAMES E. SHEPARD, President, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

REV. J. ALVIN RUSSELL, D.D., President, St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Lawrenceville, Va.

G. D. ROGERS, President, Central Life Insurance Company, Tampa, Fla.

DR. F. D. PATTERSON, President, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

ROSCOE C. MITCHELL, Associated Negro Press Representative, Richmond, Va.

JOHN W. MITCHELL, State Agent, A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C.

DR. BENJ. E. MAYS, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

JAMES G. MARTIN, JR., Business Agent and Financial Secretary, Carpenters' Local No. 544, Baltimore, Md.

DR. HORACE MANN BOND, President, Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga.

THEODORE MALLORY, Secretary-Treasurer, United Transport Service Employees of America, Member International Executive Board, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. AND MRS. D. K. JENKINS, Columbia, S. C.

DR. LUTHER P. JACKSON, Chairman of the Department of History, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

EDGAR P. HOLT, Vice President, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

WALTER J. HUGHES, M.D., State Board of Health, Raleigh, N. C.

JAMES E. JACKSON, Executive Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

J. W. HOLLY, President, Georgia Normal College, Albany, Ga.

K. W. GREEN, Dean, State A. and M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.

ERNEST DELPIT, President and Business Manager, Carpenters' Local, New Orleans, La. (A. F. of L.).

G. HAMILTON FRANCIS, M.D., Speaker House of Delegates, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

REV. JOHN E. CULMER, Rector, Episcopal Church, Miami, Fla.

DR. ROBERT P. DANIEL, President, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

A. B. COOKE, Business Agent, Local No. 815, Carpenters, Columbia, S. C.

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

D. G. GARLAND, Representative, American Federation of Labor, Winston-Salem, N. C.

MAJ. W. M. WHITEHEAD, Principal School for the Handicapped, Newport News, Va.

D. W. BYRD, M.D., Chairman, Health Commission, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

C. H. BYNUM, Field Secretary Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Dallas, Texas.

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, President, Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.

P. B. YOUNG, Editor-Publisher, Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

EDWARD MASON, representing Dining Car Cooks and Waiters, Houston, Texas.

REPRESENTED BY LETTER

C. A. SCOTT, Publisher Atlanta Daily World, and Scott Chain of Weekly Newspapers, Atlanta, Ga.

CARTER WESLEY, Editor-Publisher, The Informer, Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel, Houston, Texas.

MRS. ZELLAR R. BOOTHE, Oklahoma City, Okla.

DEAN V. E. DANIEL, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

CLAUDE A. BARNETT, Director, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Ill.

Others who sent Telegrams endorsing the Conference were:

DR. J. R. E. LEE, President, Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Fla.

ATTY. J. LEONARD LEWIS, Jacksonville, Fla.

ATTY. J. R. BOOKER, Little Rock, Ark.

MRS. ORA BROWN STOKES, Washington, D. C.

PRESIDENT H. L. TRIGG, Elizabeth City State Teachers College, Elizabeth City, N. C.

PRESIDENT DAVID D. JONES, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

MRS. H. L. McCROREY, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. W. A. FOUNTAIN, President, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.

BISHOP B. J. KING, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT JAS. BRAWLEY, Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT W. J. HALE, Tennessee A. and I. College, Nashville, Tenn.

DR. MARY BRANCH, President, Tillotston College, Austin, Texas.

DR. L. H. BELL, Mississippi State College, Alcorn, Miss.

WILEY A. HALL, Executive Secretary, Urban League, Richmond, Va.

DR. J. M. ELLISON, President, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

M. F. WHITAKER, President, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

The Atlanta Conference Statement:

Statement of Conference of White Southerners on Race Relations*

Atlanta, Georgia
April 8, 1943

IN OCTOBER, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves "to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework."

Their statement is so frank and courageous, or free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate.

We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future cooperative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand the facilities for safety, comfort, and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as sewers, water, housing, street and sidewalk paving, playgrounds, public health, and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their

*Conference of White Southerners on Race Relations, Atlanta, Georgia, April 8, 1943.

civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern states. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

In the economic field, unquestionably procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed, and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents, and supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases, and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary.

All men who believe in justice, who love peace, and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which unless checked will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and the colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

We agree with the Durham Conference that it is "unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life." We agree also that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government."

It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect.

[Signed]

THEODORE F. ADAMS, Richmond, Va.
H. A. ALEXANDER, Atlanta, Ga.
JOHN M. ALEXANDER, Fayetteville, N. C.
MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES, Atlanta, Ga.
J. H. ANDERSON, Knoxville, Tenn.
MRS. ROSCOE T. ANTHONY, Palm Beach, Fla.
SAMUEL Y. AUSTIN, Sylacauga, Ala.
HARRY M. AYERS, Anniston, Ala.
MISS FANNIE BAME, Augusta, Ga.
CLIFFORD E. BARBOUR, Knoxville, Tenn.
F. E. BARKLEY, Knoxville, Tenn.
THOMAS C. BARR, Nashville, Tenn.
RT. REV. MIDDLETON S. BARNWELL, Savannah, Ga.
J. A. BAYS, Knoxville, Tenn.
NOBLE Y. BEALL, Atlanta, Ga.
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NOEL R. BEDDOW, Birmingham, Ala.
ROBERT D. BEDINGER, Asheville, N. C.
MRS. FRANK G. BELL, Birmingham, Ala.
GEORGE C. BELLINGRATH, Rabun Gap, Ga.

ALBERT D. BETTS, Orangeburg, S. C.
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THOMAS B. BLACK, Asheville, N. C.
HUNTER B. BLAKELY, Charlotte, N. C.
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WILSON M. BROWN, Richmond, Va.
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A. R. BUHRMAN, Gainesville, Fla.
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J. WEN LUNDEEN, Atlanta, Ga.
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FRANK McCALLISTER, Atlanta, Ga.
E. A. McDOWELL, Louisville, Ky.
RALPH McGILL, Atlanta, Ga.
J. ROY McGINTY, Calhoun, Ga.
GUY McGOWAN, Birmingham, Ala.
EMMETT B. McGUKIN, Knoxville, Tenn.
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ARMAND MAY, Atlanta, Ga.
A. R. MEAD, Gainesville, Fla.
WILLIAM MELCHER, Winter Park Fla.
HASKELL M. MILLER, Knoxville, Tenn.
LOYE W. MILLER, Knoxville, Tenn.
H. L. MILLS, Houston, Tex.
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R. M. MURPHY, Knoxville, Tenn.
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MRS. ALEX SPENCE, Dallas, Tex.
C. A. STAIR, Atlanta, Ga.
W. A. STANBURY, Winston-Salem, N. C.
NATHAN C. STARR, Winter Park, Fla.
MRS. A. H. STERNE, Atlanta, Ga.
J. MORGAN STEVENS, Jackson, Miss.
MRS. J. MORGAN STEVENS, Jackson, Miss.
VIRGINIA STONE, Winter Park, Fla.
W. C. STONE, Winter Park, Fla.
R. O. STREETER, Atlanta, Ga.
HARRY S. STROZIER, Macon, Ga.
WILLIS A. SUTTON, Atlanta, Ga.
JOHN B. TATE, College Park, Ga.
W. P. TAYLOR, Knoxville, Tenn.
MRS. M. E. TILLY, Atlanta, Ga.
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G. K. WALTERS, Knoxville, Tenn.
HENRY T. WARE, Atlanta, Ga.
H. L. WATSON, Greenwood, S. C.
CHARLES A. WEBB, Asheville, N. C.
WILLIAM R. WEBB, Bell Buckle, Tenn.
HU B. WEBSTER, Knoxville, Tenn.
KENDALL WEISIGER, Atlanta, Ga.
PHILIP WELTNER, Atlanta, Ga.
GOODRICH C. WHITE, Atlanta, Ga.
A. WHITMORE, Harlem, Ga.
MISS JOSEPHINE WILKINS, Atlanta, Ga.
F. C. WILLCOXON, Vicksburg, Miss.
ROBERT P. WILLIAMS, Knoxville, Tenn.
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W. H. WISEMAN, Erin, Tenn.
LIDA WOODS, Winter Park, Fla.
MISS EMILY WOODWARD, Vienna, Ga.
G. A. YATES, Athens, Tenn.
WILLIAM F. YUST, Winter Park, Fla.

The Richmond Statement:

Resolutions of the Collaboration Committee*

Richmond, Virginia

June 16, 1943

THIS IS A DAY OF GREAT DIFFERENCES, strong feelings, and epochal conflicts throughout the world. Yet the world's greatest need and hope is to find common ground for universal action and balanced harmony among all peoples. Manifestly, such a goal must be reached through cooperative approximation to the largest measure of agreement in line with the largest number of values and the largest number of people.

We face, therefore, the double crisis of standing firm for the conservation and preservation of human rights; yet to seek these ends by the way of peace and planning rather than by conflict and revolution.

In America, and particularly in the South, we face the problem of readjustments to meet the demands of present and post-war conditions with reference to the Negro and the future development of a great region of the Nation. This, exclusive of the war, is the great crisis of the South and Nation.

This is the problem of two great peoples caught up in the midst of transition between the powerful heritage of the past and the mighty pull of the future. For here is the white South, a *great* people often doing little things and good people doing *bad* things. And here is the Negro South, caught as always between the upper and nether millstones of conflicting forces and also paying the price of extraordinary transition from level to level of cultural achievement, and needing plenty of understanding and cooperation. And here is the white South inexorably conditioned by cultural complexes, suffering terribly, too, and needing sympathy and help as few peoples have ever needed in the annals of man. And, even more important, the two, white South and black South, are part and parcel of the Nation, whose people need scarcely less than the two regional peoples the sense of time and wisdom.

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status and the welfare of the country as a whole.

This is a rare challenge to the leadership of the South: to the white leadership to find new ways of cooperation and to justify increased confidence of the Negro leadership in the white South; to the Negro leadership, to sense the difficulties involved and to meet increasing demands, without slowing down their essential efforts.

As evidence of the promise of this leadership, two recent Southern conferences on race relations, one at Durham, under the auspices of Negro leadership, and one in Atlanta, under the auspices of white leadership, have blazed new trails. As a follow-up of these and with the above problems and backgrounds in mind, we, a group of Southern whites and Negroes, representing both the Durham and Atlanta groups,

*Joint committee of representatives of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences.

meeting as a collaboration committee at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, and following the general trend of the Atlanta group, urge the general adoption of the Durham statement entitled "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South," which has had extraordinary nation-wide endorsement.

The framers of this covenant, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, have included adequate and searching analysis of the principal issues involved, duly interpreted in their proper perspective. The problems so featured include political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health.

In the area of political and civil rights: the essential problems featured were those of franchise and the ballot, jury service, personal security, services in public carriers, the elimination of violence within and without the law, the elimination of lynching, and the employment of an increasingly larger number of Negroes in the public service.

In the area of work opportunities: the increased training for all skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and opportunity for employment; the readaptation of labor union policies both for the best interests of Negroes and labor unions; the problems of dual standards of pay; support of, but guarding against discrimination in, local, state, and federal procedures; special problems of service workers and standards of living.

In the area of education: equalized opportunities in all aspects but especially including institutions of higher learning, professional training, and equal salaries.

In the area of agriculture: adequate opportunity for the Negro farmer, including a sound system of tenancy, adequate state and federal assistance, increased opportunity for farm ownership, fair farm wages, and the wider employment of Negro farm and home agents.

In the area of military service: along with the obligation to serve, the opportunity for full participation and advancement in the war activities and a continuing better adjustment of unsatisfactory situations.

In the area of social welfare and health: adequate provisions for safe-guarding the public health, for training physicians and nurses, and for their employment. Also, the erection of low-cost housing and other facilities for improving community life.

We recognize now the importance of affirmative action, without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities. To this end, we direct that the continuing committee, as appointed by the two groups now consolidated in this larger collaboration committee, be charged with the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach. We urge especially that efforts be begun to prepare the post-war world for a wise and successful reception of our returning soldiers and to prepare both our soldiers and the people for attitudes and procedures adequate to carry the great load of post-war needs. In all these, we urge the public to a new sense of the meaning of these needs as they accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy.

Signed: Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Virginius Dabney
A. W. Dent
William G. Gehri
Archdeacon B. W. Harris
S. S. Morris
Josephine Wilkins
Howard W. Odum, Chairman

The Origin of the Southern Regional Council:

Writing a 'New Charter of Southern Race Relations'

As recalled by GORDON B. HANCOCK

WHEN I RELEASED to the Associated Negro Press in 1941 an article titled "Interracial Hypertension," little did it appear that there was being set in motion a chain of events that was to eventuate in the Southern Regional Council.

The article was read by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Texas and Atlanta, who became somewhat alarmed at the tenor of the article, for set forth therein were certain disturbing facts about the racial tensions that were everywhere apparent. The Old South was making sure that the Negro would not indulge hopes of liberation at the close of World War II, as at the close of World War I, when he was sadly disillusioned by an outbreak of anti-Negro feeling that fairly swept the South.

Mrs. Ames, who was an official of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, wrote that she would like to discuss the whole matter with me, and offered to come to Richmond for the conference. She arrived a few days later in Richmond, registered at a hotel, and met with me at the colored YWCA, where we spent the greater part of an afternoon discussing "Interracial Hypertension." Our discussion hinged about a belief that a statement by Negroes themselves about what they expected of the post-war South and nation would help clarify matters and afford a new basis of interracial cooperation. Mrs. Ames further assured me that if I could get a group of leading Negroes of the South into a conference to make a statement to the white South, she would get a group of whites to consider our proposals. We agreed, and with this agreement, she went home and I went about the task of getting together a group of Negro leaders of the South.

I went to Norfolk to talk over the general plan with the late Dr. P. B. Young, and he immediately saw its possibilities. We accordingly met with two or three others on the campus of Virginia Union University, where I was teaching at the time. We decided to organize a Virginia committee which would act as host to the proposed conference. We later met and formed this host committee with Dr. Young as chairman.

Then arose the question of where we would meet. Richmond, Durham, and Atlanta were proposed as meeting places for our proposed conference. We agreed to meet at Durham, on October 20, 1942. Then arose the more vexing question of who should be invited. Most of the committee were in favor of inviting some of the leaders from the North, but a few of us contended that this would doom our meeting and our general plan, for Southerners would dismiss our statement summarily with the observation that it was drafted by northern "agitators." These few of us contended that ours should be a statement of Negro Southerners to white Southerners, and in the end our view prevailed.

But our choice brought down upon our heads the "curse" of some of our northern brethren, who evidently doubted the ability and manhood of their southern brethren. The flood-gates of criticism and disparagement were loosed against our proposed Durham Conference. As elected director of the conference, the burden of the suspicions and calumnies and harsh criticisms were leveled at me in the assurance that if confidence in me could be destroyed the whole enterprise would come to naught. The opposition failed to destroy the conference, for of the 75 invited, 65 attended, and most of the others were heard from by letter or telegram of approbation.

So determined were some of the enemies, that spies were dispatched to Durham to report whatever might serve their purpose of destruction. Those who met at Durham that eventful day not only wrought mightily in making the Southern Regional Council possible; they saved the director from "utter destruction" at the hands of those bent on destroying the Durham Conference, and all because southern Negroes dared to stand upon their own feet and make their own statement to the white South.

The Virginia Committee had voted unanimously that the writer should make the opening statement at Durham. That statement could easily have thrown things out of joint and thrown our meeting to the wolves. On the morning of October 20, there was an atmosphere of tenseness and anxiety.

The hour struck and we were in the middle of the now famous Durham Conference. Happily the opening statement seemingly relieved the tension, and upon its conclusion everybody seemed to be in harmony and full accord. My closing words were: "The sponsors of this conference may not have fashioned the most well-wrought conference imaginable, but what they did was at a tremendous sacrifice; for none of them had time and means to give as the cause demanded, but they did the best they could. We have brought to you a conference that is absolutely unfettered and unintimidated. There are no secret commitments, no secret understanding, no dotted lines, no secret financial underwritings. May God help us on this historic occasion to acquit ourselves like men."

This left the conference in a "let's go" mood, and from then on things moved. Although we had hoped to complete the conference statement within the day, Dr. B. E. Mays was among the first to contend that our opportunity was so great that we ought to take our time and make a statement commensurate with the possibilities of the occasion. A committee headed by the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson was sent on to Atlanta for the final drafting and the Durham Statement as it finally appeared is the work of this committee.

When the Durham Statement appeared, it stirred the South. Mrs. Ames made good her promise to rally the white leadership of the South, for in a relatively short time, a meeting of whites was called in Atlanta. The Durham Statement was the basis of discussion, and it was agreed that the white South would go along with the Negro South in finding ways and means of constructive cooperation and in

finding a common denominator of constructive action in the improvement of race relations.

The Durham Statement enumerated a minimum of what the Negro wanted and the white South had accepted this minimum as a basis of cooperation, and this was the beginning of the dawn of a new day in the South: for it quickened a new impulse in the Old South and stirred the inspiration of Negroes.

With the conferees of the Durham and Atlanta meetings in virtual agreement, it remained to have representatives of the two conferences meet in a common session, which was called at Richmond June 16, 1943. Again the writer was chosen as director and to make the opening statement. (This matter of being elected director without "visible" means of "directing" and of making opening statements where the chance of saying "wrong things" was such a possibility, was becoming a serious matter fraught with Herculean tasks and great anxieties.)

According to plans, the Collaboration Conference was duly convened. Besides the representatives of the Durham and Atlanta meetings, there was an audience made up of those who had become interested in the tone of the other meetings. In his opening statement the writer stressed the crisis that had arisen in the South's Negro leadership: that the time was at hand when that leadership would be strangled or strengthened. The statement was largely a plea for a racial cooperation that took into account the ever-expanding ambitions of the Negroes who were more and more forced to appeal to law with their just demands. The case of teachers' salaries was given as evidence. Why could not the interracialists gain equalization of salaries instead of its being a matter of litigation? The argument ran that if Negro leadership, through interracial cooperation could not produce results, it was of no effect and would be discredited by Negroes themselves. It was further pointed out that the-time-is-not-ripe-yet attitude of so many white interracialists was obsolete and had to go.

Upon the conclusion of the opening statement one white clergyman arose and cold-watered the opening statement, and there was general confusion. It was at this critical moment that Dr. Howard W. Odum entered the picture and showed himself to be a moral and intellectual giant.

Dr. Odum was quick to see the wisdom and justice of the Negro's contention, in seeking to save southern Negro leadership, about to be sacrificed upon the altar of reaction. He depicted with dramatic power and eloquence the pathetic plight of his beloved South, caught in the cross-currents of crucial circumstances that foisted upon a great people momentous decisions which it would be tragic to evade. He pointed out with touching pathos that the situation could eventuate in a great triumph if the whites and Negroes of the South faced up to it like men, but he was equally poignant as he suggested the price of evasion and indecision.

Almost as if by magic under the spell that Dr. Odum had cast upon the conference there was a transformation in the spirit of those present and the conference became dynamic with hope and courage. It is safe to say that without Dr. Odum's

masterly presentation and his prestige, his statesmanship, and his willingness to move forward and upward, the day would have been lost and with it the great opportunity to bless the great cause of race relations, and most certainly there would not have been a Southern Regional Council, which the late Dr. Charles Johnson called "a new beginning on a higher level." The moral stature of Dr. Odum was silhouetted against this critical occasion, and his moral and intellectual dimensions stood out in bold relief.

In reflecting upon that eventful day Dr. Odum wrote me: "Early that morning we realized that the Negroes had their top-flight leaders present and that most of the southern white leaders had defaulted; and when your magnificent address on the crisis of Negro leadership had been rebuked by Dr. Jones as going 'too far' and he lectured them in somewhat the old southern way, it became clear that there was a crisis." Dr. Young, presiding officer of the meeting had this to say: "Dr. Odum saved the day and the Richmond meeting from being a failure."

Representatives of the Durham Conference and from the Atlanta Conference and the Collaboration Meeting were sent on to Atlanta where the Southern Regional Council was organized. The history of the achievement of the Council is a vindication of what those southern Negro leaders saw in dim outline in Durham, October 20, 1942.

Great causes sometimes are delicately poised upon some slender event. And so great movements are often poised upon the behavior of individuals committed to serving the present age, their calling to fulfill.

One such individual is Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, who first saw the possibility in a meeting of white and Negro leaders to write a new charter of race relations, for the old charter written in paternalism had become obsolete. Without a Jessie Daniel Ames, and her vision and promise of white cooperation, there would not have been a Durham Conference.

The late Dr. P. B. Young who presided at both the Durham and Richmond meetings proved himself a great leader and without his great influence and that of his great newspaper, the *Journal and Guide*, which was our spokesman in those days when the enemies of the movement were seeking our lives, we could not have carried on and the Durham Conference would never have come to pass. Modesty forbids my saying that without a Gordon B. Hancock as "director" to absorb the terrible punishment meted out by foes of the Durham Conference there would not have been a Durham Conference. The burdens of suspicions and derision and calumnies fell with greatest weight upon him.

In conclusion let it be said that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if all southern white leadership had gone along with the Council and its program, and if the many so-called liberals had been real liberals as a few have been, the South would have been spared the travail of the hour!

Dr. Hancock, a resident of Richmond, Va., is a Life Fellow of the Southern Regional Council.

The Origin of the Southern Regional Council:

An Answer When Negro Southerners Spoke

As recalled by JOSEPHINE WILKINS

IT WAS A WINTER EVENING in early 1943. Jessie Daniel Ames had asked me to have dinner with her and we were sitting at a small table just inside the Peachtree entrance of the Piedmont Hotel in Atlanta. There was an atmosphere about the dinner that led me to stop abruptly and say, "Ames, we aren't just having dinner together. There's something more—out with it."

She smiled, and began to talk of the conference of southern Negroes recently held in Durham, North Carolina. She spoke of the vicious attack made on its leaders prior to the conference by the northern Negro press, and said she had pledged that if they went ahead with the conference there would be a following meeting of white Southerners to consider the statement they planned to issue. She said she wanted me to help her with it as she was frequently out of the city but would ask for no commitment until I was familiar with the whole background, and she pulled from her briefcase a thick folder to be taken with me following the dinner.

Mrs. Ames was field secretary for the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation which had its headquarters in Atlanta. The nation was at war, and the Commission's director, Dr. Will Alexander, had entered government service in Washington, leaving Mrs. Ames more or less in charge. We had become close friends in the League of Women Voters where I had just completed several terms as state president and she as a member of its board.

When I reached home that evening I opened the folder. It contained a quantity of correspondence and press clippings, chronologically filed and stapled to the folder with a long metal brace. First was a letter from Mrs. Ames to that stately gentleman, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, then Dean at Virginia Union University in Richmond. Mrs. Ames wrote of having long read his column syndicated by the Associated Negro Press and that she was particularly interested in a recent one in which he said that perhaps the time had come when the Negroes themselves should draw up a charter. (President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had had their rendezvous at sea and drafted the Atlantic Charter with its declaration on interdependence and the four freedoms.) The letter asked Dr. Hancock to enlarge his idea in an article for *Southern Frontier,* issued monthly by the Commission. I read on and came across a letter acknowledging the article.

His suggestion had appealed to her at the time, she wrote, and now "I am impelled to make a suggestion to you which I want you to consider. But, first, I must explain both my position on and my concern in the racial situation: I want Negroes to get as much recognition as citizens—full fledged—as possible; I want

them to hold as much of the gains made in this field as possible after the war. It is at this latter point that my concern arises. Unless southern white people agree that this gain must be preserved, I am afraid of the future for southern Negroes. . . . Now and for the duration is our opportunity to convince the white South that the obvious minima of citizenship must be accorded for enduring peace, as well as for successful war."

I read on, interested. "White and Negro leaders of the South should agree on ultimate goals, immediate objectives and strategy. When we have done this, we can work both jointly and separately in carrying out our purposes. We should include in our program in the economic field, industry, agriculture and domestic service; in the educational field, salaries, equipment, free and equal educational advantages on all levels; in the field of civil rights, unrestricted franchise, equality before the courts, petty and state; in the social field, health and hospitalization, parks, playgrounds and housing. . . .

"This is my suggestion. Could you and two or three other Negro leaders from the deep South invite into conference a dozen others not dependent upon the Federal Government for their living and discuss the problems as you see them and come to some general agreement on what you want white people to do to help. Then later invite a small number of southern white persons, men and women, to join with you in working out the strategy to be followed.

"You may think that we ought or would want to sit in at the first conference. If you do, I would say that in my judgment we should not. . . . Any other procedure would in my opinion leave the whole plan open to attack by members of your race on the grounds that "Bourbon" white people of the South were already planning to re-enslave Negroes. An additional advantage would accrue by excluding white people until you had worked out your program: the white South would know what southern Negroes want and what they would expect to get in cooperation with the white South. . . ."

She ended her letter with, "I think there is value in this idea. It is unimportant whether or not you accept the plan as it is outlined here. But it is important that something be planned and begun now. The initiative should be taken by southern Negroes. I can promise you cooperation from southern white people."

I laid down the folder, my thoughts caught up in events following World War I, the revival of the Klan, the disillusionment of the Negro; and now he was again in the uniform of his country and already there were rumblings of similar after-war reaction. I read on, absorbed, well into the morning.

Carbons of letters followed one after the other: Dr. Hancock's conference with P. B. Young, of the *Norfolk Journal & Guide*, regarding the suggestion made by Mrs. Ames; copy of a letter sent by Dr. Hancock to a number of leading Negroes of the South polling their reaction to "a suggestion made by an interested white southerner" and quoting at length from Mrs. Ames' letter; his account of their enthusiastic response; meetings of Virginia Negroes and their invitation to some

three score Negro Southerners to meet in Durham to formulate a charter for Negro citizens of the South; again their enthusiastic response.

Next followed numerous clippings from the northern Negro press, vicious attacks made on this move by Negro Southerners, and heaped in particular on the head of Dr. Hancock whom they sarcastically called "the gloomy Dean." One could not read these accounts without paying high and lasting tribute to this man and to all those who in the face of such criticism went ahead and brought forth that historic Durham Statement. No longer could the white South claim that it could speak for what the Negro Southerner wanted; he for the first time had spoken for himself.

The job at hand was response from the white South. A carefully chosen list of Atlanta men was prepared and on request of Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church, they met for dinner in one of the small conference rooms on the second floor of the Piedmont Hotel; and this was followed by two other such meetings. The first one I shall never forget, the tension at one point as each man sat obviously fearful he might be singled out to head the southwide meeting of white Southerners which was under consideration. But when the decision to undertake it ultimately came, there was agreement that its call should carry the signature of each of the group. Bishop Moore consented to have the replies come to him at his home address.

There were 13 men, their signatures to the call placed alphabetically: C. H. Gillman (Regional Director, CIO); George L. Googe (Regional Director, AFL); M. Ashby Jones (Minister); Ryland Knight (Minister, 2nd Ponce de Leon Baptist Church); David Marx (Rabbi, The Temple); Arthur J. Moore (Bishop, the Methodist Church); Ralph McGill (Editor, *Atlanta Constitution*); Stuart R. Oglesby (Minister, Central Presbyterian Church); Gerald P. O'Hara (Bishop, Catholic Church); Dean S. Paden (President, King Hardware Co.); J. McDowell Richards (President, Columbia Theological Seminary); John Moore Walker (Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church); and Goodrich C. White (President, Emory University).

Then came the attacks, this time by letter and more subtle and less personal than those made on the Negro meeting: "meddlers and carpetbaggers from the North who are stirring up this trouble" . . . "not the approach to the Negro question" . . . "bound to do more harm than good" . . . "approve of what you are trying to do but disagree strongly with the way you are going about it" . . . "there is no disposition on the part of the businessmen of this state" . . . "postpone until the war is over" . . . "the thousands of white boys in the armed forces would not appreciate any effort by any group," etc, etc.

The meeting was held in Atlanta on April 8, again at the Piedmont Hotel, on the mezzanine where the cocktail lounge is now located. Invitations had gone to a carefully prepared list of approximately 300 white Southerners, equally balanced between representatives of religion, business, education, etc. One hundred fifteen

from ten states attended and wide response from others expressed interest and a desire to cooperate.

A draft of a statement responding to the Durham Statement had been prepared in advance and was offered at the morning session. During the discussion a small group of businessmen at the far end of the room fought first to keep any statement from being issued, then to get it postponed. Finally a committee was appointed to meet during lunch and bring in a recommendation on the matter. We met in a small room adjoining the main one. And the high point of the day came there, when Bishop Moore rose, with the weight of his body and prestige, and looking directly at a man across the table, in substance said: "Mr. Smith, businessmen in equal number with others were invited to this meeting. They had the opportunity to attend. They chose not to come. The meeting is in process. I for one am unwilling to wait longer on the businessmen. And I say to you, Mr. Smith, the businessmen may be missing the boat!" That settled the matter. The statement was approved that afternoon, signed by practically all, and given to the press. Other names added by wire and mail brought the total number of signers to 292.

The Atlanta meeting of white Southerners had authorized the appointment of a Collaboration Committee to meet with a similar committee of Negroes from the Durham meeting, and Ralph McGill, who had chaired the Atlanta meeting, was asked to appoint it. These two committees met together in Richmond at St. Paul's Church on June 16. P. B. Young, from the Durham group, presided.

The opening address was made by Dr. Hancock who pointed out dramatically the importance of the day and made a ringing appeal to the white South for a more advanced policy toward the Negroes of the South. Unfortunately, Dr. Hancock was followed by an elderly white minister who in the paternalistic manner of the old South cautioned slowness, just what the Negroes feared, and a pall fell over them. But the caution served to rally the whites and Dr. Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina, rose and coming to his full height reversed the tone of the meeting.

Discussion continued throughout the day. The conference ended with a Richmond Statement and with a bi-racial Continuation Committee created and charged with the responsibility of determining ways and means for the white and Negro South to work together toward implementing the Durham Statement. Still there was a certain anxiety among the Negroes, as expressed by Dr. Hancock a few days later when he wrote, "I still wonder if we are going to be left with a conference in our laps. I hope not and I pray not but if our white friends are going to be overcautious we are not going to accomplish much."

The success of these three meetings now drew to the movement the full support of Dr. Will Alexander, director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, who was still with the war effort in Washington, and Dr. Odum, then president of the Commission. They, together with Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk

University, who headed the editorial committee for the Durham Statement, threw their wide influence behind the movement. These three had a long record of joint work in the South and were frequently referred to in warm admiration, and sometimes otherwise, as "The Trinity."

Interest was revived by them in an idea that had lain dormant for a number of years, and I found myself meanwhile recalling a sequence of events: a letter written by Dr. Odum back in the spring of 1938 in which he referred to the possible formation of a "southern regional council with representatives from each of the southern states;" an evening with him around that time when he unfolded a large sheet of paper headed "Southern Regional Council" and showed me a diagram of the South's major problems; and his near-bitterness on feeling blocked in furthering the idea when the president of his university became head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare formed unexpectedly that fall. It was this idea that was now brought forward again and developed.

Thus when the Continuation Committee appointed at Richmond met at Atlanta University on August 4, Dr. Odum was elected chairman of the meeting, and a proposal was brought in to set up a southwide council with broad scope. Following a day-long discussion, the proposal was approved and a resolution establishing the organization now known as the Southern Regional Council was adopted. The Continuation Committee was made its nucleus.

A charter was applied for by Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University, Dr. Charles Johnson, Ralph McGill, Bishop Moore, and Dr. Odum. The charter was granted on January 6, 1944. A charter meeting was held at Atlanta University on February 16-17, and just prior to its opening the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and merged the Commission with the newly formed Council. All those who had participated in the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond meetings, together with members of the old Commission, were made charter members. Bishop Moore was elected president and when he could not serve, Dr. Odum was elected. A board and an executive committee were chosen, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson and Dr. Ira DeA. Reid were made staff directors. The Southern Regional Council was launched!

"Great causes," as Dr. Hancock has aptly said, "sometimes are delicately poised upon some slender event." Nineteen hundred sixty-four marks the 20th anniversary of the Southern Regional Council. When its quarter-century arrives a few years from now, how better could we observe the occasion than by having a fully documented history of the Council's origin and the time out of which it came, prepared and ready for publication. In Tryon, North Carolina, in Mrs. Ames' library, are a dozen or more folders—their contents carefully classified and chronologically filed—that record this eventful period. It was truly a meaningful one for the South.

Miss Wilkins, a resident of Athens, Ga., is a vice president of the Southern Regional Council.

The South of the Future

A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council
December 12, 1951

EIGHT YEARS AGO, the Southern Regional Council was born out of the conscience and high resolve of a democratic nation at war. Today, in another period of international tension, we are faced with a renewed challenge to provide leadership and direction in a troubled region. It is essential that we assess clearly and wisely the role that the Southern Regional Council is to perform in this critical time.

We do not believe in the exclusive validity of any single approach or any single organization. There is not only room, but a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic, legislative, religious, and educational means. Moreover, such programs are needed on all levels —national, regional, state, and local. Every group, like every individual, should chart its course with due regard for the special contribution it is fitted to make.

The role appropriate to the Southern Regional Council is evident in its origin and make-up. The Council's main asset is and has always been the people of the South who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and who at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. From such people is the Council's membership drawn. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and conscience; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to agencies outside the region.

The Council seeks to be a practical organization, emphasizing working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. Indeed, that philosophy is basic to an organization which hopes to open closed minds and substitute reason for prejudice.

The Council, by its very nature, is not a "mass pressure" organization. The number of persons in the South who are able and willing to reject the taboos on interracial effort in their own communities is growing, but it has not yet reached mass proportions. Meanwhile, the Council's membership can function effectively as enlightened citizens acting through the civic life of their communities in behalf of our common principles. Their methods are the established ones of conference, factfinding, and persuasion.

The Council takes no part in political activity. However, it can and does consult with public agencies and officials and makes its influence felt for truly representative government.

The council's functions may be briefly summed up as follows:

To serve as a meeting ground for citizens of all races, occupations, and religious persuasions.

To present the facts about the region, and their implications, through newspapers, radio, magazines, pamphlets, and other public media.

To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots, and hate organizations.

To provide a program adaptable to local need in both the relatively backward and the relatively advanced areas of the South.

To translate appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the action program will be concerned.

To give special emphasis to the devlopment of leadership among promising young Southerners of all races.

To convene, by interest group, key persons in the various fields of Southern life, so that steps to genuine integration may be representatively agreed upon.

To stimulate local initiative to work for local solutions in full democracy, so that legislation and judicial rulings may be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

The basic machinery necessary to enable the Council to work effectively at these tasks is: (1) trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life; and (2) staff in a central office of the Council to direct and service the field people.

The declared purpose of the Southern Regional Council is "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." This objective has lost none of its timeliness since it was first adopted. Although the past eight years have brought notable progress in the South, the job remaining is a vast one, and the pressures of national and international events demand an even speedier advance. Many of our institutions continue to make unfair and unwarranted distinctions between citizens solely on the basis of race. Outmoded traditions, unjustified fears, and ancient prejudices continue to exact a heavy toll on the unity, productiveness, and integrity of our society.

It is the ultimate hope and aim of the Council that it may help in bringing solution to regional problems that transcend the question of race — problems economic, social, ethical, which affect impartially people of all races. But, for the present, the unique liability under which the South labors arises out of an unreasoning racial disharmony. The first task of informed and conscientious Southerners is to strive to create here the atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discriminations based upon race will no longer persist. Only when that goal has been attained will the energies of enlightened men be fully released for the great task of realizing all our potential resources, natural and human.

The south of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

Equal opportunity, truly defined, includes all this and more. We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part toward its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied. For it is nothing less than the American ideal.

A Statement of Views

By the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council

December 30, 1963

I. Three Centuries of Moral Crisis

THE SOUTH'S HISTORY for centuries has been interwined with the travail of racial unrest and injustice. This injustice has been condoned and shared by the other sections of the United States and, indeed, has been part of the common practice of the European-American world. There is nowhere we can turn that the infection of racial prejudice and discrimination has not spread.

These are days of turmoil, but also of hope. Negro Southerners, and Negro Americans generally, in their long struggle against injustice have steadfastly rejected the self-defeating temptations of those who proclaim that Negroes should segregate themselves from whites behind their own wall of hatred; of those who have advocated organized violent reprisal against white men; and of those who by insidious teaching and tactics have urged Negro Americans to join the ranks of the world-wide Communist conspiracy against constitutional democracy. They have, on the contrary, held to their faith in American institutions and to the inextinguishable instinct of men to deal fairly and honorably with each other.

White Southerners have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion. They have been subverted in great numbers by bodies such as the Ku Klux Klan and the white Citizens Councils, which are a corruption of all that American ideals proclaim. Even worse, they have in yet larger numbers surrendered to those social and economic desires and conveniences which blunt the moral sensitivity of men and women toward their neighbors.

Today, however, white Southerners are manifesting a new and a quickened understanding of the political and economic dependence of the South's peoples on one another, and, above all, of their moral interdependence. Generations of white and Negro people have equally and together built this region, imparted to it what virtues and strengths it has, and made the South's positive contributions to the nation and to all mankind.

Out of affection for the South, and out of a belief in the sanctity of every individual as a child beloved of God, we suggest the following thoughts to the public in this year 1963, the centennial of several great events of American history and a year also of unprecedented anxiety and disorder and tragedy.

II. The Two Leading Issues

The Southern Regional Council has always been committed to the achievement of the goal of justice for all, and the consequent elimination of discrimination and inequities through education, understanding, and cooperation at the local level and within each community and state. We believe that this is still the primary and most effective way. Surely, however, all must recognize that where there is a breakdown in this primary approach, resort will inevitably be had to legislation and demonstrations.

In the past, and most especially during the last 80 years or so, the South has deliberately created laws and public policies to keep its two races *apart* and to *discriminate* against its Negro citizens. At the same time, southern political leaders contended that law can never be used to bring the two races *together* or to *suppress discrimination*. They had thus effectively removed from Negro Southerners every

power and privilege of protest, except the privilege of leaving family and neighbors by moving to the North or West.

That we have progressed far in the years since World War II is evidenced by the fact that the present two issues of greatest urgency to our domestic strength and tranquility are the uses of law and public policy to undo the wrongs of the past, and the right and propriety of protest demonstrations to speed this process.

III. Law is the Servant of Justice

As to the first issue, and while recommending that voluntary solutions to cure racial inequities should always be sought diligently by both white and Negro leaders, we think there is a clear necessity for legislative and executive actions by the local, state, and federal governments. We are not, in the South or in the country as a whole, starting from scratch; we have an enormous housecleaning and rebuilding job, and governmental power should be employed for this public service.

Under our system of federalism, most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments. Only their failure to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary, because the condition of our Constitutional rights and of our race relations is a national burden and disgrace. In this connection, we take great encouragement from those federal court decisions and those state enactments which are ending to some extent the vicious and undemocratic apportionment of seats in our legislatures and in Congress; there is good reason to hope that, as urban centers of the South are accorded their fair representation, and government thereby becomes responsive to majority opinion and needs, a new and more responsible politics will grow up in the South.

The increase of federal concern and activity in recent years has done much good. America is a better land because of the brilliant thrust of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy's moral and political leading and because of President Johnson's resolve to "move forward to eliminate from this nation every trace of discrimination and oppression."

We need to recognize fully and clearly the two just demands of what is called the 'Negro revolt.' One is that there be an end *now* to all forms of institutionalized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise. The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy.

The federal government does not serve the public well when the help it offers, through either legislative or executive actions, is minimal; when it treats symptoms and not the problems; when it merely palliates disorders, leaving them to fester and to nag at the nerves of the people; or when it allows its money to be spent in ways that perpetuate or strengthen discrimination against the welfare or dignity of any class of citizens.

Again we indicate our belief that vital problems of race relations could be well settled by state and local communities. We commend those southern cities which in recent months have established effective bi-racial commissions and committees. We believe that the essence of good human relations lies in the search, within each community, for laws and practices mutually satisfying to all its residents. We believe that the South, and each community of it, and the nation to which they all belong, must take an interest in the welfare and the development of each individual, and that only as it does so will it itself prosper.

None of the issues of civil rights is likely to be solved fully while there exists,

throughout the population, the present wide differentials of educational opportunities, nor while unemployment is as large and menacing as it is and has been. We are gratified by the industrious, even imaginative, endeavors now underway or being discussed in several southern states to lift educational levels. But federal leadership in these intricately related fields of education and employment is a continuing necessity. The current rate of unemployment is not only an economic drag but frustrates even sincere governmental and private efforts to overcome racial discrimination. Job scarcity has become an omnipresent motive for demonstrations, and may predictably engender more and bitter protest.

We believe that the South, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, nevertheless, make a new social life that is richly humane, because it will have grown out of the honestly faced and concrete necessities of a common life. As today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration. We are optimistic that a new South, born of struggle, will, with courage and intelligence, reshape its economic and educational practices as needed to integrate all its people into a society that serves the free and full development of each individual.

The means to this end is a thoroughly democratic, thoroughly responsible politics.

IV. An Historic Opportunity

There is no virtue *per se* in street demonstrations, but only the self-blinded fail to see the grandeur of the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South.

Through this movement Negroes seek no rights or privileges for themselves alone. They seek only those belonging to all American citizens. A wise society would encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all.

Demonstrations are a direct reaction to the failure or the laggardness of white leadership. The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal Constitution, of justice and of religion.

We are little impressed by public opinion polls which reveal Negro bitterness or white prejudice. No informed and intelligent observer has ever doubted the existence of either. Bitterness and prejudice are now, as they have always been, the conditions against which the responsible institutions of American society — governments, churches, press, educational and professional institutions, business corporations — must contend and which they must rectify.

We commend those Negro and white citizens who, through lawful assembly, peaceful picketing, and other forms of orderly demonstrations have used the methods of democracy to advance human rights.

We commend their leaders, who have constantly taught that demonstrations must be non-violent, in spirit as well as in form.

We ask the nation's understanding of and compassion for those white Southerners who, because of the teaching and example of their civic leaders, perpetuate violence and spread malice. We would remind our fellow Southerners that, as the record clearly shows, the bombers, the killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and community attitudes.

We come back, therefore, to the need for strengthening the leadership of the South. Because we believe profoundly in democracy, we think that democratization of southern public life is the pathway to strength. We believe that the greatest con-

tribution which Negro Southerners can make today to the national welfare and to their own is to register and to vote responsibly, and, together with white citizens, to establish truly representative government in the South.

The qualities which are exhibited in the protest demonstrations are qualities that deserve other outlets. Patience, forbearance, faith in human decency, reliance upon intellectual and moral power — these are qualities needed in politics, in the schools and universities, in the churches, in business, in all of our society. May this nation have the wisdom to draw strength from them.

Presidents of the Southern Regional Council:

1944-1945
HOWARD W. ODUM
Chapel Hill, N.C.

1946-1951
PAUL WILLIAMS
Richmond, Va.

1952-1957
MARION A. WRIGHT
Linville Falls, N.C.

1958-1963
JAMES M. DABBS
Mayesville, S. C.

1964-
JOHN H. WHEELER
Durham, N.C.

Chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council:

1944-1952
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
Nashville, Tenn.

1954-1961
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
Atlanta, Ga.

(Note: There was no chairman during 1953.)

1961-1963
JOHN H. WHEELER
Durham, N.C.

Executive Directors of the Southern Regional Council:

1944-1947
GUY B. JOHNSON

1947-1957
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

1957-1961
HAROLD C. FLEMING

1961-
LESLIE W. DUNBAR

The News and Observer
RALEIGH, N. C.
D. 125,386 SUN. 141,625

OCT 31 1965

School Integration Low, Says Council

ATLANTA (AP) — Southern school systems generally have fallen down on compliance with the desegregation provisions of the Civil Rights Act, the Southern Regional Council declared Saturday.

The bi-racial group said a survey shows only 151,409 Negroes attending desegregated public school classes in 11 states in the South, 5.2 per cent of the South's Negro school census.

The council's report compares with 216,600 Negroes in desegregated schools reported earlier by the Office of Education. But the report said no agency—federal, state or local—seems to have accurate figures on desegregation.

Government Blamed

It blamed all levels of government for what it called failure to carry out the spirit of the school desegregation provisions.

The council noted that virtually all school systems in the South certified that they would operate without discrimination this year in order to receive federal school funds. But it called many of these claims false.

"Just as the claims in many instances are false, it is hard to assume other than that many of those signing the statements deliberately set out to fool those reviewing the desegregation plans," the report said.

A lack of exact information and the tendency of some school officials to exaggerate the amount of desegregation has given the nation a much more optimistic view of the South's progress than the facts warrant, the council said.

It said many Southern school authorities have been evasive and called for more stringent regulation by federal school authorities.

Pressures and intimidation against Negroes was cited as another major problem.

"The performance in the South falls far short of what the law calls for, or what most observers expected during the first year," the council said.

The reports estimate of the percentage of Negroes enrolled in desegregated schools in the South, ranged from 20 per cent in Texas to only 25 per cent in Alabama.

Other estimates included: Virginia 11.3, Tennessee 9.1, Florida 5.9, Arkansas 2.5, North Carolina 2.1, South Carolina 1.5, Georgia 1.3, Louisiana .68, and Mississippi .34.

The report said federal workers involved in the task were dedicated, but overworked people.

"It is hardly the fault of the office of education, for example, that little or no budget was provided for administration of Title VI funds, or that the few staffers who could be hired had to be brought on the payroll too late to do the job adequately.

"Perhaps the White House and Congress share some of the blame for this. . .

"The letter and spirit of the civil rights law encouraged voluntary compliance if at all possible.

The Atlanta Journal
AND
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
SUN. 496,588
NOV 21 1965

Biracial Group Asks U.S. Act On Poverty Plan, Integration

By The Associated Press

The Southern Regional Council called Saturday for federal action improving poverty program administration and school integration in the South.

The council released the texts of two resolutions adopted at its 22nd annual meeting here Nov. 15-16.

A resolution directed to the Office of Economic Opportunity specifically asked federal rulings directed at antipoverty programs in Atlanta and Memphis.

"At issue in Atlanta," the biracial council said, "is the question of adequate representation of the poor on a community action planning board.

"At issue in Memphis is the question of whether representatives of the poor should be elected or appointed by city officials."

The council said the Economic Opportunity-Atlanta, Inc., board of directors rejected a proposal that one-third of its membership be from the ranks of the poor, but added four such representatives of the poor to a membership of at least 17.

COUNCIL Executive Director Paul Anthony said, "This raises precisely one of the questions with which our resolution is concerned — whether representation of the poor shall be substantial."

The council took two stands concerning the poverty programs:

"That the Office of Economic Opportunity implement its policy that the poor be represented in policy-making capacities on the local community action agency boards, and that it require this representation to be in substantial numbers.

And, "That the OEO require that representatives of the poor be democratically elected by their peers in the target areas in some feasible fashion rather than be appointed by local governing bodies."

THE COUNCIL said questions have been raised to whether various official reports on the extent of school desegregation in the South reflect the true picture.

"Certainly," the council said, "such reports have not adequately covered the private and extra-legal economic and social pressures exerted to limit the rate of integration."

The council called for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to "make renewed efforts to determine the facts about school desegregation in the South."

The council also said HEW should consider using "independent agencies, groups and individuals" in its probe.

The education resolution asked that programs be provided "of technical aid to teachers and others to prepare themselves for positive roles in the change to an integrated educational structure."

Atl Constitution
3/5/66

The Council Continues To Grow

(Special file) SRC

When Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach spoke here the other day, he saluted the Southern Regional Council for its "more than two decades of careful, courageous, and consistent devotion to the afflictions and the aspirations of the South.

"The increasing commitment of the nation toward both the humanity and the rightfulness of human rights is in no small part the result," the attorney general continued, of the council's activity.

The occasion of the attorney general's address was a luncheon at which the council launched its new foundation-supported Voter Education Project.

And earlier in February it was announced that the council would receive $300,000 from the Ford Foundation to help strengthen state and local human-relations councils in 11 Southern states.

So the council continues to grow and to move forward. And as it does so, the region also progresses and moves forward.

TYLER, TEXAS
TELEGRAPH
D. 22,000

MAR 1 1 1966

Regional Council To Help Eliminate Slums, Ghettos

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — A new project of the Southern Regional Council will offer professional help to city officials trying to eliminate slums and ghettos.

This organization works quietly to improve racial relations in the South. It is concerned with farming as well as voting; jobs as well as juries.

"We are not a typical civil rights organization," said Paul Anthony, executive director of the Atlanta-based council. He has a staff of 35 and a budget this year of more than $1 million. Policy is in the hands of the biracial council — 100 Southern men and women.

Projects range from information services on school integration procedures to a study of persons thrown out of work by automation.

The council's most dramatic work has been in voter registration.

From 1961 through 1963, SRC helped put about 700,000 Negroes on the voter lists in 11 Southern states. Now another project is under way, aimed at the more than two million adult Negroes still unregistered in the South. There are about 2.3 million Negro voters.

"In a nonpolitical way we want to develop effective use of the ballot," said Anthony, who contends registration alone is not enough.

"There is an obvious need to develop an educational program to show how the vote is tied up in the political process."

He cited as examples Atlanta and Memphis, Tenn., where large numbers of Negroes failed to vote in elections.

One approach to the SRC project will be college scholarships for part-time work. Leadership training and workshops will be held. SRC plans to provide the know-how and money

About $350,000 a year for the next three years will go into voter education and registration. Funds for SRC projects come mostly from foundations.

SRC, which avoids demonstrations, has organized state councils on human relations in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina and Virginia. Last year the state councils had 12,000 members and spent about $300,000

SRC functions like an umbrella in some respects. Its voter project will be coordinated with five major civil rights organizations. It serves as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, a quarterly meeting of more than 40 agencies and groups involved in civil rights and human relations.

Its projects include

—Collecion and distribution of 300,000 books, most of them for Negro college libraries, community centers and schools.

—Assistance in and analysis of federal programs for fair employment and antipoverty efforts.

—Research in improved desegregation of schools.

A group of Southern Negroes met Oct. 20, 1942, at Durham, N.C., and issued a statement calling for nondiscrimination in voting and juries; equal, if separate, schools, and steps to end lynchings and other brutalities.

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Among the charter members was Dr. Horace Mann Bond, an Atlanta college professor and the father of Rep.-elect Julian Bond, barred from the Georgia House of Representatives this year.

The SRC president is John H. Wheeler of Durham, a Negro bank president. There are four vice presidents. Two are white, two Negro, including Clement. Anthony, who is white, has been on the SRC staff since 1956, and its diretor since last October.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The American-Statesman
AUSTIN, TEXAS
SUN. 63,099

MAR 1 2 1966

Nonpolitical SRC Aids In Relations

By DON MCKEE

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BURLINGTON, VT.
FREE PRESS
D. 35,000

23

MAR 1 8 1966

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Aff-Sam

S.R.C (Spec.)

Negro Vote Was Effective In South, Council Reports

The South's 2.7 million registered Negro voters were a major factor in elections last month in Dixie, but still only half of the Negroes of voting age in the South registered, the Southern Regional Council reports.

In an analysis of its Voter Education Project, SRC claimed that Negroes provided the winning margin for a U.S. senator, one or possibly two governors and at least two congressmen.

At the same time, SRC said that much work remains to equalize Negro voter registration with white registration. The council called for more federal examiners under the 1965 Voting Rights Act to help Negroes register.

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project, said that Negroes must close the registration gap on whites "if they are to have a fair share of the voice in Southern politics."

COMPARED TO the 2.7 million registered Negroes, the council noted, whites have 14.4 million.

Nevertheless, SRC credits Negroes with having substantial effects on key races throughout 11 Southern states.

Twenty Negroes were elected to state legislatures in the South, and Negroes were also elected to county-level posts—one as sheriff.

In Georgia, returns indicated that about half of the 300,000 registered Negroes went to the polls. SRC said their votes were split about evenly between Republican Howard (Bo) Callaway and write-in candidate Ellis Arnall.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

YULE TREE WAS THIEF'S ONLY WANT

BUFFALO, N.Y., Dec. 14 (AP). Police are looking for a thief filled w i h the Christmas spirit.

The culprit e n t e r e d the apartment of Janita Richardson recently and departed with only a Christmas tree, valued at $2.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

A Negro was elected to the school board in Hancock, which was the first Georgia county to have federal poll watchers.

SRC'S ANALYSIS shows that Negroes clearly provided the winning margin for Winthrop Rockefeller's election as governor of Arkansas. An estimated 80,000 to 90,000 Negroes voted, nearly 90 per cent of them for Rockefeller and more than enough to provide him with his 45,000-vote margin. SRC estimated that two-thirds of Arkansas's registered Negroes voted.

Negroes in South Carolina "plainly provided the margin for a U.S. senator" and probably for incumbent Gov. Robert E. McNair, who turned back Republican Joseph O. Rogers Jr. by 72,000 votes, SRC reported.

The Negro turnout in South Carolina was estimated at 100,000, slightly more than half of the Negro registration of 191,000. SRC says the Negro vote was almost totally Democratic.

Mr. Blanton won by 2,700 votes as nine predominantly Negro precincts in Memphis gave him 7,824 votes to 353 for Republican Hurst.

Also in Tennessee, SRC noted that six Negroes were elected to the legislature—an increase of five.

IN ALABAMA, Negroes did not turn out as heavily as they did in the May primaries—possibly because both candidates for governor were segregationists, SRC said.

The May turnout was estimated at 74 per cent of the registered Negroes; the general election brought out less than half. The heaviest Negro vote went to incumbent Sen. John Sparkman, easy winner over Republican John Grenier.

Five Negroes were elected to county offices in Alabama, including Lucius Amerson as sheriff of Macon County. In Dallas County, scene of the Selma racial disturbances last year, Sheriff Jim Clark was defeated by Wilson Baker, racially a more moderate candidate.

S.R.C. (Spec)

RALPH

McGILL

'Play Within A Play—'

Atl Const 8-29-67

Dr. Martin Luther King and directors of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference quite unavoidably are confronted with what might be called a sociological schizoid condition — a confrontation with valid but contradictory objectives — a play within a play.

The South would seem to be the natural field for harvest. A thorough, well organized campaign of voter registration would attain long desired objectives in relatively little time. Indeed, voter registration, chiefly by SCLC and the Southern Regional Council, plus assistance from local and state groups, already has begun to pay off in healthy results.

Mississippi's recent Democratic primary, for example, saw 11 Negro candidates, of character and ability, win nominations. Some will be elected in the upcoming general election. In Georgia nine Negroes hold seats in the state legislature—more than are in like offices in any other state save Illinois and Michigan. A Negro sheriff is doing well in his first term in Alabama.

The Highlights

These are merely the highlights of a general story which includes election of Negroes to various public offices in the South, appointments in the private sector on various boards of education, hospitals, Chambers of Commerce, and so on.

One of the highlights of SCLC's recent 10th anniversary celebration in Atlanta was a report of the addition of $25 million in job income for Negroes in Atlanta across the past three years by "operation breadbasket" — a SCLC inspired campaign.

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Whether more jobs can be attained in this manner than by demonstrations and massive non-violent "dislocations" in northern cities is the unresolved issue.

Dr. King and his staff are, along with others, dedicated to making every American citizen an equal in economic, political and educational opportunity, and in acceptance as a person and a citizen. A schizoid situation, however, exists in the civil rights movement that creates enormous difficulties.

The ambivalence lies in the fact that civil rights, per se, have largely been attained. With the exception of a slowly declining number of rural counties, the right to register and vote, to be a candidate for office, to file federal protests against job discrimination, to have equal educational opportunity and to use public accommodations is daily more strongly established.

Distressing Area

But there remains a great and distressing area of public life in which housing, jobs — chiefly these two — are being withheld. The fact that the slum landlord, ruthless in exploitation of the poor, has the protection of the free enterprise system is an unhealthy paradox in our local and national life.

SCLC's problem is enormously complicated by the Black Power "guerrilla - revolution" movement, which is extremely anti - middle - income-Negro, anti - white, and anti-Semitic. It works to incite the very poor. There are now almost 30 million Americans who are so poorly educated and so bankrupt of training and skills that they and their lives are, or should be, on our national conscience. (There are among these a smaller percentage of poor white persons in equal deprivation.)

We need not exactly imitate the old depression years' CCC, WPA and PWA, but we can create something like them to fit the context of today when there is not a general depression, but extreme poverty and affluence side by side.

The radicals find all this grist in their mill. But the radicals are not, and cannot be, the answer.

SCLC has a difficult decision ahead.

ON THE NATIONAL CRISIS

(Continued From Page 2)

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Particularly is this true in the South. However, we can take neither comfort nor any degree of self-satisfaction out of the fact that until this moment, most of the riots and the worst of them have occurred outside the South We can only aknowledge that historically the South has exported people of both races not properly prepared for life in a complex modern nation, and with them have developed new variants of the deprivation and racial antagonisms that have so long crippled the South. And we can only look about our own region and know that the same conditions which have exploded into riots exist in many places in the South. The starvation-level poverty in many parts of the rural South is a particularized problem of ours, more severe and punishing probably than any other poverty in the nation.

Progress in race relations and against poverty in the South has been great in recent years. But it has not been enough. While these states have made efforts toward compliance with federal civil rights laws, perhaps to a greater degree than the rest of the nation is aware of, there has been achieved in no area of desegregation the goals of national law and comment. In the basics of making a living, the South's per capita income has increased at a greater rate than that of the nation since 1950. But in terms of actual dollars, the gap between the South's per capita income and that of the rest of the nation has widened.

In these and other endeavors, the South has been gaining, but not enough.

In 1960, when white violence was the problem, a Southern Regional Council publication, 'Racial Violence and Law Enforcement," stated: Law enforcement is . . . an essential factor in the progress of race relations. In the continuing racial crises of the South, the police have two basic responsibilities: to enforce the laws with absolute impartiality; and secondly, to maintain a climate of public order in which constitutional liberties can be freely exercised, by white men or Negroes, by integrationists, or segregationists." These responsibilities remain.

There should be no confusion of rioting with either the tradition of non-violent Negro protest demonstrations or with the honorable philosophical principles of civil disobedience. Unlawful violence by a mob has none of the moral defense or force of these traditions, and such violence must be quelled, just as white mob violence against constitutional peaceful protest has to be. But in both instances, we must be alert to the dangers of excessive, unconstitutional use of police force; we must look with apprehension on any tendency to be satisfied merely with the momentary ending of the system of violence without following through with treatment of the social and economic malfunctionings that are the underlying causes of such violence.

We must note too another grave factor in our current crisis. There now are millions of Americans outside our economic system, neither contributing to it or benefiting from it. This must realistically be seen as a serious threat to that economic system.

The Southern Regional Council supports and urges national efforts to remedy problems of race and poverty. We support and urge similar efforts on the state and local level in the South, public and private. We need to continue present efforts and improvise creative new approaches to solve such regional problems as rural and urban poverty, educational deprivation, and race relations. The South has yet the opportunity to go beyond technical compliance with law to the functioning of a truly equal, harmonious society. And because it has come to basic changes in the nature of American society later than the rest of the nation, the South also has greater opportunity, yet, to avoid mistakes others have made. We, the South, can still avoid in most cities the development of ghettoes. We can utilize intelligent planning to make people rather than things the central factor in industrialization, urbanization of agriculture, and the utilization of natural resources and the South's as yet largely unspoiled beauty of landscape.

The Southern Regional Council believes that the good will between the races in the South has not deteriorated in these past years of tense, total change of the legal framework of relationships between the races. Indeed, we believe that relationships have been improved to the extent that Negro Southerners have gained in self-respect and status in society, and to the extent that they have come to equal footing in their day to day face to face encounters with white Southerners. We continue in the conviction that for the South and for the nation, the only realistic and moral goal in regard to race relations is the full integration of Negroes and other minority groups into the American society. We recognize and applaud efforts of such groups to develop legitimate methods of gaining objectives of self-interest, economically and politically. But we continue to oppose segregation and separation as antithetical to everything America stands for. It is our belief that Southerners, white and Negro, have moved and are resolved to continue to move toward the kind of society, one of equal opportunity and human dignity, made possible by the Constitution of the United States.

It is toward this high goal rather than to the absence of riots that we must look.

SRC Report — (Spec file)

On The National Crisis

As an organization of Southerners of both races dedicated to equal opportunity for all, the Southern Regional Council has watched with profound grief and alarm the riots that have occurred during this first half of the summer of 1967. But far more destructive than riots would be the failture of the nation to recognize riots as a symptom of profound failure — social and economic — of American society to provide a chance for a decent and constructive life for vast numbers of its people, North and South, white and Negro.

Fully aware of the need for fact and sympathy in doing so, we are compelled as Southerners, out of a knowledge of our own region's tragic history of racial antagonism, to speak to the nation, urging that it act against the causes of the riots and not merely with repressive force to end them. We would also urge the South, as it continues to strive to restructure its society to conform to laws of equality and racial justice, to look upon these riots which have occurred in Northern cities as a severe object les-

(Continued From Page 2)

NATIONAL CRISIS

(Continued From Page 1)

son in the tragic consequences of not achieving these objectives fully for all citizens.

We are grieved about the damage, destruction, injury and death attendant on riots. But we are even more concerned about the damage physically, mentally and spiritually that has been done to far more human beings over many years by the social conditions out of which the riots have risen. The grave national emergency of the riots at essence involves the conditions that southern organizations like ours have struggled against for years—poverty and discrimination against Negroes.

As so often we have had in the past to point out that only a minority of white Southerners have engaged in racial violence, so it

(Continued On Page 3)

PAGE (s) MISSING

S.R.C (Spec)

ON THE NATIONAL CRISIS

A STATEMENT BY

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

AUGUST 1967

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As so often we have had in the past to point out that only a minority of white Southerners have engaged in racial violence, so it should be noted that only a minority of Negroes have succumbed to the destructive fury expressed in the riots. But the suffering and injustice which have stirred their fury are borne by many millions more, whites as well as Negroes.

Particularly is this true in the South. However, we can take neither comfort nor any degree of self-satisfaction out of the fact that until this moment, most of the riots and the worst of them have occurred outside the South. We can only acknowledge that historically, the South has exported people of both

races not properly prepared for life in a complex modern nation, and with them have developed new variants of the deprivation and racial antagonisms that have so long crippled the South. And we can only look about our own region and know that the same conditions which have exploded into riots exist in many places in the South. The starvation-level poverty in many parts of the rural South is a particularized problem of ours, more severe and punishing probably than any other poverty in the nation.

Progress in race relations and against poverty in the South has been great in recent years. But it has not been enough. While these states have made efforts toward compliance with federal civil rights laws, perhaps to a greater degree than the rest of the nation is aware of, there has been achieved in no area of desegregation the goals of national law and commitment. In the basics of making a living, the South's per capita income has increased at a greater rate than that of the nation since 1950. But in terms of actual dollars, the gap between the South's per capita income and that of the rest of the nation has widened.

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We must note too another grave factor in our current crisis. There now are millions of Americans outside our economic system, neither contributing to it or benefiting from it. This must realistically be seen as a serious threat to that economic system.

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August, 1967

SRC (S/C

Joint Meeting of

THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE AND THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia
Feb. 23 - 25, 1968

Call

We believe that the South has a unique and powerful contribution to make to the solution of the agonizing problems of this nation. Therefore, we are calling upon Southerners, both white and black, to meet in order to take advantage of an exciting possibility: that the old Confederacy can show the rest of the nation the way to a society of true equality. We believe that the South has been denied this opportunity in the past because of the relationship between the races.

Race hatred was made the basis of many public institutions and precisely for this reason, the South has confronted the issue in its starkest form. In the North, prejudice was much more sophisticated. It employed hidden, complex mechanisms, like the job and housing markets. And its discreet ways of exploiting and brutalizing Negroes allowed - and still allows - many whites to evade the basic moral question.

In the Fifties and Sixties, the courage and non-violent dedication of Southerners, black and white, destroyed the formal, institutional system of segregation. Because of this process and other recent experiences, the South understands, as no other section of the country does, that it must make a fundamental, ethical choice.

Throughout the South there are also millions whose consciences have been sorely tried and changed and who are now prepared to join in building a new South based on the worth of men and women as individuals. We propose to appeal to the

conscience of these men and women on behalf of a united South prepared to eliminate poverty and establish justice for all.

Historically, the South has paid the price of economic backwardness in return for the North's agreement to bring reconstruction to an end and permit the system of segregation. The "triumph" of white supremacy turned the area into a semi-colonial dependency of the advanced industry in the rest of the country. As a result, the impoverishment of the overwhelming majority, both white and black, was guaranteed.

But here again there is a positive aspect to a tragic legacy. Because the South is even now still arriving at the stage of modern technology, it need not repeat the errors which were committed in the North.

By jamming Negroes (many of them displaced persons who had been driven from the southern fields) into teeming, rat-infested ghettos, providing them with inferior schools which did not prepare many of them for the economy and society in which they were to live, and by thus imposing the economic and social conditions of the affluence, the North laid the basis for the racial violence and hatred which now racks its great cities.

We believe that many Southerners - including some who are not initially moved by conscience but seek only their self-interest - do not want to repeat these tragic patterns. Out of morality <u>and</u> out of practicality, we have profound reasons to seek a new relationship between the races as a fundamental first step toward a new and progressive South. Having done this, the vision of democracy we hold for the South can be realized.

If the South is to build a modern economy and be restored to its rightful place in the nation socially and politically, it cannot fool itself, as the North does. Economic and social

justice are essential for all if peace and progress are to prevail. No other approach can avoid the same explosive injustice that rends the North.

Therefore, we summon Southerners, both black and white, to the duty, the opportunity and the challenge to participate in a common effort, laying aside past racial atagonisms, to construct a just social order for all people.

######

(30)

Reprint from
THE ATLANTA JOURNAL
4/15/68

**

Magazine Cites Poverty Figures

One-fourth of the white people and two-thirds of the Negroes in the South live below poverty levels.

So says the current issue of New South, quarterly magazine of the Southern Regional Council. The figures reportedly come from government agencies.

Page after page of the issue details living conditions of whites and Negroes in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky and Florida.

The Bureau of Census reported in 1960 that about 70 per cent of rural Negro homes and 27 per cent of white were deteriorating and dilapidated.

SOME 75 PER CENT of Negroes on farms and 69 per cent of Negroes off farms were poverty stricken in 1964, the report indicates.

The same figures showed 26 per cent of the white people living on farms and 19 per cent off farms were living in poverty.

What's the remedy for the poverty-stricken? What does the future hold for them?

"Southern officialdom generally treats victims of poverty as if they had committed some crime, losing their civil and human rights in the process. This permits disengagement from the poor by officialdom or at best grudging doles," the report states.

The South struggling to get into the American economic mainstream needs help, the Southern Regional Council publication asserts. And that help is there.

"The federal government annually offers millions in welfare monies that are not accepted," the author says. "Is it because the money is tainted, coming from the reviled seat of central authority?"

The author concludes this is not the case.

THE ANSWER is priorities. Highway funds from the federal government are snatched up before the ink has dried on the appropriation bill.

"But in 1967, 13 Southern and border states forfeited more than a quarter of a billion federal welfare dollars because they would not put up supplemental funds to raise their per capita welfare payments to the national average of $31.61 per month," the author states.

For 150 pages the magazine relates poverty cases. Then in summation, there is a checklist of 11 states which lists events, developments and trends in civil rights, justice, politics, employment and other aspects of Southern change.

The poverty story was written by Paul Good and illustrated with photographs by Al Clayton, a Nashville photographer.

Mr. Good is a former television newsman who has covered civil rights and race-related news around the South for many years. He is a frequent contributor to the Nation and now makes his home in Connecticut.

P. 3/ col

'NEEDY TIME'

Rural Poor Viewed in SRC Study

Atl Const 4/18/65 (S/sc.)

By ACHSAH NESMITH

"The needy time is now," a Southern Regional Council study of poverty in the rural South, includes a chapter on a family in Lee County, Georgia, in its recently issued quarterly publication.

The 150-page study by Paul Good discusses such problems of the poor as discrimination in federal farm programs, efforts to stop Alabama Negro farmers from forming a co-op and an 18-year-old Georgia mother's efforts to care for her malformed baby while paying off $1,500 in hospital bills on her $23 a week salary.

In Baker County, Georgia, where four huge plantations comprise one-half the land area and more than half the county's inhabitants receive free commodities under food programs, Good notes that officials in Moultrie turned down a day-care center after Baker residents voted to do without their Head Start program when told they could not have both.

The study also deals with a white family in Bainbridge, where the mother "states as an unalterable fact that there is no way her children can go to high school; she knows that there isn't any way the spare financial figures of the family can ever fatten."

(Currently, benefits are figured on approximately 80 per cent of what the Welfare department considers the individual or family need, up to the maximums allowable.

State director William H. Burson pointed out that this does not include many optional programs Georgia does not participate in, noting that his department lost $12 million in federal funds in the process of cuts from his requests made by the governor and the legislature.)

The SRC study is highly critical of federal farm programs for their discriminatory practices in allowing Negro tenants to be dispossessed of land they have farmed for generations, and for failure to provide equal training, loans and other opportunities for Negro farm dwellers. Nearly three-fourths of Negro farm dwellers are below the poverty level, compared with one-fourth of white farm dwellers.

Good suggests a federal training and public works program to increase skills of farm dwellers. At the same time, he said, the federal government should provide better housing and needed plumbing, water and other facilities, and better programs to help tenants and other poverty-stricken rural dwellers get enough land and sufficient training in modern farming methods to make a living.

SRC

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Editorial

Whence The Disorder

THE IRONY of the age is that the man who is running for the presidency primarily to defy the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision now has been upheld by that court in his own legal battle.

Yes, said the Supreme Court Tuesday, George Wallace's name must be allowed on the ballot of Ohio, otherwise damage is done to the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause.

"That's a right decision," crowed Wallace in Los Angeles that night. And then he made a promise that as President he would reverse the "liberal" decisions of the court.

* * *

THE SAME 14th Amendment was applied by the Supreme Court in 1954 to the question of whether the states had a right to bar Negro children from attending superior white schools; whether these children were being denied their equal protection that amendment guaranteed.

The states had no such right, said the court.

In the South, politicians roared and set about to defy the law of the land. Eventually, George Wallace was inaugurated as Governor of Alabama with a promise of "segregation forever!" The lawlessness began — lawlessness that he now rides as the one issue he hopes will propel him into the White House.

* * *

BUT HOW, you may ask, is today's lawlessness associated with that 1954 court decision?

On the same day that the court's pro-Wallace decision was announced, the Southern Regional Council issued its annual report on the aftermath of that decision, entitled: "Lawlessness and Disorder: Fourteen Years of Failure in Southern School Desegregation." Throughout those years, the officialdom of the South consistently had manipulated administration of schools to avoid complying with the law, even as lower federal courts in the area consistently commanded them to stop stalling.

"The clock has ticked the last tick for tokenism and delay in the name of deliberate speed," said Judge Wisdom of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to Jefferson County, Alabama in 1967.

Yet today, some 88 percent of the South's 2.6 million school children still are attending totally segregated schools.

* * *

THE SRC REPORT said that preguideline experience saw little real violence in their resistance — it was to come later in a wave of terror in rural areas "unmatched since post-Reconstruction whites rode around in bedsheets."

"There was Mansfield and Clinton, and Little Rock and New Orleans," said the report of the earlier period, "where screaming mother mobs appeared on television as the first wave of mass media theater of the absurd. But the violence was done mostly to psyches of the few Negro children."

With all due respect for the learned men of SRC, we submit that this analysis is not entirely correct.

True the children involved in the early experience with desegregation were hurt — suffering fright, loneliness and the scars of being violently scorned.

But what of their peers in the cities and elsewhere around the country who were watching them go through their agony? What effect on them was the mob display of defiance of the law? Whence came today's mob psychology aimed at the law?

* * *

THE SEED of it, we say, was planted in Wallace country. It was here that massive defiance of the law began with the cry "Segregation forever!" It was here that yesterday's children got the idea that if you do not like a law, you do just anything to defy it — including violence. It was here that the Supreme Court, the very citadel of justice and law, could be spat upon.

George Wallace was a leader in setting the mood that has been the cause of the fires in our cities, for the children of yesterday saw his triumph as a breaker of the law.

But, says the court, such a wrecker of the law nonetheless has a right to be tested in an election.

SRC
Birm News
12/8/68

THE · NEW · SOUTH

The New, Newer, Newest South!

They say "the Deep South is transforming, or changing, or emerging into a new era." But hasn't it always, ever since THE war?

1886: "The New South"! Henry Grady's phrase caught on: *Harper's Weekly* printed the pictures on these pages within a year after his famous speech to the New England Society of New York. It was a special supplement on The New South, heralding the area's industrial resurgence, one aspect of Grady's flowery oration. Since then, the appellation has cropped up with a confusing consistency. Practically each year, someone proclaims this the New — or Newest — South.

Perhaps Grady let his words get a little ahead of reality in other matters when he asserted that, "The New South presents a perfect democracy"; "We have reached the point that marks perfect harmony in every household"; "(The Negro) shares our school fund, has the fullest protection of our laws and the friendship of our people." But if the Atlantan's "vision of a restored and happy people" was stretching it somewhat (he was speaking, after all, to a gathering of *Yankees*) the effect of the speech was beneficial: It helped make known that to some degree the South was, forced to or not, successfully wrestling with the strange and deep problems proposed by a sagging, one-crop economy, by an aura of defeat, by the challenge of the freed slaves. The New South of that time was aggressive, achieving, recuperative and commercially militant, as contrasted with the ante-bellum meditative, leisurely and academic posture. Grady's speech also invited a formal, if not universally satisfying, rebinding of the ties between the North and the South.

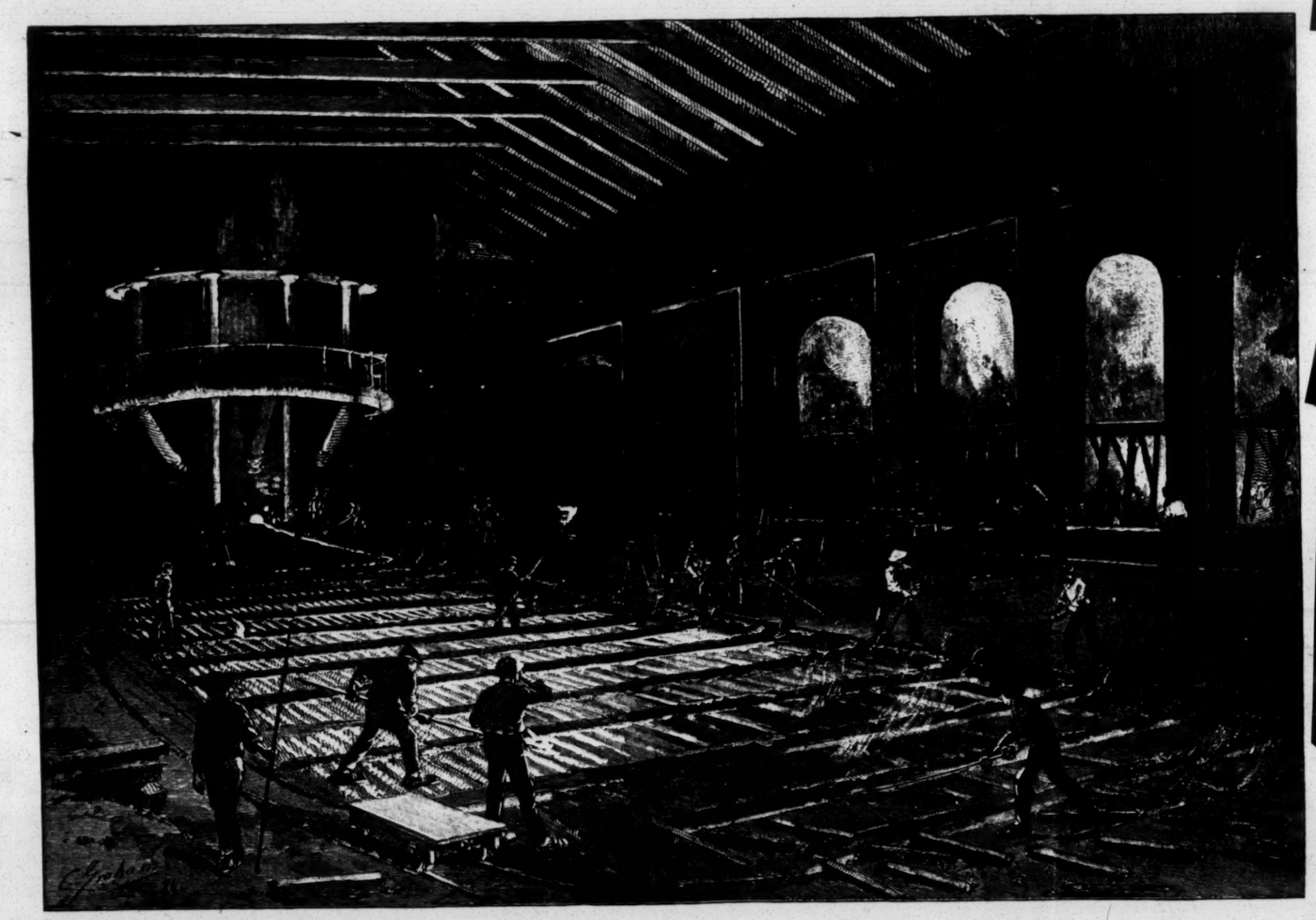
Harper's Weekly's acknowledgement of this was but one result of the speech.

Florida historian Rembert W. Patrick reminds us that the existence of a "New South" implies the pre-existence of an "Old South" — which in turn implies a long existence — "but in reality the ante-bellum Deep South endured for only one generation." The vision of singing slaves and sentimentality along the Suwannee was a myth, says Patrick. "(After reconstruction) a mythical Old South floated cloudlike from the past to cover the ills of the New South." If the economy had changed drastically, the social philosophy had not. Through compromise, and the attrition of boredom with the struggle, the social revolution dictated by the outcome of the war was forgotten, and indeed, much of the rest of the nation entered into a consensus which tacitly approved the South's philosophy.

Another historian of the South, C. Vann Woodward, writes that the first real crack in the national consensus did not come until Harry Truman backed the recommendations of his Committee on Civil Rights at the Democratic convention of 1948. "The implications were ominous and immediately apparent. This meant a return to principle, a shift from 'uplift' to rights, from paternalism to equality, the breakup of compromises, accommodations, and concessions that dated back to 1877." The South more recently, he writes, "has had its 'Epitaph' written and its

(TO PAGE L-32)

(Ala)



Harper's Weekly, *March 26, 1887: "In the centre of this enormous mineral wealth . . . stands Birmingham, the 'magic city.' " Here is a drawing of a pig iron furnace of the time.*

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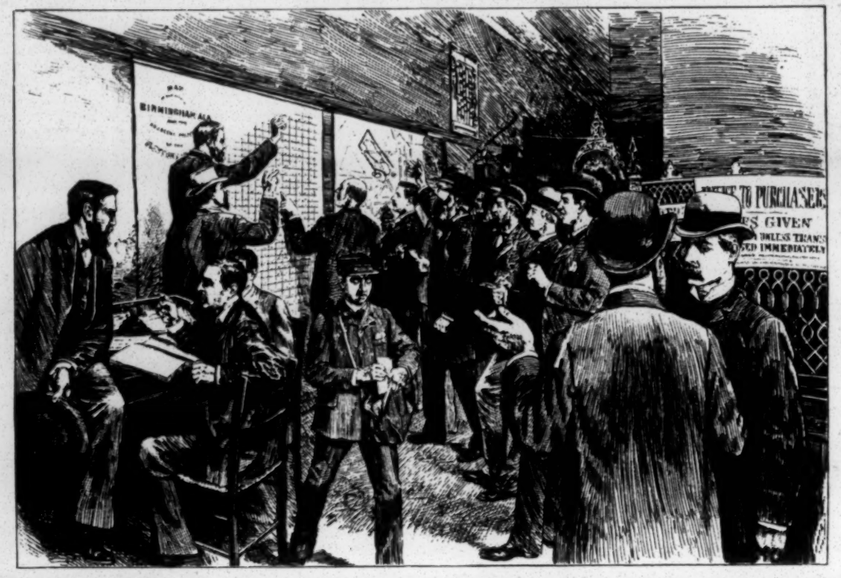
THE NEW SOUTH



A scene in a real estate exchange during Birmingham's boom years. Drawing by Charles Durkin.

'Mystique' debunked." Thus Woodward gave hope that a South newer in more than economy was in the making.

The turbulence of the years following Truman, and the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions of 1954, have helped change, again only to a degree, the social philosophy of the New South. University of Alabama political scientist Dr. Robert B. Highsaw said in 1964, "A transformation occurs when there is a change in external form or in inner nature or function. And in this sense the Deep South is transforming, or changing, or emerging into a new era."

Almost 80 years after the first *Harper's Weekly* supplement on "The New South," the magazine's successor, *Harper's*, issued a special section on "The South Today." In it not only was the region's progressive economic identity acknowledged, but Dr. Woodward had this to say about the identity of the Southern people: "In a new search for identity, the Negro is fully engaged. In fact, he has taken the initiative and the white man reacts to him. Their discovery of each other will define a distinctly new period of Southern history and a new Southern identity." An identity of the spirit, so to speak, to complement the physical, outward identity already discovered.

And in 1966 a quarterly publication of the Southern Regional Council, appropriately named *New South*, with editorial certainty wrote: "There is, indeed, a new South once again."

Was it a "New South" in 1886? Is it a "New South" in 1968? Or any time in between? Perhaps, as with any growing, developing personality, the South dies a little and is partially reborn each day, year, decade. As long as this is true, the region should be thankful. Only if the region becomes static and the Old South, real or imagined, takes over, would it have cause for total despair. —HANK BLACK.

The answer is simple: The men who were in the tanks might be dead, but the tanks, despite their mangled appearance, are not. In fact, the mission of the depot, under the direction of Col. S. M. Burney, is to restore life to the shambled tanks and send them back to Vietnam.

The first thought that strikes you — rather, the second; the first is about the men who had been inside — is that we'd be better off to leave them in the jungles.

Tank repair makes sense, and cents, too

But Burney, himself just back from Vietnam, tells you why we return them from across the ocean, around to the port of either Mobile or New Orleans, then by barge and train to the depot. And he makes a lot of sense . . . and cents, too.

"When a tank gets busted up over there," he said, "even though the tank is no longer in shape to operate, it's still worth roughly $150,000. "That's a lot of money in anybody's book. So we ship them back here. The usual cost of overhauling them is about $35,000 per tank. When we've finished, and ready to ship the tank back, it's valued at $225,000. That's good business."

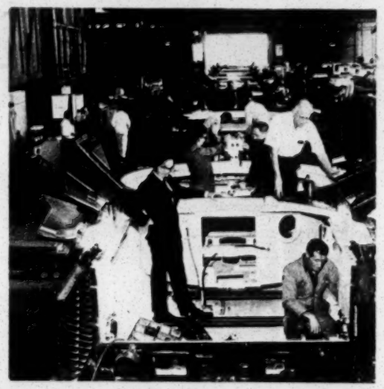
Not only good, but in a day of big government spending, refreshing to the taxpayer. At Anniston Ordnance, they're saving money, time, and costly parts.

The tanks aren't the only vehicles overhauled here. The biggest volume is received in the Armored Personnel Carriers, which are more prone to being destroyed because they don't have armor plating of the tanks. They usually haul 10 or 11 men — which means the long rows of twisted heaps at the depot often served as mass coffins for clusters of GIs in the Southeast Asia battleground.

The men who had ridden them had a sense of humor as they went into combat — a humor tinged with a dash of fatalism, of the futility of existing. You see it on some of the signs painted on the vehicles. One said, "The Untouchable." Another, "Happy House." One had a four-leaf clover on it, another a psychedelic design and the word "Love." And someone had painted the words "You Missed," on a APC which had been racked by a huge armor piercing shell. Maybe someone in the crew lucked out and painted the sign. More than likely, though, it was someone else, back at an embarking point in Vietnam.

Whatever the story of each of the vanquished warriors, their armored steeds usually can be reshod and re-equipped for another jungle joust.

In addition to the overhauling of combat vehicles, the depot serves as a major storing area for munitions, vehicles and fuel



Armored vehicles are stripped down, rebuilt.

Many tanks look irreparable, but they aren't.

Anniston Depot one of state's big businesses

Burney's operation is one of the biggest business ventures in Alabama. Few industries can boast the number of civilian workers (4,300 from all over North Alabama, including hundreds of women and three blind persons and 260 other handicapped individuals), the payroll or the technical know-how. The depot is known as the best combat vehicle overhauling station in America. "When we finish overhauling a tank and put it back on a train for shipment to Vietnam," said Burney, "it's actually in better shape than it was when it was new."

for Lance missiles. It is one of the chief shipping points in the eastern half of the United States for military parts, and maintains a huge parts repair division. And finally, the post serves six Southern states as the calibration center, a place where all the technical know-how of the military is put into play in the accurate checking of weapons sighting devices.

But right now the depot's major mission is the tank and APC overhaul. It brings the war home everyday to the workers . . . and they take pride in sending it back without delay. THE END)

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BIRMINGHAM

RALPH

McGILL

2 and 2 Make 4 or 22

Atl Const 12/21/68

It is possible to take two and two and make of them either four or 22.

Analysis of Southern change offers this possibility. Shall we talk in terms of 22 or 4?

When Southern legislatures meet in January, only three will be lily white. They are South Carolina, Arkansas, and Wallaceland.

In state legislative races, Negro candidates in the old Confederate states won enough victories to increase the number of black legislators from 23 to 30. Five of these were in the Senate chambers.

Georgia led in this political demonstration of the very best kind of "black power"—political power. A total of 14 Negroes will sit in the 1969 legislature, two senators and 12 representatives.

For the first time in history the North Carolina and Florida legislatures will each seat a Negro member. Tennessee elected two black senators and will again have six representatives, a total of eight. Texas has two representatives and one senator. Mississippi, Louisiana and Virginia each have one representative to their legislatures.

Local Positions

Other Negroes were elected to local positions, city and county. An estimated 300, most of them hold-overs, are in these minor offices which are, in another sense, important because they are "local."

This is progress. It is sensational when one considers that not until the voting rights legislation of 1964, implemented in 1965, was campaigning by Negroes possible on a regional basis. There remain, however, centers of denial of voting rights. But, progress made unquestionably exceeds the most sanguine expectations of 1964.

The Southern Regional Council has provided the major impetus in voter registration. Their efforts are being intelligently increased. "Black power" at the ballot is a welcome addition to government. Experience is limited to about four years. But so far, the thrust of Negro legislators has been toward improving democratic processes—not limiting them.

Against this background it is easy to declare that two and two make 22. Certainly the gains in so brief a span of time are substantial. They demonstrate once again how long the political de-

Continued on Page 5, Column 3

Ralph McGill

2 and 2 Make 4 or 22

Continued from Page 1

velopment of the nation was crippled and retarded by state and local laws. There are still some who say that progress comes only when men's hearts change and that laws can't accomplish reform. That piece of piety is, now as before, bunk.

Attitude Change

There is perhaps one piece of truth in it. Nothing seems to change the "heart" of a tough, beat-'em-over-the-the-head rural sheriff as much as the registration of several thousand Negroes.

Meanwhile, the probability of 2 and 2 making four must be given attention. The Negro and the poor white, more particularly the black man, still are leaving the South. The movement is north and west, chiefly the latter. Their educational qualifications are limited. They will add to the welfare problems of the cities to which they move.

The economic, social and political status of the Negro has remarkedly improved. But decline in these same statistics for the ghetto dweller and the rural poor keeps the Negro generally in about the same position.

At the turn of the century some 90 per cent of all Negroes were in the South. As late as 1940 that percentage was about 77.

Since that time, motivated by the war plant labor demands of the Second World War and the post-war displacement of Negro farm labor by machinery, chemicals and technology, more than 3.5 million Negroes have left the South.

It is interesting, dismaying and very thought provoking to play with these statistics—does 2 and 2 make merely four or 22?

SRC (Spec)

ENFORCING CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS

In 1954, the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision started the most recent phase of the civil rights revolution. The 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed, in part, to enforce this decision. But the effect of the 1964 legislation has been unclear to most of the nation. Moreover, recurrent reports of "progress" in isolated communities have confused the picture further. Are Southern schools more or less segregated today than they were in 1954? Are Southern liberals satisfied with past efforts and optimistic about the prospects for change? What are the political obstacles to Congressional action to enforce Federal civil rights laws? (See Current April 1967, page 52; July 1966, page 36; September 1965, page 6; October 1964, page 21; June 1963, page 6; and September 1960, page 29.)

THE PERSISTENCE OF RACISM

The Director of Information for the Southern Regional Council in an introduction to a recent Council special report on school segregation in the South:

Pat Watters

"This report is the third in a period of four years in which the Southern Regional Council has attempted to tell the nation of the deplorable degree of failure in the South to comply with the law of the land against racial discrimination in education, and to suggest the terrible implications of this failure.

"In the previous two reports, in 1965 and 1966, there were empirical and psychological reasons for including some guardedly optimistic, some hopeful words, saying that surely the situation would be corrected. This would come, it could be felt, once the nation realized the extent of failure, of resistance by men of public trust in the South, of ineptitude and unrealism on the part of those charged with enforcement, of savage damage done to children of both races by this enduring record of flaunting the law.

"This time there seems almost no hope, virtually no reason to find optimistic words, to say things may improve. The mistakes of the past are repeated. The nation has not seemed aware even of the failure, let alone resolute enough to end it.

"Such a dismal report comes at a time when many Americans—young people and Negroes especially—are disaffected, disillusioned, disgusted with the government, the basic institutions, the socially expressed values of their country. Riots, repressions of civil liberties, distrust to the degree of hatred of police by many citizens, acrimony so bitter in the exchange of ideas that debate degenerates into cat-calls, the murder of leaders—these are the marks of the disintegration to which American

Current Dec. 1968

public life has come. A tendency to anarchy, a willingness to destroy the good along with the bad of such a basic institution as higher education, is evident on the one hand. A tendency to right-wing totalitarianism is evident on the other.

"And the public expresses its perception of all of this with a cry for law and order. Politicians use the term as a shibboleth. There have been lawlessness and disorder rampant across the South since 1954 regarding the just requirement that racial discrimination in education be ended. This has been the signal failure in a whole incredible series of failures in the rights of Negroes, in society's obligations to the poor. Children are starving among us, and the official reaction is most often to deny the existence of that starvation, rather than to respond to it, alleviate it.

"The real story told in this report is that of where the real breakdown in law and order, all along, has been. It is a terrifying story of the object lesson in dishonesty and hypocrisy our government and our society have provided for a whole generation of young Americans. The only real hope that we can put into a report like this is the fervent one that the American people will come to see what true law and order means, and act at last to achieve it, with justice for all." (*Lawlessness and Disorder,* Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 16, 1968)

THE FULL CIRCLE OF FAILURE

The Southern Regional Council's research director:

Glenda Bartley

"In the long decade between the Supreme Court's first decision in *Brown* vs. *Topeka Board of Education* and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, faith in the ability of Federal courts to affect substantial integration in the public schools of the South had sharply diminished. At the time Congress gave legislative sanction to the nation's fundamental law, there were only 34,105 (1.17 per cent of Negro enrollment) Negro children attending school with whites in the 11 southern states. Hope now hinged on Title VI of the Act, which contained the ingredients for a small revolution. Then, for three, bitter, frustrating defeated years, attention was focused on the enforcement agency for Title VI—the Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW]. It seemed that HEW's Office of Education with its power to cut off Federal funds now had the weapon to wring compliance from the previously unbudgeable South, that school desegregation would cease to be a phenomenon of urban tokenism.

"Essentially, the shift away from the courts to the executive branch made school desegregation wholly an administrative matter.

"In the first year of this administrative era (1965), the Office of Education issued guidelines for compliance with the Act. The freedom-of-choice clause (theoretically allowing parents to send their children to any school in a given system) in these guidelines, and in those issued subsequently, still placed the burden of desegregation on Negro school children and their parents, but the weight of resistance was shifted from Southern legislatures to individual school administrators. Neither the

novices at HEW nor experienced observers outside the South calculated the nature and ability of their new adversaries. School administrators in a region yet uncommitted to education are a lonely and beleaguered lot. (Support for education as a regional panacea is more dogma than dollars.) Early outraged protest over Federal intervention and Federal control soon settled into the sure manipulation by one parallel bureaucracy of the other.

The pattern of terrorism

"It was also during the brief period before schools opened under the first guidelines that the real violence set in. The previous 10 years had been relatively free of it in the matter of school desegregation. There was Mansfield, and Clinton, and Little Rock, and New Orleans, where screaming mother-mobs appeared on television as the first wave of mass media theater of the absurd. But the violence was done mostly to psyches of the few Negro children. During the first judicial era (1954-64), the mode of Southern private resistance was as often economic as physical terrorism. And the targets of the bombs, beatings, burnings, bullets, firings, credit cut-offs, and foreclosures were most often not parents who tried to send their children to 'white' schools, but people who tried to gain access to public accommodations, register to vote, and the like. This was largely because there were virtually no Negro parents making the attempt in the rural areas and small towns where the varieties of terrorism have been most virulent. In the cities, where most of the (token) school desegregation occurred during the first judicial era, the terrorism was mainly within the schools, a low-grade, day-by-day torture of the Negro children by their schoolmates, teachers, and administrators. Out in the rural areas of the South, where law enforcement was repressive before it became fashionable to be so, the advent of the guidelines, the threat that black children might actually go to school with white children, brought a wave of terror unmatched since post-Reconstruction whites rode around in bedsheets. And economic retaliation against the few Negroes who chose the 'white' school did not abate.

Have the media distorted reality?

"In September 1965, 184,308 (6.1 per cent) Negro children enrolled in 'white' schools. In spite of the increased violence and the pitifully small number of Negroes in desegregated situations, there was a national misunderstanding of what was happening in the South. There were several reasons for this. The administrative experiment was taking place in rural areas of the South—crossroads towns and hamlets ill-geared for news coverage. . . . And, since there had been virtually no desegregation at all before, any small gain was often hailed as a triumph. Another reason for the national misunderstanding was perhaps caused by national news media's probably unconscious wish to have done with the violence attendant on any significant social change in the South. This passion for tranquility, for order, has led many a responsible reporter, magazine, newspaper, and television network to announce the advent of another school year as an occasion of 'increased desegregation,' or even 'massive desegregation . . . without violence.' (An example of such was the story which ran under a headline proclaiming that school desegregation swept peacefully across Dixie: the story itself recounted instances of desegregators' homes fired into—as many as 32 times—in three towns in one state alone.) . . .

"In 1966 there were 2,598,842 (or 88 per cent of the Negro enrollment) in all-Negro schools, more, due to population increases and the small amount of desegregation, than had attended segregated schools in the year of the first *Brown* decision. New guidelines were issued in December 1966, but it was about over—the administrative era. Negro parents, target of every trick known to a national minority accustomed to working its will on the nation in matters of race, were getting tired. Negro children, in all too many instances in desegregated schools abused, excluded from activities, were disillusioned. Private agencies' field workers, who had often been Negroes' only assurance that all of white America was not hostile, that they and their children were not totally alone, were reluctantly pulling out.

"When school opened in September 1967, 86 per cent of Southern Negro students remained in segregated schools. Figures for the Deep South were more depressing: Alabama, 94.6; Mississippi, 96.1; South Carolina, 93.6; Georgia, 90.1; and Louisiana, 93.3.

Freedom of choice

"Defeat for the administrative experiment in education in the only large nation without a national school system came for a number of reasons. Freedom of choice was a fatal blunder. It allowed the violence to work its will, permitted white terrorists a victory denied their 'respectable' counterparts of the 1950's. Negro parents, who had from the first simply been interested in getting their children the best education available, failed to see the educational value of losing a job, being shot at, in order that the children might attend a school only a little less bad than the 'Negro' one. Even without white resistance, the free choice concept in its pure form is an administrative impossibility. Realizing this early on, authors of guidelines and court orders as well were forced to attach exemption clauses (read as loopholes by Southern schoolmen) taking into account such physical realities as 'proximity,' 'overcrowding' and the like. . . .

The obstacles to racial balance

"Title IV, little noticed in 1964, has haunted all the efforts launched under Title VI. There are many districts in the South which are like Washington, D. C., where the school population is mostly Negro and defies conventional zoning or other plans to make it desegregated. Such districts in the South are still overwhelmingly rural, but Atlanta, Memphis, Richmond, and other cities are already, or soon will be, in this category. Title IV prohibits 'busing' to achieve racial balance. How then desegregate majority-Negro districts, or large school systems in which *de facto* housing segregation perpetuates school segregation? Pairing (making one elementary school serve grades 1-2, another grades 3-4, etc., drawing children from wider geographic areas in the process), said some experts. Combination pairing-zoning, said others. And still others suggested educational parks, Federally-financed in fringe areas to accommodate suburban whites and ghetto blacks. This would be achieved with urging from (the same) Title IV's technical assistance teams and pressure of fund termination from Title VI. . . . The restriction on busing eliminated the possibility of drawing up zone plans which would ultimately destroy the dual school structure—erase the designations 'Negro' and 'white.'

"It is therefore useless (and even cruel) to criticize too strongly the

failure of the Office of Education to map a strategy other than freedom-of-choice. The weapon—termination of Federal funds—did not prove effective. Most often the sufferers were the pitiful black schools. Many Southern superintendents seem to hold to the philosophy that 'Negro' and 'Federal' are synonymous terms. These schoolmen use Federal school funds, like those allotted under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for upgrading education in 'deprived' areas, to bring Negro schools' per pupil expenditures up to the level afforded 'white' schools by local finances."

In Unadilla, Ga., the eight Hunter children were the only desegregators. Until he graduated, Roy Hunter was beaten several times by schoolmates. Mrs. Hunter was harrassed. In 1968, Unadilla lost its Federal money—$200,000. All but $25,000 of that money had gone to the Negro school. The community raised taxes to replace the $25,000 and the superintendent announced that since the school system no longer received Federal funds, the "white" school would no longer accept black children. But the Hunter children returned to the "white" school in the fall of 1968.

THE NEW JUDICIAL ERA

"March 29, 1967 marked the advent of the second judicial era in school desegregation. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, sitting *en banc* (full court), directed each state within the circuit to take all necessary affirmative action to bring about a 'unitary school system in which there are no Negro schools and no white schools—just schools.' In October 1967, the Supreme Court refused to review the order, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People declared the Fifth Circuit ruling to be 'the most influential school desegregation opinion' since *Brown* vs. *Topeka*. Indeed it was. In effect it gave legal sanction to the guidelines, while insisting that freedom-of-choice plans would be thoroughly examined by the courts to determine whether the method was working.

"On May 27, 1968, the Supreme Court issued a similar ruling, stating that: 'In desegregating a dual system of public education, a plan utilizing student "freedom-of-choice" is not an end in itself but is only a means to the constitutionally required end, the abolition of the system of segregation and its effects, and, if it proves effective, it is acceptable, but, if it fails to undo segregation, other means must be used to achieve that end.' Clearly freedom-of-choice had failed in almost every instance to abolish 'the system of segregation and its effects.' . . .

"At the same time civil rights and legal agencies were renewing their efforts to desegregate Southern schools, Education Commissioner Harold Howe II was expressing Federal relief at the re-entrance of the courts in a manner which should have been ominous to those who were anticipating a new concerted effort by executive and judicial branches. Howe said: 'Our policies are clearly supported by the courts. . . . It's not as necessary now as it formerly was for those of us in education to have a role in civil rights compliance.'

"A Federal district court in Alabama had issued an order (also in

March 1967) which would, in fact, result in a collision of the two branches of the Federal government in the matter of school desegregation. *Lee* vs. *Macon County* placed 99 of Alabama's 118 school districts under court order. These were districts that had formerly been operating under HEW guidelines. During the summer of 1967, HEW declared that the Lanett, Ala., school system was not in compliance with the guidelines and was therefore ineligible for Federal aid; Lanett school officials protested that they were now under a court-approved plan, and in July the court held that it was the court's responsibility to determine whether school systems were in compliance with its order. Urging HEW to continue investigations and to report any failures to comply, the court warned, however, that HEW could only take action with its specific approval.

"But meanwhile, all across the South during 1967 and the spring and summer of 1968 old school cases were reopened and new ones filed. District courts in numerous cases overthrew freedom-of-choice plans and ordered school boards to submit geographic zoning plans drawn so as to afford substantial desegregation.

Is re-zoning effective?

"In many respects the new judicial era was exactly like the old. It introduced an entirely new concept in equal education to Southern whites. No less revolutionary than the Supreme Court's announcing in 1954 that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal was the idea that desegregation meant white children attending formerly 'Negro' schools. Freedom-of-choice had been the interim separate but equal, not a transitional concept, but educational dogma. HEW's acceptance of gradualism was not nearly so damning as its acceptance of the Southern solution. Freedom-of-choice meant Negroes, as many as could stand it, in white schools. New, court ordered, the zone concept literally meant mixing the schools. Administrators . . . reluctantly drew up the new plans. Through the late spring and early summer resistance grew. Just as in the first judicial era, it was mainly the cities of the South that were affected. And the resistance had a citified, sophisticated new look, not seen since the administrative experiment moved the issue to the rural South. Committees, organizations (Stand Together and Never Divide, etc.) of white parents formed (re-formed, in many instances—a new generation of resisters) to fight for freedom-of-choice. Almost without exception they were victorious.

"The new judicial era fell victim to many of the traps that had plagued the old one. Federal judges, admittedly not educators, were often forced to believe elaborate arguments by schoolmen that what the courts requested was simply not (immediately) possible. Redraw all school boundaries . . . 75,000 children involved . . . teachers already assigned . . . overcrowding . . . undercrowding . . . busing. . . . You see, your honor, we would very much like to comply with the court order, and we will . . . but not now. (A Federal district judge in Mississippi recently ruled that, since whites would pull out of a zone-desegregated school system, freedom-of-choice was constitutional. This bit of tortured judicial reasoning was engendered by a poll, conducted by whites, of whites in the district. The poll revealed that white parents would refuse to send their children to public schools; therefore, no desegrega-

tion would exist. So, freedom-of-choice would, at least in theory, allow more desegregation.) Also, pressure by white parents in many locales had almost the same effect as threats by Southern legislatures a decade before. These parents, through their organizations, said they would, and in some instances did, close the schools down. . . .

. . . in Mobile?

"Mobile, Ala., seemed to sum up the first year of the new judicial era: The Mobile case had been in court for many years. The system was operating under freedom-of-choice. In 1967, 2 per cent of Negro school children attended 'white' schools. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in March 1968, instructed the school board to adopt a rigid (no provisions for transfers within the system to avoid attending a desegregated school) zone plan, which would have placed about 1,400 white children in formerly all-Negro schools. White parents organized (Stand Together, etc., and Whites Organized for Rights Keeping); the area's state senator filed a motion in Federal court seeking to overturn the new ruling on grounds it would be unsafe for white children to attend all-Negro schools. After a summer of legal battling the Federal district judge who had issued the initial order came up with a plan allowing senior high schools to operate under freedom-of-choice, requiring specified attendance zones for elementary and junior high schools, and permitting more liberal transfers within the attendance zones. When school opened in September, an estimated 3,500 Negroes were in formerly all-white schools; but very few whites were in formerly all-Negro ones.

. . . in Mississippi?

"Mississippi, as usual, was the epitome of frustration, confusion, and a certain hope. School cases in 50 of Mississippi's 148 districts are to be reopened in the fall. A spokesman for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., the most active agency in the legal battle for school desegregation, was confident that in most of those districts freedom-of-choice would be discarded and zone or pairing plans required. The spokesman also stated that such action would result in whites pulling out of the public schools in several districts. 'It depends on the district,' he said. 'Where whites are proud of the schools, where the schools are good, whites will stay. In the Delta, where schools are bad, whites will probably pull out.' He cited Corinth, a relatively prosperous community in northern Mississippi, as an example of a good school system's holding whites in spite of a comprehensive zone plan that would result in substantial desegregation. Though Mississippi still has a tuition grant statute, which theoretically could support private schools, there is little chance of its indefinite survival. The Legal Defense Fund spokesman, wise in the ways of Mississippi, and still hopeful, said 'Whites will probably go through the full cycle of resistance and come back to reconciliation again—just as they did before.' He felt that the South might yet solve the problem of desegregation before the North began, really, to grapple with it.

"There was the chance, a slim one, that the courts might succeed, might assure justice at last to school children in the South. But all the foregoing history indicates failure, and the results of the first year of the second judicial era bear out this gloomy prophesy. Though no official figures were available in late September 1968, the old pattern seemed to hold. A few more Negroes in school with whites in the cities; in some

instances rural 'Negro' schools closed and the entire student body absorbed by the 'white' ones; a minuscule number of whites in formerly all-Negro schools. The second judicial era would, it seemed, encounter the same dilemma that doomed the first one: Gov. Lurleen Wallace, paraphrasing another Southerner who flouted the law when it suited him to do so, said of the Fifth Circuit ruling, 'They have made their decision, now let them enforce it.' . . .

The impact of Brown vs. Board of Education

"The results of 14 long years of methodizing, legalizing, computerizing, analyzing, and finally, mortifying what is, after all, the basic right of every American child—the right to a good education, the right to enter any building to get that education—will long be felt in this nation.

"We teach children, all children, that the United States of America is dedicated to law and order. We lie. We have shown a generation of American children, in the public institution closest to their lives, the schools, that this nation's fundamental law need not be obeyed; we have clearly demonstrated to them that what we expect is their conformity to lip service to the shibboleth. What will be the awful effects of this lie upon children, black and white alike? What depths of disillusionment when they hear us say 'law' and observe only 'order?'

"After a generation has beheld successful evasion, rationalized vaccillation, outright flaunting of the law, only a country absolutely wedded to the totalitarian concept of order without law could turn on the victims of lawlessness and accuse them of destroying the fabric of society." ("Full Circle of Failure," *Lawlessness and Disorder,* Southern Regional Council, Oct. 16, 1968)

WILL CONGRESS ENFORCE THE LAW?

After reviewing the record of efforts by Congress to weaken the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the editor of the Southern Regional Council's publications comments on the prospects for enforcing existing Federal civil rights legislation.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

"The story of how desegregation still hovers at a low level of tokenism involves not only official defiance of the Federal government and intimidation of Negro parents and students but, of late, extremely effective persuasion by Southern Congressmen. . . .

"In June of 1968, a coalition of Southerners and Northern moderates united in the House to bring about what Georgia Congressman John Flynt described as 'Congressional sanction to *freedom of choice.*' On a crucial 139-109 tally, the House voted to retain the so-called 'Whitten Amendment' to the HEW Appropriations Act. That amendment (named after its sponsor, Rep. Jamie Whitten, D., Miss.) stated:

" 'No part of the funds contained in this Act may be used to force busing of students, abolishment of any school, or to force any student attending any secondary school to attend a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent. . . . No part of the funds contained in this Act shall be used to force busing of students, the abolishment of any school or the attendance of students of a particular school as a condition precedent to obtaining Federal funds.' . . .

"The impact of the House action sent shock waves into civil rights ranks, raising serious doubts as to the Congressional will on its own school desegregation legislation. Despite the fact that HEW, under reorganized enforcement procedures, continued to talk tough about its future plans and, conceding the goodwill and intentions of its compliance officers, the agency would obviously have been crippled in its enforcement efforts by the Whitten Amendment. Some civil rights observers thought the amendment would so seriously restrict future HEW desegregation efforts as not only to legalize freedom-of-choice desegregation plans but to make them the only sort of desegregation plans acceptable. . . .

The legislative labyrinth

"The Whitten Amendment—pushed in the Senate by Georgia Sen. Richard Russell—ran into opposition in the Senate Appropriations Committee. Liberals succeeded in adding a clause making the appropriations restrictions applicable only to instances where HEW might attempt to 'overcome racial imbalance.' Southerners on the committee gained concessions from their Northern colleagues when the committee approved another Russell-sponsored amendment requiring HEW to assign as many compliance officers to Northern states as to the South. The committee also approved two other segregationist amendments, preventing HEW from cutting off funds derived from timber taxes or from denying school lunch and medical service funds to Southern schools. In September, the full Senate approved the committee bill with the amendments cited.

"House proponents of the legislation, however, were set for a showdown fight and in a House-Senate conference committee succeeded in reinstating the Whitten Amendment. The appropriations bill was resubmitted to the House which in an abrupt about-face rejected the Whitten Amendment outright by a 175-167 vote. Southern civil rights forces, prepared for the worst, were astounded; Southern Congressmen objected.

" 'We had the votes,' lamented Georgia Congressman John Flynt, 'if the people had been there.'

Congress vs. the Supreme Court

"Beyond the immediate effects of the Congressional action on school desegregation (and the mere fact that the Whitten Amendment could gain the Northern support that it did was in itself a sobering commentary on the national commitment to integration), civil rights forces saw another potentially greater threat both to the civil rights cause and to civil liberties. Implicit throughout the House debate on the Whitten Amendment was the sentiment for Congressional restraints on the Supreme Court. That sentiment was translated into action with passage of the controversial 'anti-crime' bill, a portion of which specifically nullifies a Supreme Court decision in regard to the admissibility of voluntary confessions in criminal proceedings. Most certainly it was a factor in the decision of some Senators to oppose the elevation of Justice Abe Fortas to Chief Justice of the Court.

"Yet in the realities of American politics, even pessimistic civil rights advocates doubted that the Congress will succeed in actually bringing about a *legal* reversal of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decisions. Even an attempt to do so would bring the nation to a constitu-

tional crisis such as it has not had since the Civil War. More likely, there will be continued efforts to render the rulings meaningless through appropriations restrictions and reductions. Northern liberals who seem to have no hesitance in siding with Southern segregationists on such restrictions when they see *de facto* segregation threatened would hardly go along with an *overt* racist effort to nullify the courts. Southern Congressmen, too, apparently have learned just how far they can take their Northern colleagues. House debate on the Whitten Amendment, for instance, was largely void of the fire-eating oratory characteristic of Southern Congressmen in the wake of the 1954 *Brown* decision. Thus if current trends in the Congress continue—trends which increasingly seem to reflect opinion of a portion of white middle-class America, politely affirmative on such easy either/or issues as the end of *de jure* segregation in the South, but increasingly testy and antagonistic toward implementing measures that will cost more than lip service—dismantling of other civil rights enforcement and procedures might also be expected.

"The Federal structure itself perhaps doomed the administrative effort to achieve desegregation. Empowering an agency to carry out Congressional mandate allows legislators (who control the real power) the right to give and to take away—to speak out vehemently for civil rights and then on critical roll calls to cripple the agency charged with guaranteeing those rights. In 1964, the nation seemed bent on conferring citizenship on Negroes. Stokely Carmichael articulated black power in 1966 and white power seemed to breathe a sigh of relief that Negroes no longer deserved nor even desired the honor.

The South: barometer of national will

"The fact is that while Northerners have only recently begun to wrestle with the thorny problems of *de facto* segregation, many Southerners at least have come to view the process of school desegregation as a rather dull serial in which each year begins with high expectations and ends with disappointing results. They see the slow pace of school integration as a barometer of the whole national will in the matter of civil rights enforcement. For certainly all of the law and all of the court decrees necessary for the fulfillment of a century's promise have been made. What remains wanting, after all of the high and noble sentiments have been expressed, is the commitment to implement them.

"In the meanwhile, the disgrace of continued failure to bring about an end to dual schools was having precisely the effect that white racist elements in the South had striven without success in previous years to bring about. As the summer of 1968 unfolded and a new school year approached, many Negroes, reflecting in varying degrees a concept of 'black awareness,' had come to feel that school desegregation is no longer a relevant issue. 'Why don't whites ever transfer to our schools? Why should we be the ones to do all the sacrificing?' Some voice the attitude, too, that if 'quality' education can be achieved in an all-Negro school, then why should Negro children suffer the pain, the estrangement, the cruelty they subject themselves to in desegregating a 'previously all-white school.' 'Separate but equal,' never achieved when it was the law of the land, becomes now a sour goal of the disappointed, disillusioned, and betrayed." ("The Congress, the Courts, and the National Will," *Lawlessness and Disorder,* Southern Regional Council, Oct. 16, 1968)

SCHOOLS AND SEGREGATION

Plans for the decentralization of our metropolitan public schools have brought into sharp relief the readiness of a part of the Negro community to abandon integration in favor of community—in effect black—control. Can integration still be achieved? Is there time to try?

ARE INTEGRATED SCHOOLS STILL POSSIBLE?

A staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor *comments on the recent interest shown by educators for joint city and suburban planning in order to bring about more integrated public schooling.*

Dorothea Kahn Jaffe

"It would be easy to give up trying to find a way to get enough white children to balance Negro enrollments in all black neighborhoods in American cities. It seems an impossible task. Unless housing patterns are changed and white families return to the city from their suburban retreats the present ghetto school districts will continue all black. The present districts, that is.

"Concerned educators are talking about restructuring the educational system so as to change the size and character of today's districts. They would redraw all urban districts to cross city boundaries and embrace suburban territory.

"Structural change was one of the main subjects under discussion at a summer conference of the President's Commission for the Observance of Human Rights Year, 1968, held at Martha's Vineyard, Mass. Most participants urged the need for radical changes in financing also.

"The metropolitan district would not be simply the old city school district enlarged. It would be an area, possibly a pie-shaped wedge fanning out from the inner city, which would support better-equipped, better-taught specialized schools. Children from the inner city and youngsters from the suburbs would travel to the school within the district which best served their needs. Some would be located in educational parks, or campuses, with types of equipment which no single school could afford. Others would be located close to a college center, sharing college facilities.

"This would not be an economy program. The educators who discussed it said building for it would cost millions and call for substantial aid from state and Federal governments. Action by state legislatures would also be needed to permit metropolitan financing. And the legislature, to pass such an act, would have to be assured of some support by both the suburbs and the inner city.

"It won't be done in a day, that is certain. There is sure to be oppo-

sition from blacks as well as whites. Black power people have largely given up on integration and have turned to advocacy of schools taught by black teachers who would give children pride in their race. Many white parents, by the same token, insist on having their children educated in their own suburban environment.

"But those who think seriously about the matter are likely to conclude that all groups benefit when children of different racial and economic backgrounds get to know each other in school situations. Experiences tend to prove this conclusion to be sound. But it is obvious that to get support the truly integrated schools must provide better education than the segregated children, white and black, are now getting. Changes in financing the schools will be necessary.

"The process will take time. Meantime every effort should be made to improve inner city schools, conference members agreed, not as a permanent solution but as an emergency measure." (*The Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 5, 1968)

CAN THE SUBURBS JOIN THE CITY?

The education editor of The Christian Science Monitor *explains how the problem of racial imbalance might be solved in the greater Boston area.*

Cynthia Parsons

"Those interested in solving the problem of racial imbalance in the segregated schools of large Northern cities are beginning to talk seriously about something called the metropolitan school district. To help our readers understand this controversial subject Joan Forbes, a staff cartographer, has drawn a map of Boston and environs [see page 46] which illustrates a possible metropolitan school district divided into six sub-districts.

"This is a special Christian Science Monitor map, and not a projection being used by any school official or civic group interested in solving Boston's racial imbalance problem.

"Boston has a small Negro population—about 12 per cent. Black children make up less than 20 per cent of the total school enrollment. Yet segregated housing patterns have resulted in nearly all Negro children attending about 50 predominantly black public schools.

"Boston's racial imbalance problem is relatively simple to solve, should the Board of Education want to solve it. Within the present school district, by gerrymandering school assignment lines, each school could be assured of a better racial mix. But there are many other cities which have such a large per cent of Negro pupils spread over such a large concentrated area—for example, Chicago, New York, Baltimore—that redrawing attendance lines is insufficient to solve the racial imbalance problem.

"Hence, the reason for wanting a much larger school district, one that includes the suburbs and the inner city under the same administration.

"By using Boston as an example, it is possible to show what these school innovators have in mind. The dotted black lines on the map

break the city of Boston into six sub-districts. The southern sub-district, for example, embraces parts of Boston, Hull, Cohasset, Scituate, Quincy, Weymouth, Hingham, Braintree. The solid black lines indicate main transportation arteries which feed each sub-district. Transportation lines into Boston lend themselves readily to a semi-circular metropolitan district split into six pie-shaped wedges. And the circumferential highway (Route 128) circling the city provides excellent lateral movement.

"Metropolitan school district planners envision large school complexes—education parks—somewhere between the crowded inner city and the rural edge of the suburbs. Such educational centers in the Boston area might well be located on or near Route 128. These centers would include several elementary schools, junior and senior high schools providing both academic and vocational programs, large library facilities, recreation programs, adult education locations, and a junior college. Some existing school buildings would be used for schools, but many as civic centers for neighborhood programs and preschool centers while regular school pupils move out to small schools within large educational parks.

"Educators who advocate this radical approach see such metropolitan planning as not only solving the problem of integration, but of providing greater educational facilities at lower cost, a more comprehensive program blending vocational and academic programs, and a far wider tax base to take the load off the heavily burdened city and suburban taxpayers.

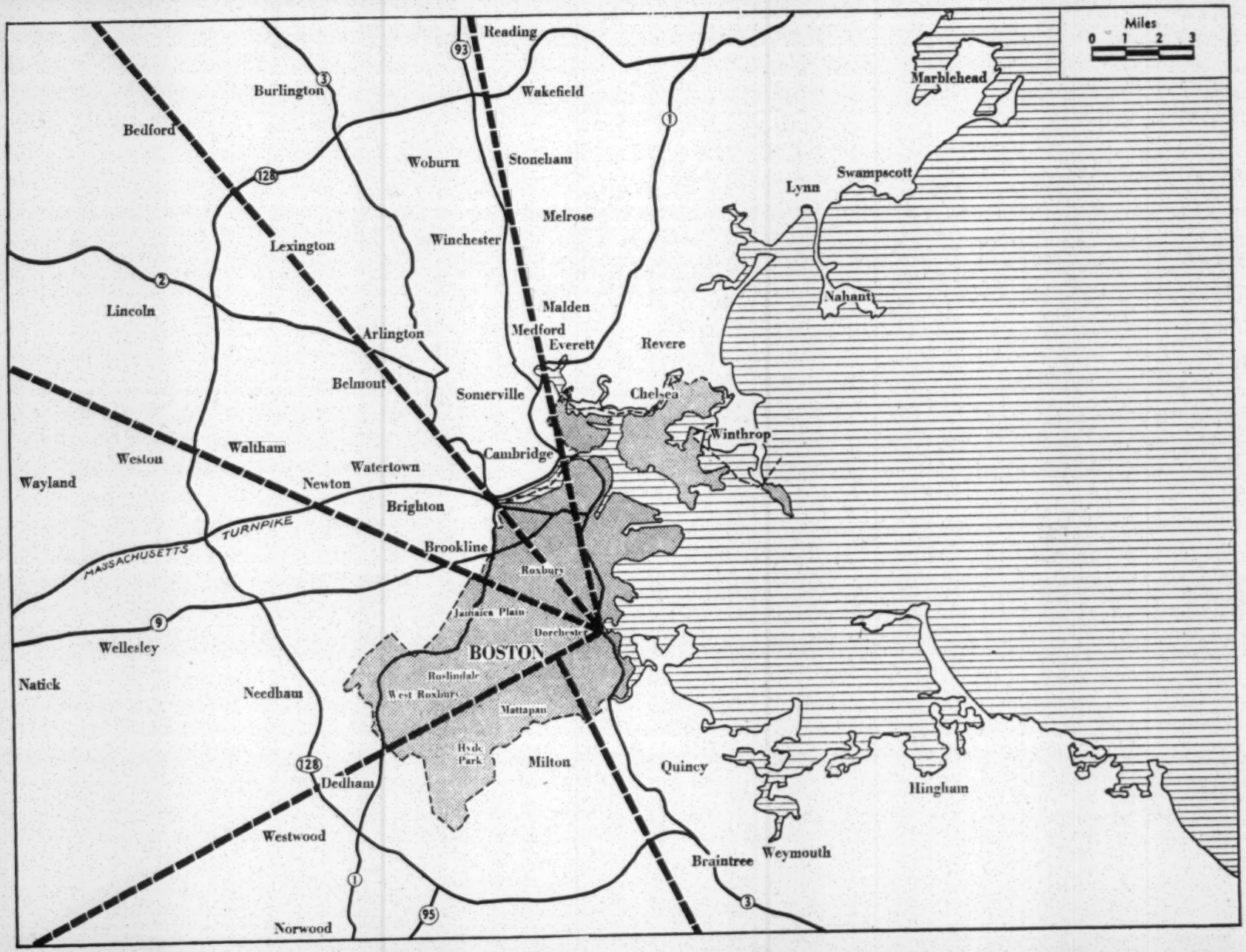
"Boston's six sub-districts would fit in one administrative whole, somewhat akin to the decentralization plan advocated by the Ford Foundation for New York City. Each metropolitan Boston district would have its own school board, its own administrators, its own freedom to meet special community needs. But the grand district, including more than 30 separate cities and towns, would be the tax base, and would have its own school board especially concerned with building a relationship between the district and the state legislature as well as the state department of education.

"The metropolitan school district concept is not just around the corner. It may be light years away, but then again, determined forces for change may be able to get their message across sooner than that. Certainly the city joining the suburbs for better schools is one of the main topics at this year's parent-teacher meetings.

"Before such a plan could ever go into effect, all of the cities and towns involved would have to give up their autonomy in running their own schools. School sub-district lines would have little relation to existing town and county lines; instead they would be their own political entities." (*The Christian Science Monitor,* Oct. 5, 1968)

A PLAN FOR BOSTON

The special Christian Science Monitor map of Boston and environs (see page 46) illustrates a possible metropolitan school district divided into six subdistricts.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West Roxbury
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Hyde Park
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Quincy
Dedham
Westwood
Braintree
Weymouth
Norwood
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Swampscott
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Report Cites Bias in Courts

-SRC (spec)

Study in 7 States Shows Sentences Based on Race

By CHARLES POU 4-6-69

Atlanta Journal Political Editor

A clear pattern of sentence disparity between black and white offenders exists in the administration of southern justice, according to a report just issued by the Southern Regional Council.

The SRC study, entitled "Race Makes the Difference," was based on research compiled in the summer of 1967 by law students working for the Council's Project on Crime and Corrections.

Seven states are examined in the study—Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

IN FIVE of the seven states, more Negroes than whites were incarcerated. The percentage of Negro prison population in the states were: Georgia, 60 per cent; Arkansas, 65 per cent; Alabama, 58 per cent; Virginia, 59 per cent; Tennessee, 45 per cent; South Carolina, estimated 50 per cent.

The report, drawn from study of 1,205 cases, asserts that the average sentence for black offenders for all crimes was 16.8 years; for whites, it was 12.1 years. For crimes against per-

Turn to Page 18A, Col. 1

SAYS

Will Smile er Bonnets

The weatherman obviously was trying his best to be cooperative after Saturday's showers, which may leave the ground a little damp for egg-hunting.

His cooperative attitude even extended to Monday, when mild weather is predicted.

The high temperature Sunday is expected to be around 75 degrees, with a low early Monday morning of 46 and a high Monday of 72.

Those who missed the sunrise Sunday morning can see it go down at 7:02 p.m. They'll get another chance to see it rise at 6:18 a.m. Monday.

BIAS SEEN

Continued from Page 1A

sons the averages were 22.8 years for Negroes and 20.6 years for whites. For crimes against property, Negro sentences averaged out to 7.4 years and white sentences to 5.9 years.

Some southern states would not permit the researchers to study available records. On this point in Georgia, the report asserted:

"Georgia permitted a summer field worker to collect some cases from the records. When it was discovered that the worker in question had not completed the sample, we requested permission to send another worker.

"The department of corrections begged off due to the difficulties and confusion involved in moving their offices from one building to another. The Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles refused to cooperate on the grounds that their records are state records . . ."

(A specific statue prevents public disclosure of the record of any parole board inmate unless all board members agree to de-classification of the file.)

USDA the Worst At Discriminating, SRC Report Says

Ark Gazette 12/1/69

ATLANTA (AP)—The Agriculture Department remains the federal government's worst offender in discriminating against Negroes, the Southern Regional Council said Saturday night.

"Until the United States Department of Agriculture moves forcefully to end patterns enforced by decades of dominance by Southern white supremists, black Southern farmers will be denied equal protection under the law," the Council declared.

The report especially cited patterns of racial discrimination in the Extension Service, Soil Conservation Service and Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation service.

The Southern Regional Council is a private research agency devoted to equality of opportunity. It is financed partially by the Ford Foundation.

The report said the Farmers Home Administration has done more than any other to correct racial inequities than any other branch of the Agriculture Department.

FHA lends low interest money for farm operations, expansion and improvement.

The Council noted that since 1964, FHA has required that counties with Negro populations of 20 per cent or more have at least one representative on the county FHA committees.

It was noted, however, that FHA recently reported that minority groups held only 7 per cent of such positions in the South and that the agency had called for an increase.

'69 Breakthrough Fails to Develop

An expected 1969 breakthrough in Negro representation on ASCS county committees did not materialize, the Council said.

It reported that only one Negro was elected in September to an ASCS county-level committee in the South, bringing the total to two Negroes among 4,100 such committeemen in the region.

County-level ASCS committees determine individual crop allotments in their counties.

"That means that black representation has risen to slightly more than one-twentieth of one per cent on the county committees in a region where Negroes are 13 per cent of the farm owners," the report said.

It noted that Negroes comprise 20 per cent or more of the farm owners in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina.

The council said Otis Pinkard was elected to a county-level ASCS committee in Mason County, Ala., last year, and William S. Payne was elected in Marshall County, Miss., last fall.

Farmers also elect community-level ASCS committees and, on these, Negroes lost ground, the report said.

It said that of 30,000 alternate and regular community ASCS positions in the 11-state area, only 380 were filled by blacks in elections this year. This was a decrease from 418 in 1968, the council said.

One Killed, Seven Injured In Collision

Gazette State News Service

HELENA — One person was killed and seven injured in a three vehicle collision Saturday on U.S. Highway 49 near Wycamp (Phillips County).

State Police identified the victim as Frank Benjamin Rohrscheib, 22, of West Helena, a passenger in a car driven by John R. Smith, 22, of Hammond, Ind., who was injured.

Others injured were Tom McIntosh, 56, of Marvell, the driver of another car; Joseph E. Waddell, 40, of Midlothian, and Mrs. Helen Houston, 59, of Memphis, all passengers in the Waddell vehicle.

State Police said the accident happened when Smith lost control of his car on a curve and side-swiped the McIntosh car which skidded sideways into the Waddell pickup truck.

A native of Helena, Rohrscheib was an employe of the planters Service Company.

He is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. S. B. Rohrscheib of West Helena; a brother, Truet Rohrscheib of West Helena; a sister, Mrs. Robin Sims of Iowa, and his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. John Blaine of West Helena. Funeral will be at 4 p.m. today at Barton Baptist Church. Burial will be at Sunset Memorial Park by Citizens Funeral Service of West Helena.

Journal and CONSTITUTION SUNDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1969

SRC (Shea)

Regional Council Says Schools Order Ignored

2 Federal Agencies Drag Feet On Court Edict, Report Claims

By MIKE BOWLER
Atlanta Constitution Education Editor

The U.S. Supreme Court's historic school desegregation order of Oct. 29 has been ignored by the Justice Department and handled with "questioned" dispatch by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Southern Regional Council charges.

In a report titled "The Federal Retreat in School Desegregation," the council says both federal departments have dragged their feet since the high court's ruling that "all deliberate speed" is "no longer constitutionally permissible" and that the new obligation is "to terminate dual school systems at once. . . ."

The report charges that although Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell pledged to use "every available resource" to implement the mandate, "intitial actions indicated that his department was not seriously interested in immediate desegregation."

The Justice Department "refuses to act even in districts already involved in litigation," the report says, and its inactivity has prompted a group of black parents to sue Mitchell and his associates for violating the U.S. Constitution.

So weak has been the Nixon administration's enforcement of the court mandates, the SRC study adds, that the NAACP Legal Defense Fund may become "the real Justice Department," with President Nixon and Mitchell aligned with Southern segregationists.

MEANWHILE, although HEW has taken positive steps since Oct. 29 against districts which have reneged or have failed to submit acceptable desegregation plans, the report charges that "even these actions fail to take full advantage of the (Supreme Court's) decision because the department refuses to revise any of the 1970 voluntary plans in the light of new judicial standards calling for immediate desegregation."

The study quotes Paul Rilling, Southeast regional director of HEW's Office of Civil Rights, as saying it would be unfair to those who entered into "good faith agreements" on 1970 plans to reopen the cases now.

But it states: "The primary responsibility of OCR (the civil rights office) in the field of education is to bring about desegregated schools. OCR personnel and local school officials are mutually bound by the court's new directive. Districts entering into so-called 'good faith agreements' to desegregate in 1970-71 under the old ground rules should be required to revise their plans to comply with the new standards."

HEW ALSO has contributed to delay in desegregation, the report says, by failing to speed up its enforcement process and by bowing to political pressure in places like Palm Beach, Fla., Chester County, Tenn., and 21 court-order districts in South Carolina.

But in some districts, such as Clarke and Fulton counties in Georgia, the report says HEW stood firm "in the face of strong political pressure to do otherwise."

HEW in Fulton "had to contend with the vociferous intervention of (5th District) Rep. Fletcher Thompson who stated his intention to seek the impeachment of Secretary (Robert) Finch."

HEW's enforcement proceedings, which led to federal fund terminations when districts refuse to desegregate, have left some cases in limbo for years, while others (34 in Georgia) have had their funds terminated, the report says.

It says Hart County, Ga., was found guilty in January 1968, nearly two years ago, but has had no funds cut off.

HEW informed Americus, Ga., of its intention to initiate enforcement proceedings three years ago last Friday, according to the SRC, but no additional steps have been taken.

IN ADDITION, the study says, "the administration . . . has ignored at least 80 school districts with majority black populations, permitting continued segregation."

The report attacks President Nixon's "Southern strategy, which cynically appealed to the most reactionary of Southern and national attitudes and practices."

The "go slow" attitude did not begin with Secretary Finch's July 3 statement rejecting "a single arbitrary date by which the desegregation process should be completed," the report asserts, but was in evidence as early as February.

Updated HEW figures, disclosed for the first time in the SRC report, imply that, for whatever reasons, more Southern districts reneged on desegregation plans this fall than ever before.

Forty-seven of 145 Southern districts (33 per cent) with final integration plans this fall ignored them, HEW said, compared with 7 of 97 (close to 7 per cent) last fall.

THE REPORT says, "Civil rights groups believe there is little reason to assume that the administration's attitudes and ambivalence encouraged any district to implement its plan."

The 70-page report was researched and written by Horace Barker, a political science graduate student at Columbia University. It is the Southern Regional Council's third report since 1965 on the progress of school desegregation and the mood of the South.

The report's conclusions parallel those of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, which issued a study Sept. 11 concentrating on the judicial aspects of Southern desegregation.

A 18

SRC REPORT HITS ADMINISTRATION

12-14-69

Charges Desegregation Efforts Have Been Slowed Down

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA—A report issued Saturday by the Southern Regional Council charges that the federal government has slowed the pace of Southern school desegregation and indirectly abetted defiance of the law in local school districts.

The report documents what it terms erosions in desegregation policy, culminating with the Nixon administration's August 1969 request for delay in desegregating schools in Mississippi.

Hope of reversing the slowdown and establishing consistent policies came only after the landmark Oct. 29 decision of the Supreme Court involving 30 Mississippi school districts, the report holds.

It describes that decision, which obligated school districts to "operate now and hereafter only unitary schools," as a moral and legal rebuke to that aspect of the administration's "Southern strategy" which appealed to "the most destructive of human attitudes and practices in Southern society."

A major effect of federal policy during the last 10 months was to encourage Southern school officials to continue to seek ways of retaining, rather than ending, segregated education, the report says.

It describes instances in Tennessee, South Carolina, Texas, and Louisians where local officials cited the administration's ambivalent policies as the major reason for opposing meaningful desegregation.

Moreover, the report declares, there was a significant increase in the number of reneging districts in the six Southern states covered by HEW's regional office ni Atlanta. In 1969, 47 (33 per cent) of 145 districts committed to implementing desegregation plans reneged. In 1968, only seven (10 per cent) of 97 districts reneged.

September Deadline

The report notes that the administrative standard developed by the Office for Civil Rights during 1968 required complete desegregation in almost every school district by September 1969.

Districts could apply for a September 1970 deadline only if they faced serious construction difficulties, or if a majority of their students were black. If

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Disricts could apply for a September 1970 deadline only if they faced serious construction difficulties, or if a majority of their students were black. If OCR approved a 1970 deadline, the district still was required to implement interim steps producing an increase in student desegregation during the 1969-70 school year.

The first official retreat from these standards was a policy statement issued jointly by HEW and the Justice Department on July 3 the report notes.

The new policies eliminated the established September 1969 and 1970 deadlines by rejecting "a single arbitrary date by which the desegregation process should be completed. . . ."

The report holds that this led to increased confusion over the administration's position by declaring that although districts generally still would be expected to complete desegregation by September, 1969, the administration would consider ". . . . sound reasons for some limited delay . . . taking into account only bona fide educational and administrative problems."

Although the July 3 statement was the first announced change in policy, the council's report found that the administration had compromised the 1968 administrative standards as early as February.

Intervention

The report noted that in May high administration officials intervened in cases involving 21 court order districts in South Carolina to revise desegregation plans prepared by HEW staff experts in the Division of Equal Education Opportunity. The last-minute revision violated established administrative standards to give the districts more time to desegregate, the report holds.

The council's report emphasizes that the Supreme Court's decision gave the administration an unprecedented new opportunity and obligation to reverse its "go slow" approach of the previous ten months.

"Never before has the executive branch had such a decisive and straightforward mandate to eliminate dual school systems."

But despite the momentous decision, the report adds, the only significant positive response from the administration was a series of new steps taken by HEW to enforce desegregation in districts which were not operating under approved voluntary plans.

The report says that most disappointing to those people wanting an end to segregated schools has been the refusal of the Justice Department to press for any speed-up in the pace of desegregation in districts under court order.

The report concludes by pointing out what it calls an absence of presidential leadership on school desegregation.

SPC (spec)

Council Says Labor Woes Just Beginning for South

Journ-Const

Date? About 1969

By The Associated Press

Higher wages, higher taxes and a lot more municipal labor trouble are in store for the South, according to a recent study, the Southern Regional Council said in Atlanta Saturday.

A report on the conflicts between increasingly aggressive public employe unions and largely unprepared municipal governments appears in the June issue of South Today, the monthly newspaper published by the council.

The study says that although the main battlegrounds so far have been Atlanta, Memphis and Charleston, public employe disputes are taking place throughout the South and strikes will continue to spread.

The report continues that a number of significant trends have emerged from municipal labor problems in Atlanta, Memphis, Charleston and elsewhere. Among them it lists:

—Resistance to union organization and collective bargaining as such is melting away.

—While the results are far from uniform, organized groups of public employes generally are making advances all along the line in wages, fringe benefits and working conditions.

—The civil rights overtones have sometimes blurred basic economic issues involved, leaving the public largely unaware of the plight of municipal employes and of their determination to do something about it by traditional trade union methods.

—The difficult process of public institutions dealing with newly militant employes has been strained to the breaking point by the inexperience of public officials in dealing with labor problems.

WHILE PUBLIC employes traditionally have been at the bottom of the employment ladder, the study says that in the South they have been paid considerably less than in other regions of the country, although their pay in the South's major cities compares favorably to some areas of the North.

The report says the public employes, increasingly impatient with the economic plight that finds them behind workers in private industry, are organizing at an accelerated rate. It reports that the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes currently has some 30,000 members in the South and quotes one official as predicting membership of 200,000 within five years.

It cites the recent Atlanta strike as an example of an unnecessarily prolonged strike. Atlanta Mayor Sam Massell, considered one of the South's most liberal big-city mayors, fired 1,600 strikers three days after the strike began. The strike quickly became what the report calls "a game of municipal Indian wrestling." When the strike ended after 36 days with a 75 cents a day, one-step pay raise for 2,314 workers, city administrative officer Dan Sweat was pushing for the addition of a trained labor man to the city administrative staff.

SAYING the Atlanta strike underscored some important realities of public employe labor disputes, the report says that when the mayor makes himself a front line target for the union, he becomes a symbol of the antiunion resistance. It suggests that a city should have competent labor relations officials to carry on day-to-day negotiations with the mayor acting as a behind-the-scenes force, stepping to the forefront only to announce a settlement or some other dramatic move.

The report concludes:

"The power held by public employes is plain. They provide services that a city or hospital or whatever can ill afford to be without. Until recently they have been unwilling to test the laws and customs that have prevented them from using labor's ultimate weapon, the strike. Now they're making the tests."

SRC (spec)

Study Finds Poor Are Heavily Taxed in South

WASHINGTON—The nation's poorest section, the South, places a greater share of state and local taxes on the poor than does any other region, concludes a study released by the Southern Regional Council.

The report is by Dr. Eva Galambos, an Atlanta research consultant. The SRC is a biracial, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization founded in 1944 by such persons as the late Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, and several Negro educators. Its history dates back to the 1919 founding of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

In an introduction to the report, Paul Anthony, SRC executive director, notes the study "grew out of a conviction that state and local governments were not adequately equipped because of outmoded tax structures to deal with a host of unmet public needs.".

The South makes heavy use of the sales tax, which is regressive in that its impact decreases as income increases. Those southern states having income taxes do not make them anywhere as progressive as the federal income tax, Dr. Galambos concludes.

The economist also criticizes local income taxes, as well as the practice of lowering taxes on businesses to attract new industry. Where states grant property tax moratoriums to new industries, the report notes, "the burden of providing schools for the additional children brought into a community as a result of a new plant falls on traditional tax sources." In 1965, Alabama's "new industry exemption" was estimated to have cost state and local governments from $500,000 to $1,000,000.

* * *

SALES TAXES, which hit the poor harder than any other major source of tax revenue, account for 58.1 per cent of state taxes nationally. In the Southern states, these general and selective sales taxes range from a low of 46.8 per cent in Virginia to 77.9 per cent in Mississippi.

Other state figures include: North Carolina, 57.2 per cent; South Carolina, 64.9; Georgia, 68.8; Florida, 70.1; Alabama, 70.1; Tennessee, 71.4; and Arkansas, 65.3.

Despite being regressive, the popularity of sales taxes increases with the state legislatures. In 1969, South Carolina raised the general sales rate from 3 to 4 per cent, and Texas, from 3 to 3.25 per cent. Both states also raised the selective sales tax on cigarettes, from 5 to 6 cents in South Carolina, and from 11 to 15.5 cents per pack in Texas.

Proposals to increase the sales tax rate have been suggested for Georgia and North Carolina in 1970.

Some relief could be provided by the use of tax credits. Dr. Galambos notes that Colorado permits a $7 credit against family state income and a $7 rebate per person where no income tax is owed. In the Virginia gubernatorial campaign last fall, a tax credit was discussed to give relief from the sales tax on food.

* * *

NATIONALLY, states with income taxes derive 22.4 per cent of their revenue from income taxes. But in the South only Virginia, with 30.3 per cent, exceeds this level. Tennessee receives but 1.8 per cent of its financing from income taxes; Mississippi, 3.4; Louisiana, 5.2; Arkansas, 11.0; Georgia, 15.1; South Carolina, 15.8; Alabama, 12.0; and North Carolina, 22.4 per cent.

Moreover, the state income taxes are not "progressive." Dr. Galambos points out that not only rates but the income bracket where progression stops must be considered..

In Alabama and Mississippi, progression stops at $5,000; the cutoff point is $10,000 for Georgia and the Carolinas. In Virginia it is $20,000, with $25,000 for Arkansas, and $50,000 in Louisiana. Tennessee has an income tax only on interest and dividends.

Dr. Galambos is also critical of local personal income taxes which are often just "payroll taxes." This is regressive, since the typical municipal payroll tax levies a flat rate on wages and salaries of individuals and the net profits of unincorporated businesses. The payroll tax does not touch interest, rent or dividends. A genuine local income tax, she asserts, would include interest, dividends and capital gains.

* * *

THE SOUTH lures industry with its low business tax load. Due largely to its severance taxes, Louisiana leads the Southern states in total revenue derived from all business sources, 45.1 per cent, or nearly triple the national average of 17 per cent.

But Florida obtains only 9.7 per cent of its revenue from business. Climbing upward from Florida in the amount of revenue from business are Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, North Carolina, Texas and Louisiana.

The property tax, which plays a small role in state finances, nevertheless accounted for 66 per cent of all local government revenue in 1967. Southern property taxes are low, compared to the national per capita average of $132.81..

Arkansas is highest with $113.23; lowest is Alabama, at $34.12. When viewed as the amount per $1,000 of personal income, the national average is $45.27. Only Virginia and Florida exceed $40; Alabama is lowest, $16.65.

* * *

DR. GALAMBOS found that local governments in the South use service charges and fees far more than other sections of the nation. Nationally, such fees account for 23.5 per cent of local revenue; But Alabama obtains 42.9 per cent from this source, declining to 21.9 per cent in Virginia. The economist concludes that the dependence on service charges is due to "the failure of most Southern states to permit local governments to levy taxes sufficient to obtain needed revenues."

Three major approaches would tend to correct these inequities in the South's tax structures, Dr. Galambos concludes:

- —Increased use of the income tax with more progressive rates at both state and local government levels.
- —Since sales and property taxes are not likely to be abandoned, tax credits and rebates offer an alternative to offset the burden on low-income families.
- —Equalized property assessments would distribute the tax burden more equitably and raise the revenue potential.

TABLE A-1.—ESTIMATED LOCAL DIRECT TAX BURDEN FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR WITH $10,000 GROSS INCOME RESIDING IN THE LARGEST CITY IN EACH STATE, 1968

City[1]	Real estate tax[2]		Local direct taxes[3]	
	Amount	As a % of market value of home	As a % of: Gross income	As a % of: Market value of home
1. Newark, N. J.	$1,501	7.90%	15.01%	7.90%
2. Burlington, Vt.	771	4.06	7.71	4.06
3. Boston, Mass.	737	3.88	7.37	3.88
4. Milwaukee, Wisc.	724	3.81	7.24	3.81
5. Philadelphia, Pa.	496	2.61	6.96	3.66
6. Indianapolis, Ind.	694	3.65	6.94	3.65
7. Baltimore, Md.	544	2.86	6.72	3.54
8. Manchester, N.H.	658	3.46	6.58	3.46
9. Hartford, Conn.	647	3.41	6.47	3.41
10. Sioux Falls, S.D.	643	3.38	6.43	3.38
11. Portland, Me.	640	3.37	6.40	3.37
12. Des Moines, Iowa	635	3.34	6.35	3.34
13. New York, N.Y.	476	2.51	6.26	3.29
14. Detroit, Mich.	510	2.68	6.05	3.18
15. Omaha, Nebr.	587	3.09	5.87	3.09
16. Portland, Ore.	562	2.96	5.62	2.96
17. Wilmington, Dela.	560	2.95	5.60	2.95
18. Providence, R.I.	555	2.92	5.55	2.92
19. Wichita, Kansas	541	2.85	5.41	2.85
20. Miami, Florida	538	2.83	5.38	2.83
21. Great Falls, Mont.	520	2.74	5.20	2.74
22. Denver, Colo.	410	2.16	4.97	2.62
23. Fargo, N.D.	494	2.60	4.94	2.60
24. St. Louis, Mo.	404	2.13	4.92	2.59
25. Cleveland, Ohio	409	2.15	4.84	2.55
26. Los Angeles, Calif.	446	2.35	4.80	2.53
27. Phoenix, Arizona	432	2.27	4.80	2.53
28. Louisville, Ky.	302	1.59	4.77	2.51
29. Memphis, Tenn.	424	2.23	4.76	2.51
30. Anchorage, Alas.	459	2.42	4.59	2.42
31. Chicago, Ill.	402	2.12	4.33	2.28
32. Houston, Texas	404	2.13	4.25	2.24
33. Boise, Idaho	424	2.23	4.24	2.23
34. Charlotte, N.C.	386	2.03	4.20	2.21
35. S.L.C., Utah	378	1.99	4.02	2.12
36. Okla. City, Okla.	342	1.79	3.86	2.03
37. Las Vegas, Nev.	333	1.75	3.74	1.97
38. Minneapolis, Min.	362	1.91	3.62	1.91
39. Atlanta, Ga.	356	1.87	3.56	1.87
40. Cheyenne, Wyo.	353	1.86	3.53	1.86
41. Jackson, Miss.	323	1.70	3.52	1.85
42. Albuq., N.M.	239	1.26	3.32	1.75
43. Seattle, Wash.	288	1.52	2.88	1.52
44. Little Rock, Ark.	265	1.39	2.65	1.39
45. Norfolk, Virginia	224	1.18	2.63	1.38
46. Birmingham, Ala.	192	1.01	2.53	1.33
47. Columbia, S.C.	251	1.32	2.51	1.32
48. New Orleans, La.	106	.56	2.38	1.25
49. Charleston, W.Va.	179	.94	1.79	.94
50. Honolulu, Hawaii	150	.79	1.50	.79
Median	428	2.25	4.82	2.54

[1] Cities are ranked from high to low on the basis of local direct taxes as a percentage of gross income.

[2] Real estate tax estimates are based on a home with a $19,000 market value. Amounts were originally computed for 1966 on the basis of effective property tax rate data for selected major local areas, reported by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in *Taxable Property Values,* Vol. 2 of the 1967 Census of Governments. The 1966 estimate for the largest city in each State was reviewed by a knowledgeable official in each such city and updated to 1968 for this presentation. In a number of instances, local estimates for 1968 deviated significantly from the 1966 difference was at least one-third in the following cities: Newark, Detroit, Anchorage, Charlotte, and Atlanta.

[3] Includes the following local taxes: real property, personal income, and general sales. In computing personal income taxes, it was assumed that all income was from wages and salaries and earned by one spouse, and that the optional standard deduction was used.

Your Tax Burden

THE TAX reform bill may bring some relief to John Q. Public, but it has been criticized by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and others as taking away federal revenue needed for welfare, education and other programs. Some foresee higher local taxes to finance needed services. Just how much a "typical family" of four pays in the largest city of each state is found in this table from "Urban America and the Federal System," published by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

People on the Move

ALASKA—James J. "Jake" Johnson, 40, of Fairbanks will take up the slot on the Alaska Transportation Commission left vacant by Bill Munz, who has emigrated to Washington State . . . Gov. Keith Miller has appointed Dr. Y. R. Nayudu to serve as acting executive secretary for the COAST commission. Dr. Nayudu, who previously served on Alaska's task force on oceanography, is deputy director of the Institute of Marine Science of the University of Alaska, in charge of the Douglas Marine Station . . . Account executive Willis K. Kirkpatrick will move from Eugene, Ore., to become a securities examiner with the division of banking and securities.

NEW YORK—Gov. Nelson Rockefeller appointed Merritt C. Willey of Schenectady as county clerk, succeeding the late Carroll A. Gardner.

GEORGIA—Jefferson Irwin Davis Jr., Albany, will become a member of the state board of education.

ALABAMA—Gov. Albert Brewer has named 12 citizens as members of the state board of veterans affairs. From the American Legion: Clayton Carter, Hugh Moses, Joe S. Foster, Eddie Hubert Gilmore and Henry Neil Segrest. Representing the Veterans of Foreign Wars will be E. E. Nash, Cecil Brown and John W. Campbell. Joseph A. Shockley of Anniston will represent the Disabled American Veterans on the board, while Spanish War Veterans will be represented by J. L. Thornton, Montgomery. The Amvets' representative will be Charles A. Casmus Jr., and the World War I veterans will have William W. Cardwell, Birmingham, to represent them.

NEW MEXICO—District tax director Fernando E. C. De Baca, Albuquerque, will fill the secretariat position of the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS). In this post De Baca will be responsible for providing both technical and planning assistance to program agencies.

CALIFORNIA—John C. Montgomery, formerly director of the Department of Social Welfare, has accepted a federal post as an assistant to HEW Secretary Robert Finch . . . Long Beach attorney John D. Miller has been appointed to a four-year term as a member of the California Law Revision commission, after Senate confirmation. The post pays $20 per day and necessary expenses . . . Gov. Ronald Reagan appointed two men to four-year terms on the board of administration, public employes' retirement system: Dr. W. James Dawson, 39, a San Raphael dentist, and Bartlett T. Grimes, 30, a San Francisco insurance company executive.

TEXAS—Attorney Joe W. Burkett Jr. of Kerrville was appointed by Gov. Preston Smith to a new six-year term on the Texas Liquor Control Board. Burkett has served five years in the Texas Legislature.

HUD Program Actions

WASHINGTON—The following program actions were announced by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. For details, contact the project director.

Rental Housing Assistance Program (Section 236)

Winston-Salem, N.C., $98,195 annual reservation for 150 units on Reidsville Rd., sponsored by the Goler Metropolitan AME Zion Church. (Ralph W. Mullins, Director, FHA Insuring Office, 324 W. Market St., Greensboro, N.C. 27401)

Philadelphia, $40,137 annual reservation plus $11,311 in rent supplement funds for 66 units at 46th St. and Fairmount Ave., sponsored by the R.I.G.H.T. Corp., 2044 Chestnut St. (Thomas Gallagher, Director, FHA Insuring Office, 2 Penn Center Plaza, Philadelphia, Pa 19102)

Rent Supplement Program

Newport, Ark., $87,681 annual reservation for 70 units on Cherokee St., sponsored by Harmony Homes, Inc. (Wayne Babbitt, Director, FHA Insuring Office, 700 W. Capitol Ave., Little Rock, Ark. 72203)

North Little Rock, Ark., $155,443 annual reservation for 110 units on Edmonds St. in the Glenview urban renewal project. Sponsor: First Baptist Church. (same as above)

Urban Renewal Program

Bessemer, Ala., $23,415 increase to a total of $572,297 for the Thompson Town project to provide for increased replacement housing payments. (A. W. Kuhn, Executive Director, Bessemer Housing Authority, 1100 Fifth Ave., Bessemer, Ala. 35022)

New Orleans, $2,044,562 for the Cultural Center No. 3 area, bounded by St. Philip, N. Rampart, Dumaine, and N. Villere St. (Mayor Victor H. Shiro, New Orleans, La. 70112)

Detroit, $3,412,418 increase to a total of $13,817,418 for the Elmwood Park No. 3 project. (Conrad L. Mallett, Director-Secretary, Detroit Housing Commission, 2211 Orleans St., Detroit, Mich. 48207)

Minneapolis, $255,392 increase to a total of $3,865,349 for the Seward East project to permit acquisition of addition parcels and provide additional street lighting. (Charles R. Krusel, Director, Housing & Redevelopment Authority, 217 S. Third St., Minneapolis, Minn. 55401)

Holly Springs, Miss., $1,733,000 for the preparation of a General Neighborhood Renewal Plan for the North Central Project, a 195-acre area bounded by the Frisco Railroad, Rust Ave., West St., College Ave. and Boundary St. Walter R. Paschal, Executive Director, Urban Renewal Agency, Holly Springs, Miss. 38635)

New Kensington, Pa., $196,734 increase to a total of $4,457,231 for the First Ward project to meet increased costs. (Alfred J. Holzman, Executive Director, Redevelopment Authority, 422 9th St., New Kensington, Pa. 15068)

Rochester, Pa., $31,367 increase to a total of $635,556 for the Rochester Hospital project to meet increased costs and permit increased replacement housing payments. (Steven Petz, Executive Director, Beaver County Redevelopment Authority, 102 Penn-Beaver Hotel, Rochester, Pa. 15074)

RIGHTS REPORT SRL (spec)

Police 'Over-Use' Hit at Augusta

Journ. Const 6-7-70

By JACK NELSON
Los Angeles Times News Service

Police gunfire that last month killed six blacks at Augusta and two at Jackson State College reflected a national "escalation of animosity and official violence" aimed at dissent, the Southern Regional Council has declared in a report.

The council, an Atlanta-based civil rights research group that long has studied racial violence and police reaction to it, said the killings "occurred in an atmosphere of mostility encouraged by inflammatory statements of leaders . . . which exacerbate tensions between groups and which seem to approve the over-use of police and military force. Goveernors of states, congressmen and even the President and the vice president have been criticized for such utterances."

The 76-page report said President Nixon's public comments after the killing of four Kent State University students on May 4, preceding the Augusta and Jackson State incidents, was an "abdication of responsibility."

THE REPORT cited the President's comment that the Kent State incident "should remind us all once again that when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy."

The council noted that after the Feb. 8, 1968, incident in which highway patrolmen killed three black students and injured 27 others at Orangeburg's South Carolina State College, it issued a lengthy report warning that get-tough policies by law enforcement "carry into highly volatile situations new elements of danger. Order must be maintained, but the duty of society and of police is that it be so with a minimum of force.

"At least suggested — in Orangeburg and evident in other situations that have arisen in the South and other parts of the nation—is the frightening spectacle of an over-escalation of police and military force."

POINTS in common between the Augusta and Jackson State incidents which are "applicable to such tragedies across the nation," the council reported, include:

—Failure to cope fully with long-neglected problems of racism and poverty.

—Death and injuries from heavy caliber ammunition. "The nation needs to demand and somehow effectively enforce a prohibition on police and the National Guard from resort to gunfire where less lethal methods would prevail. Never should be tolerated random firing without given orders, without warnings, without conventional, nonviolent methods of crowd control."

—Hostile police attitudes toward black people and toward a general principle of the right of protest, and ineffective riot control training by police.

—Unanswered critical questions about what happened, and why.

"Perhaps the nation needs to consider an investigative body —something more than a temporary 'blue ribbon' committee as proposed by the present administration," the council declared. "Representatives on it of the classes of citizens who consider themselves victims of police oppression would seem mandatory."

Soviets Break Own Record In Space Time

From Wire Reports

The Soyuz 9 spaceship, with two men on board, broke the Soviet record for time in space Saturday.

Valery Bykovsky remained up just 54 minutes short of five days in the Vostok 5 in 1963. Cosmonauts Andrian Nikolayev and Vitaly Sevastianov matched that record Saturday and their flight continued.

No official word has been given on how long Soyuz 9 will be up. It seems meant to determine human reactions to long periods in space. Reports Saturday referred to continuing experiments on board.

The Soyuz 9, launched Monday, still has a long way to go to match the American record for time in space. Gemini 7 logged 13 days, 18 hours and 35 minutes in 1965.

Died

Reverse Trend Shown in Integration Survey

Southern Negro Youths in White Schools Voice Separatist Views, Group Reports

SRC

BY KENNETH REICH
Times Staff Writer

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council Wednesday reported that a survey it made of black students in four school districts affected by integration orders showed the students "were clearly being edged toward separatist views" by their experiences in the integration process.

What is happening does "not seem to be a mass embracing of separatism," said the 46-page report. "When the students did talk separatism, they did not seem to do so out of intellectualized doctrine. Few spoke in the harsh, anti-white, anti-human terms of the violence-prone street militant."

But taken as a whole, the report continued, many black students in Mobile, Ala.; Charlotte, N.C.; and Greenville and Beaufort, S.C., had been soured on integration by "their humiliating experiences in desegregated classrooms, the sense of their own government's betrayal in enforcement and finally . . . the influence of 'black consciousness' thought that has been articulated by some black leaders for some time now."

Hoped It Worked

In some cases, however, black students voiced almost plaintive hopes that integration could be made to work.

"Integration of students is a good thing, if it can work," said one Greenville youngster. "It just has to work. But one thing I dressed one way and they are dressed another way and he has to go back and dress like them. He can't wear his Afro (hair) in a white school. There are rules at . . . schools that black people cannot wear Afros, cannot wear beards and dashikis. Your hair has to be not over so many inches, you can't wear dashikis unless it's tucked in you pants."

Another Mobile student said, "You can't take a black student out of a black school where he has been all of his life and throw him in a white school for one semester and expect him to pass.

Need to Adapt

"You can't do that. You've got to give him a chance to adapt to the white man's way. Anyway, you'll turn him white, white, white. Teachers are turning children white because they have to adapt to the white man's way, not our way."

Particularly in Mobile, the students exhibited little faith in the democratic process.

"You mean that all men were created equal?" asked one. "I don't believe this, because when Thomas Jefferson wrote it he did not intend it for the black man because black men were rated not as men but as maybe one-quarter human, or equal to a horse or a cow. Historically, it was not intended for the black man."

A Beaufort, S.C., girl who had attended a white

school districts affected by integration orders showed the students "were clearly being edged toward separatist views" by their experiences in the integration process.

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"Integration of students is a good thing, if it can work," said one Greenville youngster. "It just has to work. But one thing I don't think is too fair, some of the black schools weren't too well equipped. So before they made the change, they went around to the Negro schools painting them up for the white children.

"If the black schools were not right in the first place, then how come they built them like that?" the youngster asked.

Another black student recalled, "When I went to Greenville Junior High, the speech teacher was very old and she would say, 'All the niggers stand up,' and that made us mad and there is still prejudice about it."

Grades Lower

Other blacks complained their grades were lower at their new schools. "I found that students that were making C's went down to D's and students who were making A's went down to Bs'," said one. "The teachers were never satisfied. They would always find fault in our papers. We could never write a perfect paper . . ."

"I say, let's start separatism," said one black Mobile student among many in that city who voiced support for a recent proposal by the Congress of Racial Equality to establish separate white-and black-controlled school districts there.

The interviews indicated that most Mobile blacks believe white schools rob blacks of their identify and make them feel inferior.

Loses 2 Ways

One youngster put it this way: "OK, the teacher looks at him in the morning, one little black kid, and to make him feel good he says 'Good Morning' to him and says nothing to the other folks and that's turning the white folks against him and at the same time it's making him feel inferior.

"He may be walking down the hall and they look at him and he is rules at . . . schools that black people cannot wear Afros, cannot wear beards and dashikis. Your hair has to be not over so many inches, you can't wear dashikis unless it's tucked in you pants."

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A Beaufort, S.C., girl who had attended a white high school last year declared, "I was alienated at Beaufort High because I was black and I was there. But at Robert Smalls (a former black high school), I could relate to masses of black people. I valued this more than I valued integration."

Reject Black Schools

At Beaufort, with massive integration to be implemented this fall, all the students from the two former black high schools are being bussed to the previously predominantly white Beaufort High, which will have to go on double sessions. The school board is refusing to use either of the black schools for whites.

"They should have zoned us," said one black high school junior. "Instead we have massive bussing and double sessions . . . It's always black people who are bussed to white schools. The white administrators think their kids are too good to go to black schools. The white man feels the black man is not good enough to be where he is. That's the truth of it."

Defense of the integration ideal, however, came from several Charlotte youngsters.

Lauds Integration

"Integration is worth the trauma," said one. "You know you are achieving, you're getting somewhere, you see some light, some hope. You can prove to the white man that the black man can comprehend."

"Whites have a lot to learn from association with us," said another. "It's better if they learn early. The blacks need it, too. I know too many blacks who say they hate all white people. Integration is good."

But another student remarked, "If there's got to be integration, I'd like to see the white people suffer, let 'em all feel the pinch and pain."

REGIONAL COUNCIL SURVEY

Atl. Journ. 8/20/70

SRC (spec)

Integration Pushes Blacks Into Views of Separatism

By KENNETH REICH
Los Angeles Times News Service

The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta reports that a survey of black students in four school districts affected by integration orders showed the students were being edged toward separatist views by their experiences in the integration process.

What is happening does "not seem to be a mass embracing of separatism," the 46-page report said.

"When the students did talk separatism, they did not seem to do so out of intellectualized doctrine. Few spoke in the harsh, antiwhite, antihuman terms of the violence-prone street militant."

BUT TAKEN as a whole, the report said, many black students in the cities of Mobile, Ala., Charlotte, N.C., and Greenville and Beaufort, S.C., had been soured on integration by "their humiliating experiences in desegregated classrooms, the sense of their own government's betrayal in enforcement and finally . . . the influence of black consciousness that has been articulated by some black leaders."

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A BEAUFORT GIRL who had attended a white high school last year said:

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"Whites have a lot to learn from association with us. It's better if they learn early. The blacks need it, too. I know too many blacks who say they hate all white people. Integration is good."

Another Charlotte student said:

"I believe integration has to work. If the parents and adults would only stay out of it and let the kids work it out. It's the only way to advance . . . through education in the white man's way."

The Southern Regional Council is a foundation-funded human relations group based here which conducts studies throughout the South.

CAMPUS MOD SQUAD

HOUSTON (AP)—Campus policemen at the University of Houston will exchange the traditional police uniform this fall for red blazers with dark trousers and black ties.

An emblem on the pocket of the blazer will identify them as campus officers.

The new uniform costs $60, about $190 less than the old garb.

Security Chief Larry W. Fultz said he hoped to have campus security cars repainted red and white, the school's colors. He said on the back of each car will be the words "Pride, Integrity and Goodwill."

The initials, he points out, spell "pig," militants' name for policemen.

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SRC (Jones) Atlanta
3-13-71

Civil Rights in South: Quieter 70's

Glamor Fades---
Not Nitty-Gritty

By JIM LEESON

DURING the decade of the 60's, it was obvious where the civil rights "action" was. The impact of the firehoses and police dogs in Birmingham, the confrontation at the Selma bridge, the open resistance by white parents and public officials to school desegregation — all held the center stage on radio and television, and on the front pages of the newspapers.

JIM LEESON is editor of the Race Relations Reporter, published by the Race Relations Information Center, Nashville.

A special correspondent for The Journal Forum, Leeson's report on the changing civil rights scene includes information provided by two officials in Atlanta, still involved in the day-to-day struggle.

The names "King" and "Kennedy" led a list of men who provided inspirational leadership for the movement on a national basis. Slogans and acronyms identified with the various fronts of the civil rights movement were readily identifiable to large segments of the nation.

WHERE TODAY are the causes, the leaders, the slogans, the organizations that have an image and impact comparable to those of the 60's?

Or, for that matter, where have the followers of the leaders gone, the blacks who once marched in the streets, the white liberals who openly supported changing the South? Is the civil rights movement in the 70's dead . . . or just different. And what has caused the change?

Obviously, those are major questions that draw different answers.

The drama of civil rights in the South during the 1960's contrasts sharply with the quieter 1970's, causing some to consider the civil rights movement as being dead, or at least at a standstill.

A variety of reasons are cited. Another view is that the civil rights movement, through a natural evolvement, has entered a second stage that is less visible but just as essential. Those same reasons that can be said to have caused the "death" cused on the white liberal, using the more scholarly approach of research and information. Lewis, who is black, now heads the Voter Education Project, whose primary goal is a more direct activism — registration of Southern blacks.

Where today are the causes, the leaders, the slogans, the organizations that have an image

John Lewis has experienced the whole spectrum of civil rights activity in the South, beginning with the Nashville sit-ins in 1960, continuing with the Student Non-Violent Co-Ordinating Committee (SNCC) across the South, and now serving as head of VEP in Atlanta. Lewis believes that the civil rights movement has not died but has developed into its natural second stage.

"WE NO longer have the national symbols, the national leaders of the thrusts that you witnessed during the early and mid-60's," Lewis said recently. "But the spirit of the movement and the concern, for the most part, are still there. It's the concern of local leaders and indigenous organizations through the region.

"Although we don't have 'Snick' and 'Slick' (SCLC — Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) working throughout the Deep South as they once did, the spirit of the movement is still very much alive in the concern of the people," Lewis said. "It was good to have those civil rights organizations to go through the South to inspire the people to act.

However, Dr. King and CORE and the others couldn't remain in the community forever. The Project but the emphasis will remain on the basic goal of local voter registration of blacks. VEP makes small grants only to local, indigenous groups across the South.

"We probably have greater contact with local groups than any other organization and I see us as broadening that base of contact," Lewis said. VEP has funded its first Mexican-American group in Texas and is planning to help register some low-income whites in Tennessee.

AS AN organization primarily for white liberals, Southern Regional Council is concerned about its role in the new stage of the region's civil rights activity. SRC currently has a special review committee studying how the organization should operate and what its goals should be.

SRC's executive director, Paul Anthony, says that "one of the most pertinent questions today is, 'Where is the white liberal, what is he doing?' " He continued:

"You could argue, for all purposes, that SRC is a middle-class outfit, both white and black members. You could argue that we are—as we have traditionally been—particularly conscious of

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A variety of reasons are cited. Another view is that the civil rights movement, through a natural evolvement, has entered a second stage that is less visible but just as essential. Those same reasons that can be said to have caused the "death" of the movement are considered in this instance only to hamper the effectiveness of current civil rights activity.

Where today are the causes, the leaders, the slogans, the organizations that have an image and impact comparable to those of the 60's? Or, for that matter, where have the followers of the leaders gone? . . .

Some of the reasons that are said to have influenced the "death" or the "effectiveness" of civil rights are:

— The Nixon administration. Despite the administration's protests that it has received little credit for making civil rights accomplishments, President Nixon, Atty. Gen. Mitchell and lesser members of the administration are still seen as "unsympathetic." Some critics of the administration go a step further and say that the government deliberately works to hinder advancement of civil rights.

— Black militancy. Beginning in the latter part of the 60's, "white liberal" and "integration" came into disfavor among many blacks and the more militant blacks eventually rejected any association with whites. Even some of the less militant blacks found themselves being rejected.

— Loss of leaders. The deaths of Martin Luther King and John and Robert Kennedy left civil rights activists without leaders who provided the encouragement and inspiration necessary for a regional or nationwide movement.

— Competing issues. The antiwar movement has attracted many who might otherwise be active in civil rights activities. And the national war effort in Vietnam has diverted money and public interest from the civil rights issue. More recently, such issues as ecology and sexual freedom entered into competition. And the civil rights picture has broadened to include all parts of the country.

— Federal co-optation. With the advent of large spending programs on poverty, education, community action and civil rights, the government hired large numbers of activists, at considerably higher salaries. A human relations worker making $4,000 or $5,000 in the 60's could easily get a federal job paying at least double that amount, if not more. The two-fold effect was to bring an activist into the establishment and to accustom him to a standard of living that would make him dependent upon the system.

The government openings scooped up a considerable portion of the civil rights leadership, from the local level on up. One civil rights activist who stayed with a private organization reports that it takes "three or four drinks" for some of the former activists now with the government to admit they would like to quit "if they could find a job paying that kind of money."

— Tight money. Federal legislation has made foundations more careful about the types of programs eligible for grants. And economic conditions generally have limited the amount of money available.

WHETHER THESE conditions have "killed" or merely "injured" the region's civil rights movement, many of the organizations and the people of the 60's are still alive and kicking for change.

Two of these civil rights activists are Paul Anthony and John Lewis. Anthony is white and heads the Southern Regional Council, headquartered in Atlanta, a group that admittedly has fo-

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"WE NO longer have the national symbols, the national leaders of the thrusts that you witnessed during the early and mid-60's," Lewis said recently. "But the spirit of the movement and the concern, for the most part, are still there. It's the concern of local leaders and indigenous organizations through the region.

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However, Dr. King and CORE and the others couldn't remain in the community forever. The people had to act on their own.

Lewis sees that civil rights action now is the "tedious, nitty-gritty" work at the local level, bringing into practice the legal principles that were won by the mass marches and protests. "Without the drama, without the press, it's that type of work that will have a real impact on county and city government, on the lives of the people."

"Selma, Birmingham, St. Augustine, Albany —there was no master plan or blueprint on how to move from one step to another. But out of this crisis, what has developed is a new face of the movement—concern over political power, economic development, a great interest on the part of the people," Lewis said.

IN THE majority-black communities, such as Hancock County, Ga.; Jefferson County, Miss.; or Greene County, Ala., blacks found that even with control of the elective offices, unless they gained economic power the white people still remained in control, Lewis explained. The "civil rights" goal then becomes one of providing the black elected officials with technical assistance on how to establish an economic base, how to bring in jobs.

"We must provide them with something that the people can get hold of," Lewis declared. "If not, they will have the same kind of frustration as under the whites. And whites would say, 'Look, they elected blacks and they couldn't produce.' "

'We no longer have the national symbols, the national leaders or the thrusts that you witnessed during the early and mid-60's. But the spirit of the movement and the concern, for the most part, are still there.'

Where have the white liberals gone, the churchwomen, the wives of businessmen, the members of an "old family" who participated in the civil rights of the sixties? "They're around," Lewis said, "but for some reason they are out of it now. More and more, they are doing things on their own.

"After the Selma crisis, we had a period where more and more people would say, 'I will do something as an individual.' There still is some fear of being identified as a 'white liberal.' But they say, 'I don't have to make a statement; I will just do; I will act.' "

IN THE whole struggle, the federal government of the 60's played the role of "sympathetic referee," Lewis said. "Today, people—black and white—don't see the government as a sympathetic referee. Local people feel completely out of it as far as the federal government is concerned. The federal government is not responding."

The King and Kennedy assassinations also had their effect on the spirit of the people, Lewis believes. "The little people—again, black and white —identified with them. They had a greater degree of hope."

These developments and new conditions have some implications for Lewis's Voter Education

We probably have great[illegible] groups than any other organization and I see us as broadening that base of contact," Lewis said. VEP has funded its first Mexican-American group in Texas and is planning to help register some low-income whites in Tennessee.

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SRC's executive director, Paul Anthony, says that "one of the most pertinent questions today is, 'Where is the white liberal, what is he doing?' " He continued:

"You could argue, for all purposes, that SRC is a middle-class outfit, both white and black members. You could argue that we are—as we have traditionally been—particularly conscious of the white community as our constituency and, I repeat, that is not our whole constituency. . . . But we have tried to reach the white opinion makers and the white leadership."

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Although SRC formally ended its membership program in the mid-50's, the organization has provided financial and technical assistance to state human relations councils over the years. "In 15 years, SRC spent more than $2 million on locally controlled, inter-racial movements," Anthony said.

"Where they now are vigorous, they are vigorous largely because they have, for all purposes, given up any emphasis on encouraging an inter-racial harmony per se. They have adopted a constituency far more specific and controllable. The best example is the Georgia Council on Human Relations, which remains a statewide inter-racial effort but has a vigorous young black man as its director. Its sole program is black economic development in Hancock County, Ga."

BLACKS ARE in political control in that black-majority county and the economic development programs there include a catfish farm cooperative, a loan fund for black businessmen, a black theater and a cement-block factory. The Georgia Council will receive grants totalling $1 million this year, according to Anthony, and will spend "99 per cent on that one project in Hancock County." This will amount to more than all the other state councils together will receive, he noted.

"Southern Regional Council came into existence symbolically as a body of Southerners, white and black, and has had an overriding purpose during its lifespan to integrate the institutions of the region," Anthony said. "They have attempted to do this—and still do—largely through having white and black Southerners persuading those who control institutions or make policy, to integrate."

Anthony reports that there currently is a "vocal minority" opposed to this role for his organization. "A majority of the staff and council leadership still wants SRC to have the purpose of integration as its overwhelming purpose. We want to be the influence that causes others to make this happen," he says.

BUT OPPOSITION to this role comes from "young blacks" on to "foundation officials," who cynically refer to such a role as "teasipping" and "not where the action is." Anthony notes that "there is precious little place any more in government or in the foundations for the gentlemanly conniver."

He has far more difficulty raising foundation support for his $750,000 budget than he would have for raising the same amount for a local action project.

"If SRC wanted to be an action agency, we could do so." But he is convinced that both approaches—the "gentlemanly conniver" and that of an action program—are necessary. "If everyone jumps on the single approach, we will be making a mistake," he said.

(Spec) (Atl-Journ 4-1-71)

SRC Workers View Youth As Main Desegregation Key

By HARMON PERRY

Three representatives of the Southern Regional Council (SRC) Wednesday criticized the pace of school desegregation in the South and apathy among those who could bring about smooth and successful integration.

However pessimistic Pat Watters, Clarence Wright, and Leon Hall were about some of the incidents that have resulted where desegregation has occurred, they appeared optimistic about the future because of the growing signs of understanding between black and white youths.

DURING a panel discussion before the weekly Hungry Club forum, the SRC trio said the success of school desegregation will come because young students are beginning to move against racism and other things they once did not understand.

Their assessment of the school situation in the South and their predictions of what to expect is based mainly on their findings during several weeks of observing school operations, mediating groups of black and white students, and listening to what students have to say.

School administrators and other adults would do well to listen to what young people are saying and give them a chance, said Watters, a former newspaper editor who spent several weeks studying the school situation in Charlotte.

"Young black and white students indicate an hardening attitude of wanting to work things out and get an education, but adults, from the Nixon administration on down, have not lived up to the promise," declared Watters.

WATTERS SAID there has been more school desegregation in the South than most people realize, but at the same time not as much as the administration says. "Most of the desegregation has come through court orders."

Youth is saying that unless adults take a two-way look at the school situation and listen to the young, there is danger of widespread disorder, Watters warned.

Wright, a youth community organizer for SRC, said adults dominate and take the lead in Georgia schools "with nobody listening to the young people."

SRC

Civil Rights Group Eyes New Policy

By Philip D. Carter
Washington Post Foreign Service

ATLANTA, April 24 — The days have passed when the Southern whites and blacks who worked for the Southern Regional Council couldn't dine together legally in downtown Atlanta. Now both friends and officials of the liberal civil rights-oriented organization are asking whether the times haven't passed by the SRC itself.

In its 27 years, the council has functioned largely, as executive director Paul Anthony puts it, as "a behind-the-scenes influence on public policy" in the areas of race relations and regional development.

The group's commitment to racial integration attracted violent abuse from some white politicians during the '50s and early '60s. This year, by contrast, two newly elected Southern governors asked the SRC for help in planning policy for their states.

Despite—or perhaps because of that kind of modest success, "to an awful lot of people we aren't where the action is," Anthony says.

Today, the SRC's 100-member board met in Atlanta to discuss a new role for the council as a "mission-oriented" organization.

Announcement of the group's decision is likely in the next few days.

A special urgency under lay the day-long closed discussions. The Ford Foundation, source of about half the council's annual $858,000 budget, has warned the group that it might stop the funds next year.

Some Ford officials are known to feel that the SRC, which it has helped support since 1965, was concentrating too much of the energy of its 30-member staff on projects of marginal importance.

In recent years, the staff has dealt with the full spectrum of Southern social and economic problems, from urban school integration to the northward migration of blacks displaced from the South's farms.

There are two regular council publications — a quarterly, "New South," and a monthly, "South Today." In addition, the information and research staff publishes periodic lengthy reports on particular Southern problems.

During the height of the civil rights movement in the South, the SRC was directly involved, through its Voter Education Project (VEP), with the enfranchisement of thousands of blacks.

Last year, however, VEP became a separate organization, largely because of the strictures of new federal tax laws. That move left the council with only a few lightly staffed and funded field projects in the areas of school desegregation, housing and manpower development.

A special review committee was formed last year under the chairmanship of Frank Smith, a former Mississippi congressman who now serves as a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. In a recent memorandum, he presented a "consensus" recommendation that the council "build upon its experience and its strengths, its reputation and its channels of communication with social activists, to become a 'mission-oriented' organization."

This proposal, which was presented to the board today, stressed creation of special-issue task forces like consumer activist Ralph Nader's "Nader's Raiders." These groups, drawn from council employees, council members and outside experts, would serve essentially as fact-finding bodies.

The purpose of the task forces, said Smith, would be to "support or initiate litigation, to provide documentation for investigative bodies, commissions, legislative committees, to furnish ammunition for local action groups and to prod influential leadership that has failed to take action in the best interests of its constituency."

Atl Journ 4-26-71 SRC (spec.)

Southern Regional Council Role-Change Discussed

By PHILIP D. CARTER
Washington Post News Service

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New Zealander Surrenders After Shooting Spree

WELLINGTON, New Zealand (UPI) — Barry John Fisher, 21, broke into a gun shop and seized several shot

Council Charges Racism Prevents Assistance To Poor

The State 5/2/71

25

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP)—Racial discrimination and poorly written federal guidelines are prohibiting needy rural families from getting housing assistance, according to a report issued by the Southern Regional Council.

The SRC charged that "traditional racism" in the Farmers Home Administration and its parent organization, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, prohibits fair dispersal of loans to needy blacks.

The charges appeared in the council's monthly publication, "South Today."

Loan funds of the FBA have been greatly increased in recent years, the report said. But it contends the money, "like the majority of other rural loan packages, is not designed to reach the poor."

The report maintains that rural America has 60 to 70 per cent of the nation's substandard housing and that "a large percentage of this is in the South."

It contends the housing blight continues to exist in large part because of the FHA "is superconscious of the desires of Congress and super-sensitive to the charge that it is giving money away in a socialistic fashion."

The report contends that persons whose incomes fall below the federally defined poverty level are excluded from eligibility in the most important parts of the housing program.

The SRC labels the U.S. Department of Agriculture as "an extremely conservative branch of the government which has been firmly in control of the less visionary members of Congress since shortly after World War II."

SPC

Reg Murphy

Filling the Job That Very Few Want

atl. Const. 7/26/71

WANTED—Saint and martyr. Must be willing to catch hell from all directions. Must have hide thick as rhino and be sensitive and litmus paper. Answer to 100 liberal Southerners, be responsible to nation, live up to strong legacy. Other duties include raising funds, acting like Ralph Nader, leading civil rights groups, appeasing staff of 30, and running annual meeting. Applicant will understand job is impossible and has no future.

That want ad could run this morning for a new executive director of the Southern Regional Council, the nation's oldest Southern-based civil rights organization.

Paul Anthony, the executive director for the last six years, is leaving. Like the four directors who preceded him, Anthony leaves an exhausted and care-worn man. And like the others, he leaves an impossible job behind.

Housed in a warren of offices frequently piled high with cardboard boxes and decorated by quilts carried on such things as the Selma march, the SRC has come to another turning point.

Not only must it vacate its quarters at 5 Forsyth Street (because the building will be demolished this fall). It also must embark on a new set of goals.

•

Anthony believes the SRC should continue to stay one step away from the angry direct involvement of other civil rights groups. Some of the foundations which sponsor the SRC reportedly hope to push it to more activism.

Anothony always has pushed research and publishing. Some of the money-givers apparently want Nader-type bulldozing.

These conflicts appear to have something to do with his decision to leave the SRC when a successor is chosen. Some sources say the decision on a successor will not come very quickly.

Brave words are being spoken about the council as the change in command occurs. Dr. Raymond Wheeler, president of the SRC, said "prospects for the future of the organization are indeed bright. We have an unusually well-informed and active board and executive committee, a talented staff, and new and exciting plans for applying our special skills and concerns to the problems of the Southern region during the 1970s."

•

The words may be braver than the outlook warrants. It is no secret that the Ford Foundation has applied real pressure for changes in the program. And the lesson of that is clear: Anytime a foundation begins to apply tough pressure, the organization is in serious trouble of cracking wide open.

Stories circulate that Ford is pushing to have SRC move into fields entirely unrelated to civil rights. They appear to be intent on getting more reports on pollution and planning, as well as other fields where a variety of organizations already are at work.

Only time will tell whether these new goals are the ones to be pursued.

But one thing is clear. Anthony will make a valuable addition to somebody's staff. He said, "I do not consider that I am leaving the Southern Regional Council. No one committed to its purposes ever does."

At 43, Anthony will move on to some related field. His predecessors have joined foundations and faculties. He probably will make a similar connection.

As for a successor, the want ad is accurate. The job is one that seeks the man—for no man in his right mind would apply for it.

SRC (-Spec. File)

End Near for No. 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Called Place at Which 'New South' Begins

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Aug. 20—When Gunnar Myrdal returned to the South this year after an absence of nearly three decades, one of his appointments was at No. 5 Forsyth Street, an aging office building deep in the downtown core of this city. "So, this is where it begins," the celebrated Swedish sociologist muttered to himself as he strode into the little lobby. "Where what begins?" an acquaintance inquired. Dr. Myrdal, author of "An American Dilemma," a widely read volume on race relations in this country, harumphed professorially.

The Talk of No. 5 Forsyth Street

"Why, the New South, young man," he replied. "The brand new, American South."

•

While some deny the existence of any such region and others pinpoint its origins elsewhere, many knowledgeable Southerners believe the cutting edge of much substantive change in this part of the nation has been honed in recent years inside the dirty, old building at No. 5 Forsyth.

A list of its past and present tenants reads like the index to a scholarly tome on Southern liberalism.

The Southern Regional Council, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, the National Sharecropper's Fund, the Atlanta Council on Human Relations, the National Domestic Worker's Union, the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council, the Voter Education Project and the Institute for Southern Studies have all been quartered there at one time or another in the last dozen years.

Moreover, the black and white men and women who have labored within its walls—lawyers, writers, researchers, preachers, teachers, philosophers, polemicists, politicians and propagandists—have created a flood of projects, campaigns, lawsuits, books, panphlets and papers whose impact on the South can only be described as substantial.

As a result of their efforts, schools and a variety of other institutions have been integrated, a million black people registered to vote, elections won and lost, white politicians tempered, black candidates encouraged and supported, and popular racial traditions challenged and changed.

One of the most significant campaigns created and supervised in the building was the Voter Education Project's drive in the mid-sixties that added more than a million black Southerners to the voting list. Another was the suit by the American Civil Liberties Union that brought about the capture of nearly every political office in Greene County, Ala., by black candidates.

Consequently, the attitudes of Atlantans toward the five-story building have always been mixed.

"I think of that old wreck as a sanctuary for renegades who insist on telling the truth," the late Ralph E. McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution, once wrote in his front-page column.

"Sooner or later, the people who work there figure in most of what is important to the South and much of what is important to the nation," Julian Bond, the black legislator-lecturer, once observed.

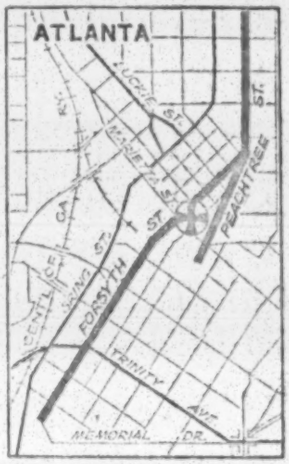
"Phooey," was Lester G. Maddox's opinon when he was Governor of Georgia. "The whole place is crawling with subversives. It ought to to be torn down and paved over."

•

That is exactly what is planned now for No. 5 Forsyth Street, not because Mr. Maddox wants it that way but because the space the building now occupies has been chosen as the site for a parking garage or, as some insist, for a new bank.

In a city studded with modern jewels of stone and steel and glass, its disappearance from the downtown panorama will no doubt be a positive contribution to the over-all architectural quality of the area.

On the ground floor are a jewelry store, a finance company, a fast service print shop and a restaurant that



The New York Times Sept. 21, 1971

No. 5 Forsyth St. (cross)

recently closed its doors. Its 60-year-old brick facade, respectably red in its younger years, now wears a sooty cloak, and its tandem elevators creak and squeak arthritically as they creep up and down within its innards.

All around No. 5 Forsyth, rising high above it, are other skyscrapers and bank buildings, symbols of Atlanta's downtown affluence. Thus in a way the grubby old building stands as a reminder that Atlanta was not really built during the administration of former Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., his recent book and the Chamber of Commerce notwithstanding.

But whatever its esthetic deficiencies, old No. 5 is remembered by dozens who have inhabited it at one time or another for other reasons.

Vernon Jordan, newly appointed as Whitney Young's successor at the helm of the National Urban League, remembers it as the place where he and most everybody else in the building were photographed every day by state police officers checking up on the Voter Education Project.

"It got to be kind of a joke with all of us," Mr. Jordan said. "You know, the girls would say they hoped the guy with the camera got their good side, and all that."

Other former residents of the building who have assumed influential positions in the world of charitable or civil rights oganizations are Harold Fleming, who now heads the Potomac Institute, and Leslie Dunbar, director of the Field Foundation.

Mr. Dunbar's successor as executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Paul Anthony, remembers the problem created in the council's offices when the board of directors of the Field Foundation, one of the council's benefactors, came to Atlanta for an integrated dinner.

"That was back in the early 'sixties, when things weren't near as loose as they are now," Mr. Anthony, who will soon resign, recalled. "We looked all over this town for a place that would serve a meal to black and white people at the same table in the same room at the same time—and there just wasn't one."

So the meal was catered to No. 5 Forsyth and Mrs. Marshall Field, Adlai Stevenson, George W. Ball and the rest of the board sat down to dinner amid the clutter of the council's offices.

But soon now, the scene of such memories will be wiped from the map of Atlanta, and the last remaining tenants are trying to arrange for their new quarters. At a conference last week between staff members of the Southern Regional Council and the American Civil Liberties Union, some of their problems came to light.

"The space in that building we looked at is quite suitable for both of us," Morris Brown, an A.C.L.U. lawyer, commented.

"Well, then, why don't we take it?" Mr. Anthony asked.

"Seems the owners aren't quite sure they want us both there—I mean in tandem like this," Mr. Brown answered. "Maybe one of us, but both of us together has them a little nervous."

"What about the other building?" Mr. Anthony asked.

"Well, it looks as though the A.C.L.U. would have to be on the second floor," the lawyer replied.

"What's wrong with that?"

"Well, I was thinking about bombs, you know," Mr. Brown said.

"Shoot, the fire department can get to you that much quicker if you're on the second floor," Mr. Anthony concluded.

"I ALMOST DIED"

SRC files - 1971

SRC (Spec)

Moving Day For Southern Liberlism

By James T. Wooten

© 1971, New York Times News Service

ATLANTA, Oct. 8

WHEN GUNNAR Myrdal returned to the South this year after an absence of nearly three decades, one of his appointments was at No. 5 Forsyth Street, an aging office building deep in the downtown core of this city.

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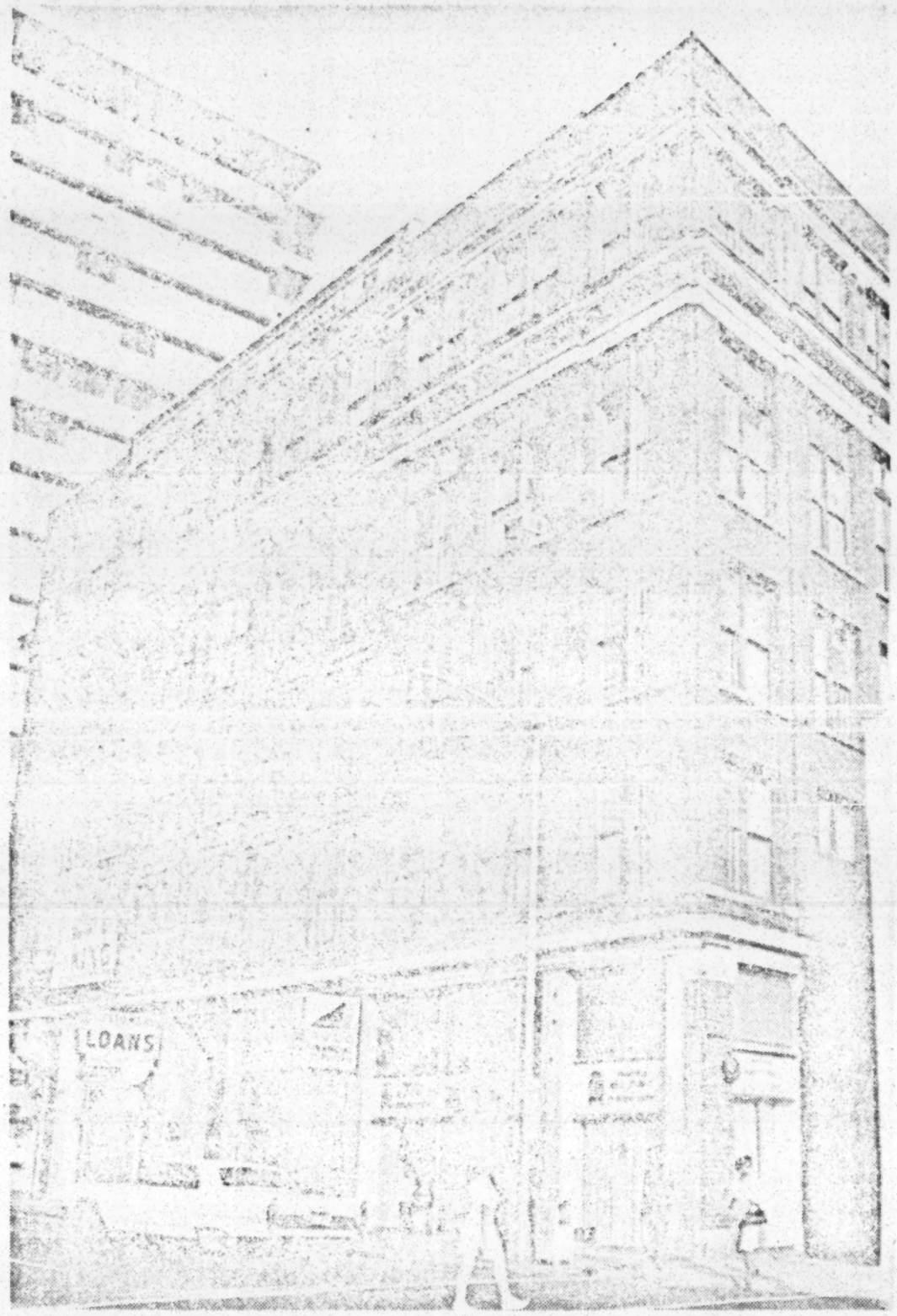

BUILDING in Atlanta that became Deep South's cradle of liberalism. (UPI Photo)

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The Miami Herald
Sun., Jan. 2, 1972 19-A

Inaction On Hunger 'Incredible'

Doctor Puts Blame On Congressmen

By CHEREE BRIGGS
Knight Newspapers Staff Writer

CHARLOTTE, N.C. — A leading Charlotte internist — and a nationally recognized authority on hunger — says he finds it incredible that four years after hunger in America became an issue, no final solutions are in sight.

These strong words were written by Dr. Raymond Wheeler, who has testified numerous times before congressional investigating committees and appeared twice on network television. He puts the blame for the hunger that exists in America — but especially the hunger in the 11 southern states — squarely on Congress.

In an article written for The New South, quarterly publication of the Southern Regional Council, of which Dr. Wheeler is president, the doctor calls hunger a comparatively simple problem for this country.

"THE CONGRESS of the United States could solve this problem in 30 days were it not so locked in by the mossback tradition of personal greed and insensitivity to human need. It seems incredible that, after four years, no final solutions are in sight."

Now Dr. Wheeler has assembled a number of statistical studies (some of which

"By not feeding our children adequately, we may be negating our efforts to educate them and we may be creating problems for the future."

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are annual federal reports — others from special reports and experts) and coupled them with his poignant account of the bloated stomachs and the countless diseases that plague the poor.

Their children are born hungry — and often stay that way. And more of their children die than do those born to families of average or higher incomes.

FOR EVERY 1,000 babies born in the United States, 20.7 die before their first birthday. In the south, the picture is far more bleak.

In Mississippi in 1967, 512 white babies (22.6 per thousand) died, as compared to 1,122 black babies (47.4).

Behind the numbers, Dr. Wheeler's report reflects the social impact hunger may have on crime and unemployment rates in this country.

FIRST, he says that the children the team observed were simply not equipped to function in school, learn a trade or act as responsible citizens in "a complex society such as ours."

Wheeler concludes that malnutrition impairs learning and performance, first by inhibiting the growth and development of the central nervous system during gestation and the first few months of life, and second by harming the brain by increasing the likelihood of infection. Both of these are purely physiological.

The third effect of malnutrition may be more devastating than the physical ones.

After citing a noted child psychiatrist's observations on a child, his relationships and hunger, Dr. Wheeler wrote:

"BY NOT FEEDING our children adequately, we may be negating our efforts to educate them and we may be creating problems for the future.

"Many of these children grew up distrusting society and in conflict with it. They may become psychological cripples.

"How we feed our youngsters, then, may have a direct bearing on their capacity for social adjustment, on the potential of our society for crime and social disorder, and on the perpetuation of the effects of malnutrition from one generation to the next."

Dr. Wheeler asked, "Why have we not demonstrated the capacity to respond . . . to eight million children who are spending their formative years in a grinding poverty which destroys for them all hope for a meaningful future?"

Dr. Wheeler began the field trips which resulted in this report in 1967, when he was both a consultant to the Field Foundation and a member of the Citizens Board of Inquiry Into Hunger in the United States.

Lucy

SEP 25 1972

9 - 22 - 72

Urban Affairs

George H. Esser, Jr
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Thank you for forwarding my letter (9-1-72) to ask Ford Foundation funding to Mr. Pendleton.

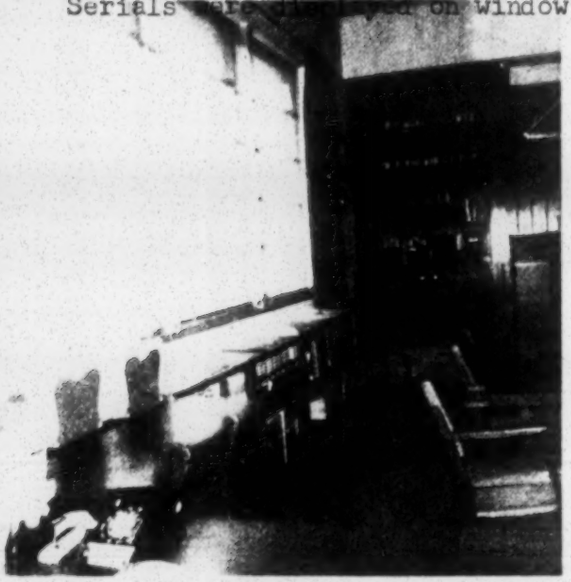
In my file to you, I mentioned my work in the (small) University of Miami urban research unit. I have some "before" and "after" photographs of physical arrangements and improvements I made there, after only three months.

Since Ford originally granted U of Miami's urban center funds, I felt you might be interested in seeing the improvements of the time, however small. At time of improvements, Miami's Metro Commission subcommittee - a 32-member group - to suggest Metro Charter changes was meeting in the room, and several of the members were complimentary of the improvements.

Joan Taylor

Joan Taylor
Park Lane 517
4600 J C Nichols Parkway
Kansas City, Mo 64112

Serials were displayed on window ledge, to invite use -identified later by letters on table in this photo

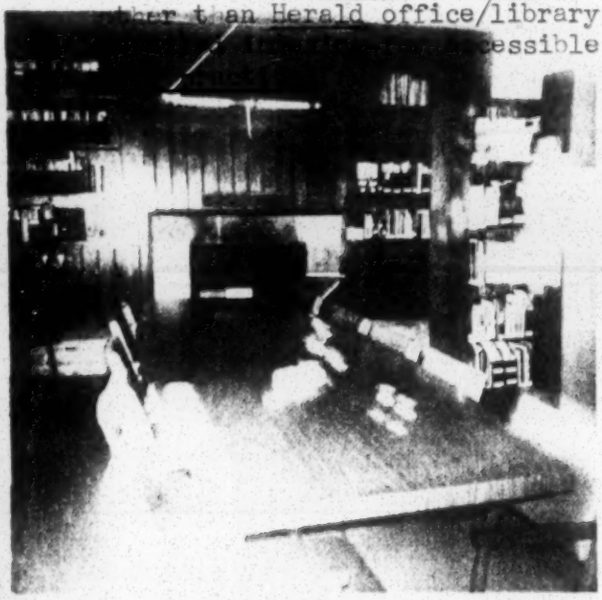


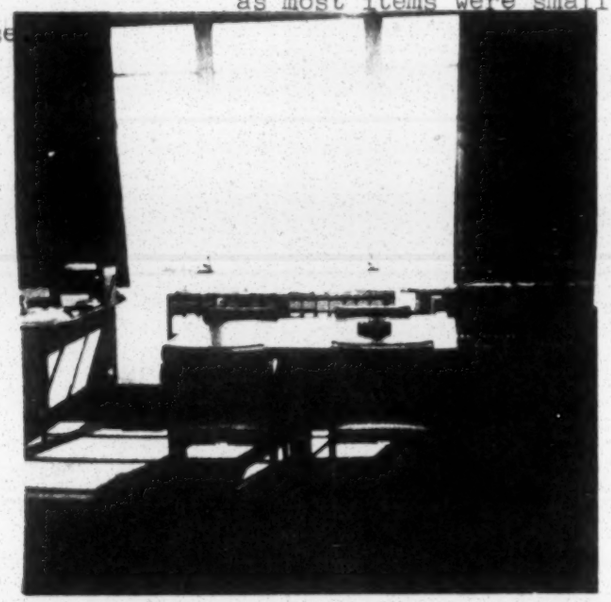
Everglades Collection

An NYC youth with basic carpenter ability made map files in the cabinets flanking the fireplace.

The files (which doubled in next 3 months) originated the first (and only) usable file of Miami Herald and News in Miami, other than Herald office/library. [illegible] accessible use.

Everglades collection items - Dr. Howard Teas' inception - were boxed for uniformity/aesthetics, ease, as most items were small, technical reports.

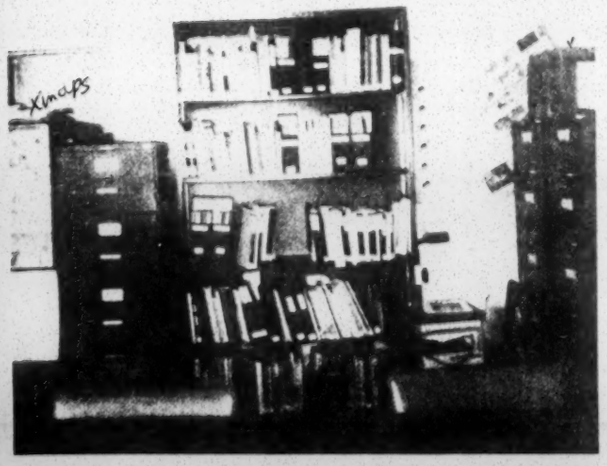




The small book collection was placed in arrangement to facilitate patron use. (Items had been scattered before - and people were bewildered. .) I hunted university "throwaways" to find matching book shelving units. . .

The room gained an air of calmness, proficiency and order by re-arrangement; aesthetics of the room improved for visitors. . .

Before -



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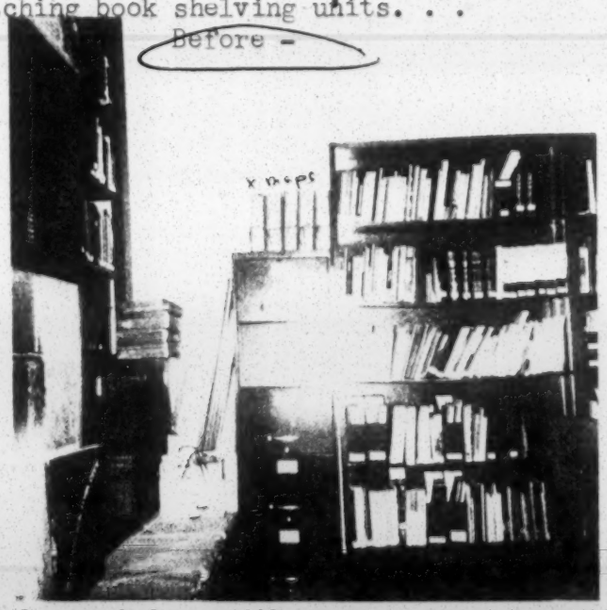

Later I placed all 5 files in one room area - Shelves were braced; alleviated shelf crowding - and turned shelves sideways, so wood grain faced room views. . .

Maps were gathered from 3 areas, filed in map cabinets. labeled . . . c

Color-coded map file cards made

.09s. SRC

ARK. GAZETTE 9/10/73

31

Government and Politics

Clinics in South Doing Good Job, SRC Concludes

By MIKE BARRIER
Of the Gazette Staff

Early last year, the federal Office of Economic Opportunity gave a $1.8 million grant to the Lee County Co-operative Clinic at Marianna. Governor Bumpers subsequently approved the grant, despite howls of protest from conservative politicians and members of the medical establishment.

The Clinic has continued to thrive, despite its detractors, and occupied a new building earlier this year. Although its OEO funding has run out, the Clinic expects to receive an $800,000 grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, starting next month.

The Arkansas controversy over the Clinic was not an isolated phenomenon; there are — or have been — 130 such comprehensive health centers receiving federal funds from OEO and HEW and they have operated in all but six states. Seventeen of those clinics have been established in the 11 Southern states (the one at Marianna is the only one in Arkansas), and some of them have undergone political trials even more severe than those of the Marianna clinic. One clinic in Alabama was put out of business completely.

The comprehensive health centers, in the words of a recent report, have "operated on the theory that, in order to improve the health of poor people, care must encompass a host of vital services, including, in addition to primary medical and clinical care, such services as improvement of environmental conditions, laboratory tests, X rays, dental care, mental health counseling, free medicines and eyeglase, child carre, free transportation to the centers [and] nutritional, social and educational services * * * the patient has access to the whole range of medical and health service specialists available under one roof * * *."

Rebuke Deserved, According to SRC

That description is from a recent report by the Southern Regional Council's Task Force on Health, which was established last year. Assuming that the report's description of comprehensive health care is correct, it is easy to see why many doctors would resent and oppose the comprehensive health centers; their very existence is a rebuke to the medical profession for the job it has been doing. According

hensive health care center opened in Bolivar County in 1966, and four years later. the mortality rate for black babies had fallen to(35.7; the rate for whites had actually risen slightly in the same period, from 13.5 to 13.7.

Discrepancy Marked Throughout South

The descrepancy between black and white infant mortality rates is marked throughout the South, although Mississippi is, predictably, the worst of the lot; in 1971, the infant mortality rate for blacks was exactly twice that of whites. (In Arkansas in 1970, the rate for whites was 18.2, for blacks 32.2; for the state as a whole, the rate was 21.6, nearly two points above the national average.)

The figures for blacks may well be understated; the SRC report quotes one doctor, described as "wise in the ways of the rural South," as saying, "I suspect that the figures we see on infant death, fetal deaths aren't nearly as accurate as one might think. How many babies are born dead, that just aren't reported, that are buried out in the backyard, in the woods, in unmarked graves and forgotten?"

The infant mortality rate is, in any event, only the tip of the iceberg. The SRC report offers convincing evidence that not only are the poor sicker than other people, their illnesses often go undetected and untreated. For example, one worker for a comprehensive health care center, making routine house visits, came across a family in which (1) the pregnant mother had high blood pressure, edefma of the legs and anemia; (2 the father had diabetes, ar-

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Comprehensive care, the report says, "stands in contrast to the fragmented approach most often found in hospital outpatient services or in physician's offices, both of which, sadly, all too often seem less immediately concerned with a patient's physical condition, more concerned with his ability to pay. But, more than that, the comprehensive health centers are consumer-oriented, rather than provider-oriented. Through community advisory boards — intricate parts of a comprehensive health center organization — the community's interests and needs are made known.

"Nationally, moreover, half of the staffs of the various centers are residents of the poverty neighborhoods served by the centers. Community residents are hired and trained wherever possible for health careers in auxiliary roles, freeing physicians, dentists, nurses, medical social workers for immediate professional tasks * * *. In brief the comprehensive centers have evolved as health care instruments that do not rely on the traditional health care establishment."

Concludes Centers Doing Good Job

There would be something to be said for comprehensive health centers even if they only released poor patients from tre indignities of hospital emergency rooms. But the real test of their performance is how well the centers find and treat the sick who might otherwise go without treatment. The SRC's Task Force, after examining centers in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, in both rural and urban settings, concluded that they were doing their job well indeed.

In this connection, the SRC report provides some startling reminders of just how bad medical care really is in many parts of the South, particularly among blacks. In 1966, in Bolivar County. Miss., the total infant mortality rate — the number of deaths within the first year of life, per 1,000 live births — was 48.5. (For the United States as a whole, the rate in 1970 was 19.8) For black babies, the mortality rate in Bolivar County was much worse — 57.2. A comprehensive health care center opened in Bolivar County in 1966, and four years later. the mortality rate for black babies had fallen to(35.7; the rate for whites had actually risen slightly in the same period, from 13.5 to 13.7.

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If matters had taken their usual course — that is, if the health center had not been there to pull the members of the family in — none of the family members would have received medical attention until the emergency stage, and the mother and her unborn child most likely would have died.

Personal Cost Is Enormous

The personal cost of such untreated illnesses is enormous, of course, and so is the social cost. Not only must emergency treatment be provided — perhaps at great expense — for illnesses that could have been treated for much less if caught in time, but lives that could otherwise have been productive and useful are blighted. In the words of the SRC report, "simply by accident of birth," many children born into poor families "will grow into adulthood, following the same patterns as their parents, often ill, their resistance to infection lowered, their ability to perform any task in life lessened."

Despite the obvious benefits of comprehensive health care for the poor, it has had many enemies. Last year, for example, Governor William Waller of Mississippi vetoed the grants for the two such facilities in his state, in what the SRC says "was generally considered a capricious act of harassment." The Nixon administration may yet pull the health centers down as part of its general dismantling of poverty programs, and there is likewise a danger that the centers will be abandoned in a rush toward adoption if some kind if national health insurance plan.

Meanwhile, the SRC report says, "the needs of the people are not being met, but, rather, solutions are being avoided. The comprehensive health centers of the nation are meeting the needs of some if the voor. More centers are needed and the existing ones need to be expanded and strengthened for they are the only alternative to a system of health care that has failed and is failing the poor."

orgs. — SRC

SRC Sponsors Equal Rights Conference

ATL Const 11-15-70

The "needs and tools" to provide equal employment opportunity in the South without regard to race or sex will be discussed at a two-day conference Friday and Saturday, Nov. 16-17 at the Sheraton Emory Motel.

The conference is sponsored by the Southern Regional Council (SRC). Specific attention will focus on the amendments of the Civil Rights Act which relate to equal employment opportunity in the public and private sectors.

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ONYX - SRC

NEW SURVEY SHOWS

Southern Poverty Is Linked To Inadequate Medical Care

BY RANDALL H. HARBER
United Press International

Southerners, particularly the poor in rural areas, "continue to suffer and die from the lack of adequate health care in far greater numbers than other Americans," according to a study by the Southern Regional Council.

In a survey of 11 Southern states, the council found that the death rate in the general population and particularly among infants of both races was higher than the national average.

There were 47 counties which did not have a practicing physician. In other areas the physicians were poorly distributed and the number of physicians fell below the national average. The study showed that 206 counties in the South have no hospitals.

MEDICAID SHORTCOMING

Medicaid, designed to provide medical services to the poor, is geared to public assistance eligibility, said the study, "with the result being that in no Southern state are more than a third of the families below poverty levels eligible for Medicaid."

The council, an Atlanta-based non-profit organization set up to monitor the progress of race relations in the South, concluded that the poor standard of health care in the South is due mainly to poverty.

"We believe that poverty-and all that living without an adequate income implies - to be the single most influential factor affecting health status," said the study.

The study said the states which make up the Old Confederacy have larger percentages of families in poverty, larger percentages of people dwelling in housing without adequate plumbing and larger percentages of non - whites than any other section of the country.

The states covered by the study included Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

For the United States the physician - patient ratio is 128 patient-care physicians per 100,000 population. In the South, the rate is 101 patient-care physicians per 100,000 people.

On a national scale the Southern states rank as follows in the number of doctors to the state population: Alabama 48th, Arkansas 47th, Florida 18th, Georgia 36th, Louisiana 27th, Mississippi 50th North Carolina 38th, South Carolina 46th, Tennessee 29th, Texas 23th and Virginia 25th.

Here is a list of findings taken from the council's study of health care:

ALABAMA

The council found that 42 per cent of Alabama's 3.4 million people live in rural areas and that 25 per cent of the people are in poverty. The state has 2,747 active physicians, 70 of them black. Those doctors represent a ratio of one doctor for every 1,860 people. There are 126 short-term general hospitals in the state but five counties have no hospitals.

FLORIDA

Only 20 percent of Florida's 6.7 million people live in rural areas and 16 per cent live in poverty. There are 8,457 practicing doctors in Florida, with 99 of them black. There is one doctor for every 1,272 residents. Florida has 188 short-term general hospitals but nine counties have no hospitals.

GEORGIA

Of Georgia's 4.5 million people 40 per cent live in rural areas and 20 per cent live in poverty. There are 4,425 practicing doctors in the state, 117 of them black. There is one doctor for every 1,609 people. Georgia has 164 short-term general hospitals but 44 counties do not have any hospital facilities.

MISSISSIPPI

Of Mississippi's 2.2 million people, 56 per cent live in rural areas and 35 per cent are in poverty. There are 1,652 practicing doctors in the state, 46 of them black. There are 1,860 people for every doctor. Mississippi has 116 short-term general hospitals but 10 counties have no hospitals.

NORTH CAROLINA

Of North Carolina's five million people 55 per cent live in rural areas and 20 per cent are in poverty. There are 4,762 practicing doctors in North Carolina, 141 of them black. Each doctor represents 1,566 people. The state has 144 short-term general hospitals but 16 counties have no hospital facilities.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Of South Carolina's 2.5 million people, 52 per cent live in rural areas and 24 per cent live in poverty. The state has 2,160 practicing physicians, 53 of them black. Each doctor represents 1,829 people. The state has 70 short-term general care hospitals but 6 counties have no hospitals.

TENNESSEE

In Tennessee, 41 per cent of the 3.9 million population lives in rural areas with 22 per cent in poverty. There are 4,125 practicing physicians in the state, 204 of them black. Each doctor represents 1,507 people. The state has 141 short-term general hospitals but 15 counties have no hospital facilities.

FINDS DIAMOND

MURFREESBORO, ARK. -- Richard Calico found a 2.35-carat diamond at the Crater of Diamonds State Park here, a spokesman for the Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism said. The diamond was worth between $3,000 and $5,000.

Public Groups Assail Revenue Sharing

By ERNEST HOLSENDOLPH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 6—A coalition of national public interest organizations criticized the general revenue-sharing program this week on the grounds that it did not serve the interests of the poor. The coalition called for abolition of the program unless changes were made in it.

A subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee plans to draw up a bill next week to extend the $30.2-billion program beyond its scheduled expiration of Dec. 31, 1976.

The coalition, including the League of Women Voters Education Fund, National Urban Coalition, Center for Community Changes and Center for National Policy Review, concluded this week a two-and-a-half-year study of the program, which channels Federal tax-revenue back to states and localities.

The group said in a report: "The program has been used over the past five years to cover a [Federal] retreat from the assumption of national responsibility to deal with problems of poverty, racism, unemployment and urban decay."

According to the report, the program, which is dear to state, county and city officials who are lobbying intensely now for a five-year extension, fails on a number of counts. The report cited the following:

¶It is unfair to poor urban dwellers because it does not take into account the higher costs of services in poor urban areas.

¶It fails women and blacks and hispanic-Americans because it does not compel local government agencies to hire and promote them on the same basis as white males.

¶It's "no-strings" feature makes it unaccountable to the Federal authorities or to citizens who do not know where the money is spent.

Also, the report says, general revenue sharing is not geared to requiring localities to give services equitably to deprived neighborhoods and to people who have special needs.

The Southern Regional Council, in its own analysis of revenue sharing, contends that the program's shortcomings fall even harder on the South, "where roughly one-half of the nation's black and a large proportion of the nation's poor people reside."

Tax Relief Given

"The Federal revenue sharing program is doing virtually nothing to correct the economic dispaities between rich and poor Southerners," said the report by the regional council, which is based in Atlanta.

Further, the report said that the program, functioning mostly as a check-writing operation between Washington and the localities, may even be reducing the over-all accountability of local governments to all citizens.

Revenue sharing is used by many communities as a means of reducing local taxes or avoiding tax increases, the study said. "It has, in effect, enabled local governments to operate without the discussions and pressures that ordinarily accompany tax increases," it continued.

Underlining the alleged failure of the general revenue sharing program to protect civil rights, the reports tell of instances where the Office of Revenue Sharing has declined to cut off funds even where discrimination had been shown.

The Southern Regional Council report cited one instance where an auditor from the revenue sharing office visited Spartanburg, S.C., and later said: "We could make a case on discrimination against women and blacks and other minorities in every department but one."

But the Federal agency did not use its authority to require compliance with its civil rights statutes, the report said, even though a local chapter of the National Organization for Women filed a complaint.

In a study of alleged discrimination in the use of revenue sharing funds in Rankin County, Miss., the regional council concluded: "Many blacks [there] remain convinced that their [local] government discriminates against them. Many now also believe that the Federal Government is unwilling to stop such practices."

Given the problems of the expensive general revenue sharing program, said the report by the coalition of groups, Congress may better spend its time working on alternatives, "such as national health insurance, welfare reform—including Federal assumption of all welfare costs—or a greater Federal role in the financing of public education."

March 13, 1976
Raleigh, N.C.

The News and Observer

I advise and enjoin those who direct the paper in the tomorrows never to advocate any cause for personal profit or preferment. I would wish it always to be "the tocsin" and devote itself to the policies of equality and justice to the underprivileged. If the paper should at any time be the voice of self-interest or become the spokesman of privilege or selfishness it would be untrue to its history.

JOSEPHUS DANIELS — Editor and Publisher 1894-1948

Revenue Sharing Record Flawed

Federal revenue sharing, now in its fourth year, has been flawed from the start because it encourages local governments to take a free ride on Washington. Federal tax collectors do the job of local officials in raising revenue for local budgets. Rep. Jack Brooks, D-Tex., calls it "spending without responsibility" though his was a minority view of Rep. L. H. Fountain's House subcommittee. The panel voted 7-6 Thursday to extend revenue sharing into 1980.

A review of the program by the Southern Regional Council has turned up another fault: that of racial and sexual discrimination in spending General Revenue Sharing (GRS) money.

One of the program's attributes has been its freedom from the usual red tape that hampers other federal programs. This loose oversight, however, leaves local officials with great discretion. That is how the program was designed, and it is not necessarily bad. But if local customs have meant discriminatory hiring, as is the case in the South, those practices have not been changed by revenue sharing.

The council's survey took place in 1974 and 1975 and included more than three dozen cities, Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Warrenton, Asheville and New Bern among them. The report, although not a professional investigation, does make some telling points about GRS concern for fair hiring.

The survey provides a breakdown on employes by race and sex in a number of Southern cities that receive GRS money. Black employes in Spartanburg, S.C., for instance, account for only 5 per cent of the city work force though the town is one-third black in population. Birmingham, Ala., uses blacks for 7 per cent of city jobs in a population 40 per cent black. The imbalance was found in many other states' cities, says the report.

The other half of the jobs story is that those women and blacks employed in GRS cities usually have menial jobs. Little if any effort has been made to use GRS to correct this picture. Local governments seemed unusually oblivious of GRS requirements for fair hiring.

Washington does little to help, either. The treasury check arrives with little accountability expected in return. Generally, it goes into police or fire protection—two areas, according to the report, that have poor records for fair employment. As of October 1975, federal overseers' on their own initiative, had not stopped a single GRS check to city or county governments, not even when local officials had been found to be unfair in hiring or spending.

Despite these criticisms, revenue sharing stands a good chance of renewal this year. It remains very popular with local officials who fear GRS losses would mean raising local taxes. They have lobbied Congress and the White House effectively. So, it is unreal to think the program will be ended. It can be improved, however, and that should be the aim of lawmakers interested in a fair GRS program.

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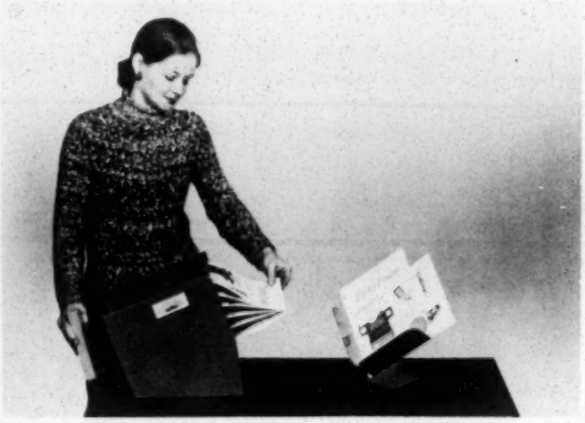

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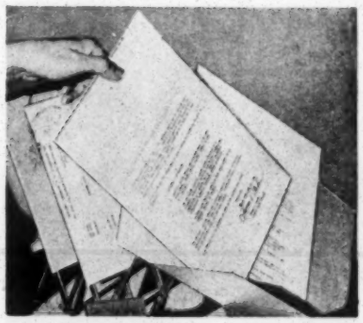

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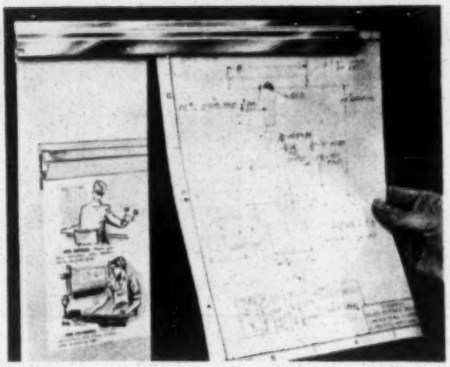

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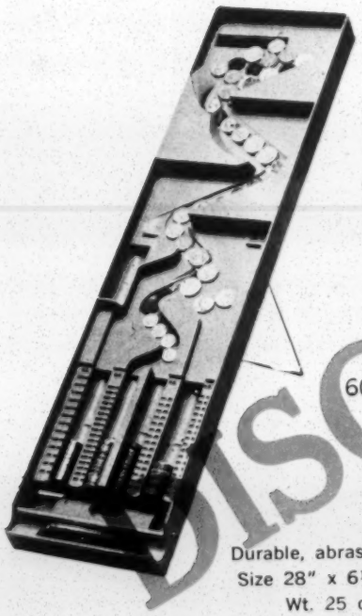

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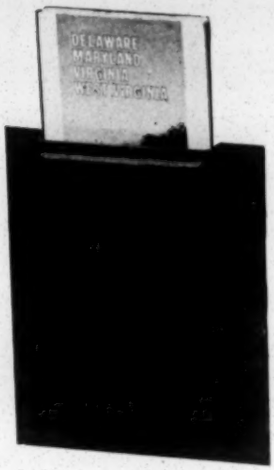

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Southern Regional Council

Identity Crisis for a 27-Year-Old

By Hal Gulliver

SOMEWHERE in the mid-Sixties, Lester Maddox, then *sans* political office, loosed one of his many arrows at charitable foundations, complaining they were underwriting the integration movement through the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council. SRC, as Maddox portrayed it, was a sort of civil rights holding company from whose Hydra head sprang a panoply of demons. Using the foundation money, SRC had turned Atlanta "into a headquarters" of integration, he suggested.

Except for the unsympathetic attitude, SRC's board of directors might not object to Maddox's job description. The organization does receive and dispense foundation money for civil rights causes, information and research, for human relations organizations and voter registration.

Maddox, while governor of Georgia, may have wanted to close the SRC down if there had been an easy way. There wasn't. The SRC survived the turbulent racial conflicts of the 1950s and 1960s with, figuratively, head unbowed.

SRC Executive Director George S. Mitchell, who served from 1947 to 1957, once had to borrow money on his life insurance to keep the organization going. At its peak in the late 1960s, the annual budget was $1.3 million. SRC had become the darling of the major national foundations, the recipient of assorted grants and moneys, and the unofficial adviser to several government agencies.

But in the last two years, SRC has come under serious fire both from within and without.

Its staff members spent much of 1970 and 1971 in uncertainty about the future of the organization, its role, its purpose. One theory holds that it has been a victim of its own success, that SRC literally has worked itself out of a job.

Many of the tensions and pressures came to a head two months ago with the resignation of Paul Anthony, fifth executive director in the Council's 27-year history. SRC had no one ready to take his place.

In the early and mid-1960s Atlanta, already regional center for so many things, did as Maddox suggested, became "headquarters" of the civil rights movement. The most visible and respected black civil rights leader in America, the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., lived in Atlanta and it is the base of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Atlanta also became home base for SNCC—the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee—when it was student-staffed, nonviolent and coordinated; and headed by activists such as state Rep. Julian Bond and John Lewis.

Indeed, nearly every civil rights group had some base or contact in Atlanta. The city was also the regional operation base for the national news media. *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Newsweek*, *Time* and later *The Washington Post* and *U.S. News & World Report* had bureaus downtown. (They still do.) Other newsmen made Atlanta a regular stop on pulse-feeling tours of the South. Regulars and visitors alike relied heavily on the SRS for basic research and civil rights contacts. It seemed almost as if the SRC had been preparing for two decades for the 1960s, and when its time had come, it had more money and staff than ever.

Some insiders at SRC trace its present crisis to a confrontation two years ago when its staff split, incredible as it seems, on a purely racial basis, black versus white. Executive Director Anthony was on a long-planned tour of Europe. Black staff members at SRC organized a Black Caucus which later became the Black Committee. Their stated reason for protest was a shortage of blacks in decision-making roles. It was a serious protest, and seemed to threaten the very existence of SRC. Anthony was in Moscow when he received the urgent message to hurry home. He returned immediately.

"It's incredible," said one SRC staff member later. "Here's Paul, who spent 15 years of his life working in the forefront of the most liberal and decent causes for racial justice, and all of a sudden he has to cut short a trip to Europe to try to convince his black staff members that he's not a bigot."

One black participant in that confrontation was puzzled in retrospect by its origins: "You know, there were two or three people who felt they'd been passed over. It was more of an employment problem than a racial problem." Anthony obviously couldn't agree with the Black Committee that he was a bigot. Or that the committee should have the final veto power on any staff shift involving a black person. But he tried to work it out, making some shifts in personnel. The Black Committee after a time seemed to fade, though many of the same black staff members remained. One element in the racism charge was the fact that the Council's executive director always has been white. Yet a position of roughly equal influence, director of the Voter Education Project, originally an SRC arm, has been held only by blacks: first, Vernon Jordan, who will become executive director of the National Urban League in January; now John Lewis, one-time head of SNCC.

The black-white confrontation was not SRC's only problem in 1969. In considering tax reform legislation, the United States Congress seemed for a time on the verge of including a limitation on foundation grants that would have killed the Voter Education Project. Some congressmen clearly wanted to undercut black voter registration, which had more than doubled in the South in the 1960s, largely because of VEP-backed drives. By the end of the decade, there were more than 3,248,000 black registered voters in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy. SRC and its supporters won an amendment to save VEP, but there remained a problem: The new law, as amended, provided that VEP could receive no more than 25 per cent of its funds from any single source. The same rule would have applied to the rest of SRC if it had remained wedded to the voter project. Since the Ford Foundation had become the dominant source of SRC's budget, the Council and the voter project were legally divorced.

Although the separation was amicable, it did underscore questions of SRC's future. Voter registration had

Out of necessity, there came a divorce in the SRC family

become one of the Council's principal functions. Abruptly those activities were being guided by a separate organization with its own staff, board, and budget. (SRC's 1970 budget of $1.3 million included $500,000 for VEP and $800,000 for the rest of SRC's activities. In 1971, SRC's budget is down to $700,000 VEP's is up to nearly $600,000.)

The new tax law made foundations nervous. They wanted to be sure that SRC projects fell within the scope of the law. As Anthony observed in his annual report on 1970 activities, "We found ourselves in the position of having to spend considerable time in 'fund raising' for funds already committed."

Foundations making substantial grants also began looking more critically at SRC's purposes. The Council always been strong on research and publication, most of it related to civil rights and race. Should SRC focus on something besides civil rights now that major civil rights legislation had been passed? Since school desegregation in the South had become pretty much the rule, rather than the exception? When an increasing number of elected black officials in the South were speaking for black citizens? SRC found itself, some thought, in the position of an aging white liberal, one who had lived long enough to see many of his causes accepted.

At the SRC annual meeting last November, the Council's board decided that SRC "should do a thorough review and assessment of itself, its program, its struc-

Two key results are expected: New projects, new leadership

ture, its purposes, and its effectiveness." A special review committee was appointed, and began meeting last January. The next month, executive director Anthony told several friends that he planned to resign.

In April, about 60 members of SRC's board held a crash meeting to consider the Council's future. The review committee and SRC staff had prepared plans for three different approaches, called Plans A, B, and C.

Plan A amounted to an affirmation of existing SRC programs with recommendations for improving them and some hint of a leaning toward more Nader-type investigative studies. The second option, Plan B, amounted to a serious re-gearing of the SRC toward "program" lines. For instance, instead of preparing an in-depth critical report on federal public housing policies, the SRC would undertake actual housing projects, go out and build model housing projects. The third option was similar but with suggestions of even more of an activist element. "It meant just getting out and raising hell," said one participant at the meeting.

The SRC's board considered these alternatives and then voted overwhelmingly to approve Plan A—a decision which did not please all Council critics.

The Ford Foundation by this time had become a major factor in SRC policies because it was contributing half or more of the Council's annual budget. Although they have recommended no new guidelines, the Foundation's consultants apparently believe the Council is not as relevant as it should be, and that new projects and new leadership are needed.

Also uncertain is the future of two of the most consistently visible evidences of the Council's work, the quarterly *New South* Magazine, and the monthly tabloid, *South Today*, a review of significant reprints and original articles. Reese Cleghorn, a highly talented journalist who had resigned as associate editor of *The Atlanta Journal* in 1969 to create and edit *South Today* for SRC, left last July to become editorial page editor of *The Charlotte Observer*. Outsiders speculated that Cleghorn may have seen the handwriting on the wall about foundation funds, but insiders insist that his departure was unrelated to the future of *South Today*. Staffer Robert Anderson has taken over the tabloid; *New South* continues to be edited by another former

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Journal staffer, Pat Watters, long a respected observer of the Southern racial scene.

The story on Anthony broke mid-July in four paragraphs in *The New York Times*. Anthony would resign within two weeks, the story said, "on top of reports in Atlanta that the integrated civil rights organization, a citadel of liberalism in the South, was on the verge of collapse." Anthony was quoted in the story as saying that his resignation "is no way related to some very serious problems of realignment we've faced and solved." Privately, he was hurt and angry at the *Times* story.

"They gutted me," he said to a friend on the day the story ran. Anthony was bitter because he said the *Times* reporter had led him to think the newspaper planned a comprehensive story about SRC, including the fact that Anthony would soon announce his resignation (though he will stay on until a successor is named).

Anthony's own staff of 30 had not been told, though some were fully aware of internal "realignment" debates. When the story broke, Anthony called members of the SRC staff together for a somber session in the maze of offices on the sixth floor of 5 Forsyth Street in downtown Atlanta. It was a tough, sad session. After it was over, Anthony retreated into his private office. His longtime secretary, Mrs. Jerusha Brothers, followed him. There is a small brown liquor cabinet in the SRC director's office. Use is reserved for very special occasions: sometimes, at the end of the day when an out-of-the-city visitor is there, or occasionally when a staff member is leaving, but never in the middle of the morning. "May I have a drink?" Mrs. Brothers asked. Anthony was surprised. The request was out of character for his secretary, an efficient, calm woman who is the mother of five children.

"May I fix *you* a drink?" persisted Mrs. Brothers, and that seemed to Anthony a good idea. He was not used to sipping a glass of gin and grapefruit juice in the middle of the morning. On the other hand, it is not every day a man ends a longtime service. And, after 15 years with SRC, Anthony was exhausted, drained.

Since its founding in 1944 SRC had become a highly respected organization—not in an immediately visible activist sense, not the marching in the streets or pursuit of dramatic confrontation which the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. chose as an instrument for creative social change, but in subtle, often highly effective ways. As SRC's executive director, Anthony had frequent contact with an array of influential people. Finding a job was not a problem. There would be other opportunities, other challenges. "Somebody said he'd heard I was going to go manage my antique shop," Anthony said wryly on the day the *Times* story ran. "I am one of the partners in a shop." He smiled ruefully: "It lost $5,000 last year. "Right now, I'm just tired. I've got to get away a bit, get some rest, maybe try to write a bit. I think being director of SRC is about a three-to-five year job. It takes a man and burns him out. Five years ought to be the limit. I've been here six years. Maybe that's a year too long," said Anthony, 43.

President John Kennedy once declared that the SRC was "serving not only the South but the whole country" in "working to make equal opportunity a reality in all parts of our national life." Emphasis might well be placed on the word South, because the SRC's strength has always been its Southern roots. The Council was formed and led by Southerners, white and black, who believed that injustice was wrong.

A second facet of its personality has always been its commitment to the democratic process, to making the system work. The people who organized SRC in 1944 were responsible, often distinguished, people. Perhaps many were regarded as wildly liberal by their friends. But, white and black, they tended to be professional men and women, ministers and teachers and, even an occasional journalist, like the late Ralph McGill.

"It's absolutely phenomenal how patient and understanding the black leadership was," said Anthony, reflecting on SRC's early days. "The demands of the blacks were always

/continued on page 96

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CRISIS *from page 74*

so damned moderate. They just wanted *in*, into the institutions. Those of us who were white, who were looked on as dangerous radicals and Communists, also believed in the institutions. We all had a basic belief that our institutions would work."

The Council inherited the mantle of a group called the Commission of Interracial Cooperation, formed after World War I. The Commission also received substantial foundation funds, but never succeeded in building up local human relations affiliates. It did spawn the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which once had 40,000 members.

During World War II, many Southerners were aware that a terrible war was being fought on behalf of American ideals, ideals not always practiced at home. A group of black leaders from across the South met in Durham, N.C., in October, 1942, to discuss race relations. The conference produced what was called the Durham Statement. "The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations..." the statement began. At the time, it was considered a radical document. Today, it reads as a most moderate and reasonable statement, expressing opposition to the white primary and lynching, urging that Negroes be included on juries and on school boards, and be given equal educational and job training opportunities. "It is a wicked notion," concluded the Durham Statement, "that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation."

Familiar names among the black leaders attending the Durham conference include Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, longtime president of Morehouse College and now chairman of the Atlanta Board of Education; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, father of Rep. Julian Bond; Dr. Rufus E. Clement who, years after the Durham conference, became the first black member of the Atlanta school board; and C. A. Scott, publisher of the *Atlanta Daily World*.

Liberal white Southerners saw the Durham Statement as a significant and important document, deserving a response. Methodist Bishop Arthur J. Moore assembled a small group of Atlanta men to plan for a conference of white Southerners. As a result, 115 white Southerners from 10 states attended a meeting in Atlanta on April 8, 1943. McGill served as chairman. They adopted a draft response —"the Atlanta Statement"—to the Durham document. Most of these attending the conference signed it, and wire and mail brought the total number of signers to 292.

There are some interesting names there: McGill, of course, and Wright Bryan, then editor of *The Atlanta Journal;* editor Virginius Dabney of Richmond, Va., who would help organize the SRC; W. E. Brock of Chattanooga; The Rt. Rev. Theodore Bratton of Jackson, Miss.; Rabbi Stanley Brav of Vicksburg, Miss.; newspaper executive Mark Ethridge of Louisville, Ky.; Mrs. Rebecca Gershon and Philip Weltner from Atlanta; the most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara from Savannah.

The white Southerners' statement called the Durham Statement "frank and courageous," and expressed agreement with most of its specifics. Solutions could be found, said the Atlanta Statement, through the cooperation of black and whites of "determined good will." The SRC was planned in meetings over the following months and was chartered Jan. 6, 1944.

Leslie W. Dunbar, now executive director of the Field Foundation in New York, preceded Anthony as executive director of SRC, serving almost five years. Dunbar recently observed: "A lot of people and organizations have been tested this last five or six years as to how well they could do some things. A lot of us have been tested in making a transition from the classic issues of civil rights to the new problems of poverty. Not new problems. They've been with us. But they're now the concern of many people previously involved in civil rights.

"Precisely at the same time that a lot of testing was going on, you have had an increasing interest expressed by younger black leaders around the South, some of them on

SRC's board, asking questions: Where are we going? Why isn't SRC doing more?" Dunbar suggested there had always been something of an "ambiguous black attitude" involving SRC. "First, I think black leaders—and not just in SRC—valued their white liberal contacts. It gave them a chance to influence the white community, a foot in the door. But then, as things have changed, I think there's been understandably an increasing desire to control that foot in the white community."

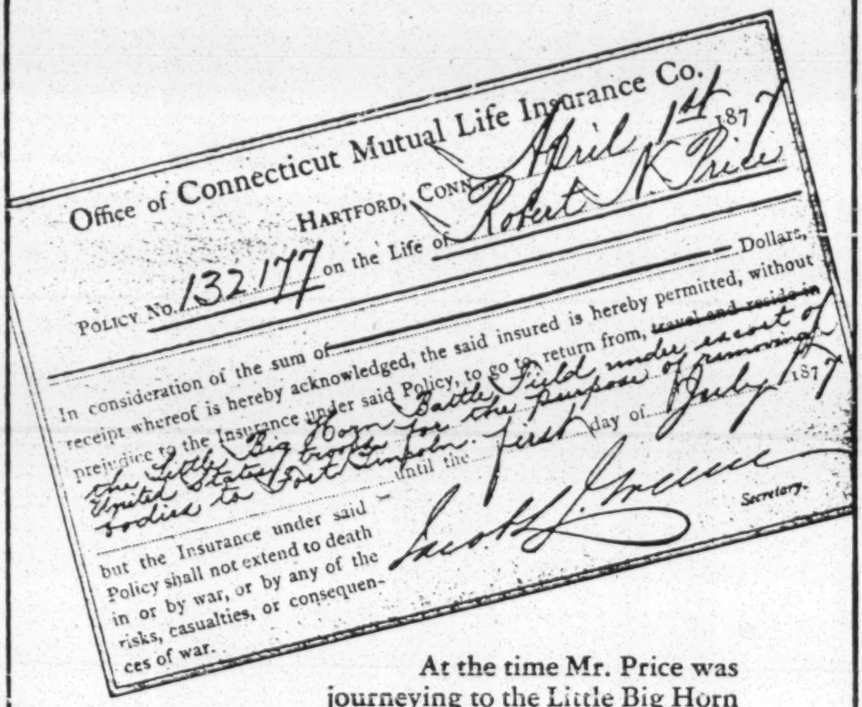
A black former SRC staffer said he agreed with Dunbar's analysis: "We never would have had some of these internal problems a couple of years ago. Now, we've won so many battles, it creates new and different problems."

Will SRC survive? Will it change? The next few months will tell. It is funded through the end of this year. And at the time of this writing it appeared likely the organization will have substantial funding for 1972. But beyond that, the Council's fate is unclear. Ford reportedly is pressuring SRC to move beyond its present expertise, race relations, into new projects like poverty or Naderesque consumer studies. The Council has changed its emphasis before—from rather neutral research to crash studies of crisis situations and active policy recommendations—but never its basic focus on race.

"I believe the civil rights battle *is* over if you're talking about the law," said one SRC board member; "but the basic questions of getting the scales in balance are not over by a hell of a sight." Like many other board members, he is opposed to a basic change of direction for the Council. "I think they're going to make it," Dunbar said. "It's never been an organization that stood outside the South. That's its character and strength. I think there's going to be a need for the SRC in the South as long as there is a struggle for decency and civil rights, and as long as there is a willingness on the part of black and white people to work together."

—Hal Gulliver, Associate Editor/ The Atlanta Constitution

A PAGE FROM THE PAST... 1877...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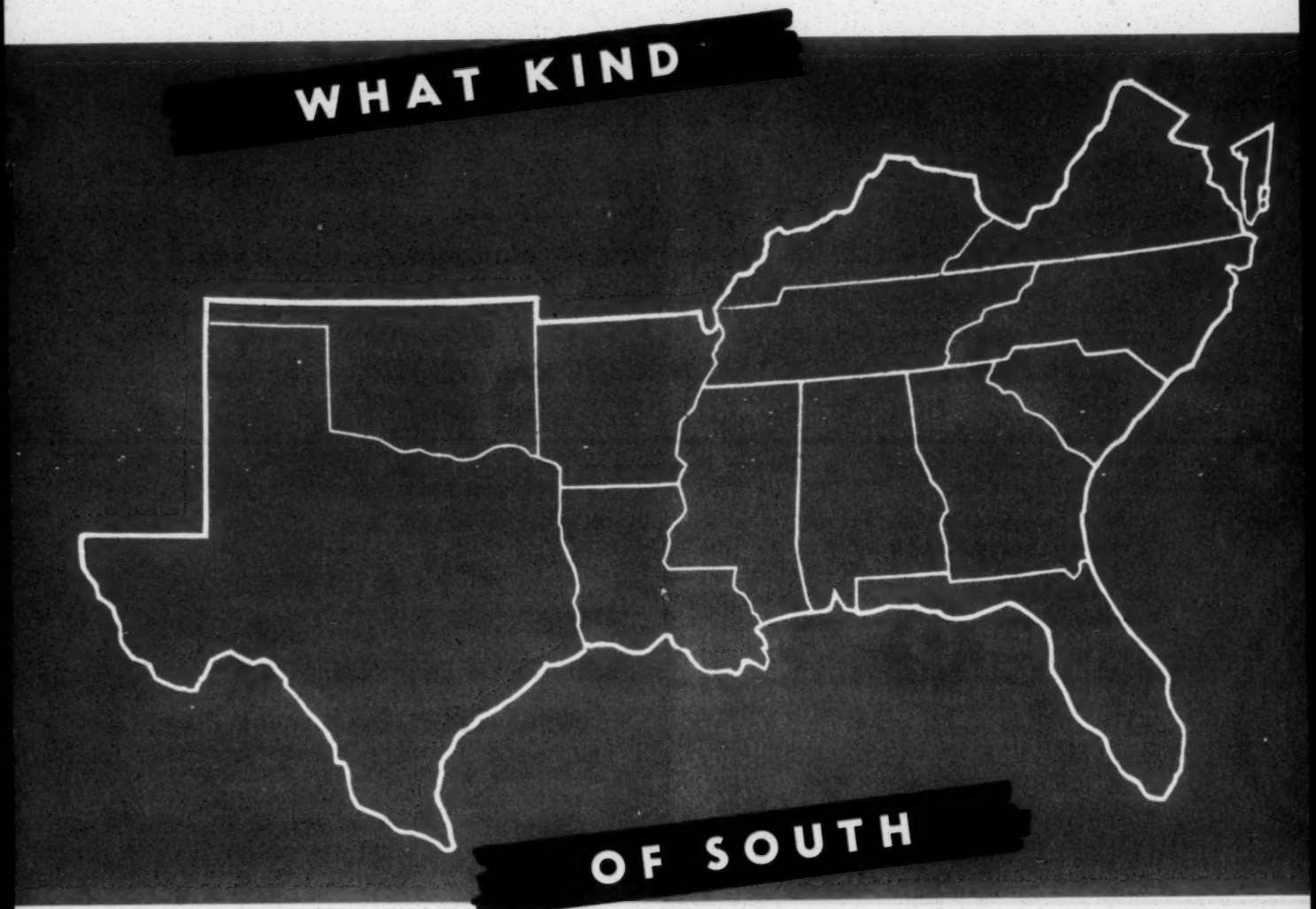

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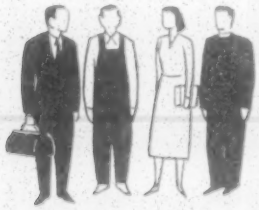
SRC is **not,** however, an "isolationist" movement to separate the South's problems from the Nation's. It welcomes support and understanding from all sincere people, wherever they are. But voting membership is limited to persons living in the South.

SRC members include people from all walks of life — white and Negro, city and country, men and women, church people, businessmen, educators, labor men, and plain everyday citizens.



SRC BELIEVES that the South can be prosperous and healthy, freed of poverty, prejudice, and fear . . .

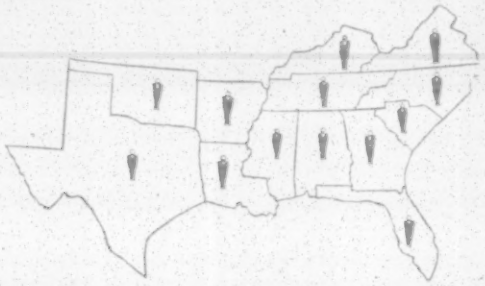
It believes in the ideals of democracy for which this Nation was founded . . .

It believes — in the name of democracy, Christianity, and common decency — that the Negro must have equal opportunity in the schoolroom, on the job, and at the polls . . .

SRC BELIEVES THAT DEMOCRACY IS SAFE ONLY WHEN EVERYBODY CONTRIBUTES TO IT AND EVERYBODY SHARES IN IT.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS *THROUGH* - - -

★ **Its local groups.** SRC has State Divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern States, and smaller groups in communities over the South . . .



★ **Its Regional Office.** SRC's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, guides the work of the local groups, advises private and official agencies, issues timely statements and publications . . .

★ **A monthly bulletin.** NEW SOUTH keeps members and friends of SRC informed about Southern problems and progress . . .

★ **Special pamphlets.** These give the facts, based on careful study of the region, in simple, illustrated form . . .

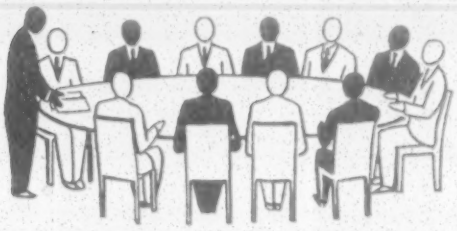
★ **Public opinion.** SRC helps create a better climate of opinion through newspapers, radio, speakers . . .

★ **Cooperating groups.** SRC works with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and other groups to bring about wholesome improvements . . .

★ **Home Town Self-Surveys.** SRC helps local groups organize to collect the facts about their communities—and to **follow through** with corrective action.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS *FOR* - - -

★ **Better understanding between the races.** SRC helps lessen the violence that has plagued the South by providing a meeting ground where people of good will, white and colored, can come together, air their common problems, achieve honest solutions . . . When trouble brews, SRC members know whom to reach and what to do . . .



★ **Equal justice.** SRC watches the courts . . . points out injustices . . . works for fair police practices . . . has successfully urged the hiring of Negro policemen in towns and cities throughout the South . . .

★ **Equal public services.** SRC works to get a square break for ALL our people in —

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★ **Full citizenship** for everyone in

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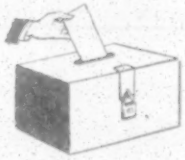

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★ **State government for ALL the people.** SRC works for the day when our States will serve all citizens equally.

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - - -

Supplied the basic facts in successful campaigns to secure Negro policemen in Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville, Conway (S.C.), and other cities.

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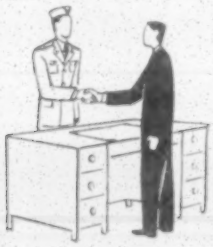

Sponsored the 1948 Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights at which four hundred community leaders, representing both races and every Southern State, devised ways to strengthen basic rights at the local level.

★

At strategic times during the past year, vigorously urged upon each Southern governor a positive program to assure the civil rights of the Southern people.

★

Persistently advocated the same course for newspapers, church bodies, and other influential groups in the region.

★

Got the facts into newspapers over the South about health, housing, education, voting, law-enforcement.

THROUGH STATE DIVISIONS AND AFFILIATES - - -

Aroused public opinion against the Ku Klux Klan and played an active part in getting local ordinances passed curbing the activities of such terroristic groups.

★

Persuaded numerous white churches throughout Georgia to be hosts to interracial meetings.

★

Served as technical consultant to the steering committee of the Jacksonville, Fla., Self-Survey, which has brought about more than seventy concrete improvements in the Negro community.

★

Played a leading part in bringing about the establishment of the State Training School for Negro Girls in Texas.

★

Was largely responsible for the creation of Negro community centers in Macon, Savannah, and other Georgia cities . . . Helped secure a modern, well-equipped Negro Boys' Club for Atlanta.

★

Aided the Florida Citizens Committee on Education in drawing up recommendations to the General Assembly which would provide equal education for ALL children.

★

Took the lead in getting Kentucky's Day Law amended to permit Negroes to receive medical and nursing education in institutions formerly open to white students only.

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1 **Join SRC and work actively with other members in your community**

2 **Contribute to SRC's operating funds**

3 **Get your friends to work with you and SRC**

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TOGETHER WE CAN BUILD A MORE PROSPEROUS, DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

★

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— Birmingham News and Age-Herald

"The sort of organization which makes . . . progress possible, and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."
— Richmond Times-Dispatch

"The most widely respected interracial group in the South."
— Asheville Times

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."
— New York Times

"A voice from the informed and moderate South."
— Christian Science Monitor

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."
— Chattanooga Times

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."
— The Christian Century

"One of the best sources for materials on the South today is the publications of the Southern Regional Council. . . . Its inexpensive publications provide information on every aspect of life in Southern United States."
— Current Events

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"THE QUEST FOR UNDERSTANDING"

AN EDUCATIONAL PROJECT
for
TEACHERS COLLEGES
and
SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS
703 Standard Building
ATLANTA, GA.

"THE QUEST FOR UNDERSTANDING"

An Educational Project for Teachers Colleges and Schools of Education

Composed of 100 representative Southern educators, the Conference on Education and Race Relations* for three years has been considering the need of an educational approach to the South's peculiar problems of race relations.

Since preparation for intelligent citizenship is an essential function of education, and since the most serious problems of citizenship in the South are connected with the bi-racial situation, the Conference is convinced that our schools can render the South a vastly important service by preparing future citizens to understand these problems and to solve them in wisdom and justice.

With that conviction, the Conference is seeking to enlist all our teachers colleges and schools of education in a definite effort to prepare their teachers-in-training for intelligent, constructive leadership in this field.

Pending the development of more adequate plans and materials, the Conference is recommending again this winter the use of the 24-page "Quest for Understanding," as a basis for study and discussion and for such additional projects as may seem practicable. This simple text, setting forth the viewpoint of the Conference and embodying practical suggestions as to content material and methods, has already been used to the number of 13,000 copies in a hundred Southern colleges, and has been approved thoroughly by the results. One teachers college utilized it throughout the entire student body of 800 and many others have made it the basis of notable work. Not a single unfavorable reaction has been reported.

By way of stimulating interest in the plan, two awards are offered, one for the college doing the best work and one for the best paper submitted by an individual student. Detailed information and suggestions relative to the plan will be found on the next page.

The Conference hopes that every college president, professor, and student to whom this announcement comes will give the plan careful consideration and, if possible, cooperate in its wide and effective observance.

**For personnel of leaders of this Conference, see page 4.*

In connection with the study of "The Quest for Understanding" in teachers colleges and schools of education, the Conference on Education and Race Relations is offering the following awards for the school year 1933-34:

1. One Hundred Dollars worth of selected books on Southern Social Problems to the college making the best total use of the project, as evidenced by number of students taking part, number and quality of papers written, and by additional activities. The later may include supplementary class work in history, literature, sociology, and civics; public programs; demonstration school projects; investigation of state and local conditions affecting Negroes, particularly in education; and study of text book content relative to Negroes and racial problems.

Professors desiring to enter their schools for this award should report in detail how the project was carried out, the number of classes and students participating, and other facts of interest, and should forward a representative selection of student papers written in connection with the project.

2. An award of $50 to the student submitting the best paper on "The Quest for Understanding," based upon the text of that name, upon other sources, or upon original thought and experience. Students may treat the subject in any way they choose, but it is suggested that among others the following questions may well be considered:

"Is there need of an educational approach to the race question? Have public school teachers and curricula any responsibility in this connection: If so, by what means may it best be met?"

Length of paper should not exceed 2,500 words and each should carry on separate sheet the author's name, college, and home address. Each school participating may enter as many as five papers in competition for this award. These should be carefully selected and marked accordingly. In addition any individual student in a school not participating in the project may enter his own paper.

All papers and reports must be mailed not later than April 1, 1934. None bearing later post mark can be considered. Awards will be announced and forwarded as soon thereafter as possible.

Professors desiring to introduce the study should write at once for "The Quest" in numbers sufficient for the students to be enlisted. As many as 100 copies will be sent to any school without charge, should so many be needed. Additional copies may be had at the rate of $2 per hundred.

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America's Tenth Man

SUBMITTED BY THE STUDENTS OF THE

Richard J. Reynolds High School

MY IMPRESSIONS OF

THE SONGS OF

BLACK BARDS

February 13, 1931 Isabella Hanson

American Problems

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Isabella Hanson

February 13, 1930

O black and unknown bards of long ago,
How came your lips to touch the sacred fire?
How, in your darkness, did you come to know
The power and beauty of the Minstrel's lyre?
Who first from midst his bonds lifted his eyes?
Who first from out the still watch, lone and long,
Feeling the ancient faith of prophets rise
Within his dark-kept soul, burst into song?

What merely living clod, what captive thing,
Could up toward God through all its darkness grope,
And find within its deadened heart to sing
These songs of sorrow, love and faith, and hope?

* * * * *

James Weldon Johnson

Countee Cullen

Perhaps, the most prolific and spontaneous of our present day negro artists---and I say artists, because the creation of word-music is an art---is Countee Cullen, physically the quite usual type of young African, but mentally, shall we say---infinitely superior to the mass of his race. But perhaps this is true only because he has had opportunities for higher education and is keyed, like a well-made piano, to such a high degree of sensitiveness that his nature responds naturally to influence with bursts of vibrating song.

And truly his verses are song. The very rythme of them beats out a time which quickens the pulse and the imagination. Some songs are gay, lilting; but the majority of them take a deeper pitch and a slower tempo, expressing the inherent shadow mixed with the spontaneity of his race, which make we of the cooler blood, laugh or disdain.

We all feel things, but the majority of us cannot analyze or recounter the true cause of our emotions---this is the mission of the poet. The poet is human in that he hates, loves, fears, pities, with the rest of us, but he is different in that his emotions express themselves principally in song. Which is why poetry is so deservedly popular and will never die. In reading lyric poetry, the average person finds a safe and soothing outlet for his personal reactions, by realizing that others experience the same reactions, and if at all imaginative, he finds enjoyment in the sheer beauty of the lines.

Countee Cullen has succeeded in his chosen art---that of expressing the emotions of not only his personal ego, but the whole heart and soul of his race. There is pathos, protest, heart-ache,

humor, and a philosophy of tolerant resignation and hope which would shame the most enthusiastic christian.

Born in New York City, May, 1900, he grew up as The New Negro---seeking and demanding the right, not only for a fair industrial equality, but the privilege of asserting his own soul. He attained a B. A. at New York University, and at Harvard, an M. A. degree. For a while he served as the associate editor of "Opportunity". He has published, "Color", a book of poetry, from which the following selections are taken on types of his work, "Ballads of the Brown Girl", and "Copper Sun".

"Color", which was published in 1925 by Harper and Brothers, is probably the best of his works. He is essentially the modern poet, in that he adheres to no particular style, but uses free verse, blank verse, and the usual rythmic verse.

I gather from his poetry, that, like many Negro writers, he is sensitive to the current regard of his race. This will illustrate:

Yet Do I Marvel

------Inscrutable His ways are, and immune
To catechism by a mind too strewn
With petty cares to slightly understand
What awful brain compels His awful hand.
Yet do I marvel at this curious thing;
To make a poet black, and bid him sing!

There the poet himself flings satire at the predjudice of a world which lets race-contempt blind them to the essential equality of human hearts.

Or this:

Near White

Ambiguous of race they stand
By one disowned, scorned of another,
Not knowing where to stretch a hand,
And cry, "my sister", or "my brother".

Or This:

Tableau

--------From lowered blinds the dark folk stare,
And here the fair folk talk
Indignant that these two should dare
In unison to walk.

Oblivious to look and word
They pass, and see no wonder
That lightning brilliant as a sword
Should blaze the path of thunder.

Religion stalks many of his poems, with the half-skeptic, yet reverent words of the modern manner: In this is expressed a fatalism which I think parallels the verses of that old Persian poet who called himself the Tent Maker:

-----This is my hour
To wax and climb
Flaunt a red flower
In the Face of Time.

And only an hour
Time gives, then snap
Goes the flower,
And dried is the sap.

** ********** **

Ah, none knows, none,
Save (but too well)
The Cryptic One
Who will not tell.

And here he expresses the independence and again, the skepticism of all Thinkers, no matter of what period:

-----God's alabaster turrets gleam,
Too high for me to win---
Unless He turns His face and lets
Me bring my own gods in.

And in this same vein, five-hundred years before, an oriental sang of his gods of Wine and Pleasure, and requested that when they had buried him under a grape vine, to turn down an empty glass! All humanity, from the pagan to the Christian wants to "bring my own gods in". And the poets who express these longings, seem to speak in the same language whither black or white!

Countee Cullen, human again, is much of the Idealist. He sings:

------ -Let me be lavish of my tears
And dream that false is true;
Tho wisdom cometh with the years
The barren days come, too.

And he is also heir to that spirit of the Dreamer, which can never be downed;:

You cannot keep me captive, World,
Entrammeled, chained, spit on, and spurned.
More free than all your flags unfurled,
I give my body to be burned.
I mount my cross because I will,
I drink the hemlock which you give
For wine which you withhold, and still
Because I will not die, I live.

I live because an ember in

Me smoulders to regain its fire,
Because what is and what has been
Not yet has conquered my desire.
I live to prove the groping clod
Is surely more than simple dust,
I live to see the breathe of God
Beautify the carnal crust.

Some of the publications which have printed his verse are: American Mercury, The Century, The Crisis, The Conning Tower: New York World, Harper's, The Nation, Poetry: A Magazine of Verse, Survey Graphic, Vanity Fair.

Paul Lawrence Dunbar

A bit more remote and nearer to the civil war period was the date of birth of he who has been accredited b thousands of appreciative readers as the first true negro poet, who felt with his race, and adequately expressed their emotions, as well as the common human emotions of all mankind. I cannot admire his achievements in the poetic art enuf. To me, even predjudiced as I naturally am, he ranks with such contemporaries of his as Carl Sandburg, Henley, and Masefield.

His birthplace is Dayton, Ohio, and the date, 1872. His father and mother were both ex-slaves and pure-blooded negroes. He was educated in the public schools, and was universally admired for his fine voice, his poems, and his amiability.

His parents both loved literature, and his mother had a particular fondness for poetry. In the introduction to the poet's Lyrics of Lowly Life, W. D. Howell says: "So far as I could remember, Paul Dunbar was the only man of pure African blood and of American Civilization to feel the ngro life aesthetically and express it lyrically."

James Weldon Johnson says of him: "In his actions he was as impulsive as a child, sometimes even erratic; indeed, his intimate friends almost looked upon him as a spoiled ~~child~~ boy. He was always delicate in health."

Undoubtedly, Dunbar was of a melancholy dispositi n, probably because of his hard struggle thru a youth and young manhood stalked b poverty, privation, and ill-health. At least one-third of his poems ex ress depression, pleas for a happier life, and amorbid regard of the future. Frankly, I do not like his negro dialect poetry. It is hard to read, exaggerated, and one senses a subtle mockery and a tinge of bitter satire running thru even the most humorous bit of character sketches. I find in him a startling

parallel to Poe.

His philosophy is similar to most poets. He says:

Life

A crust of bread and a corner to sleep in,
A minute to smile and an hour to weep in,
A pint of joy to a peck of trouble,
And never a laugh but the moan comes double;
And that is life!

I admire his originality, as well as his refusal to be led:

Religion

I am no priest of crooks or creeds,
For human wants and human needs
Are more to me than proph t's deeds;
And human tears and human cares
Affect me more than hum n prayers.

Oh, cease your wail, lugubrious saint!
You fret high heaven with your plaint.
Is this the Christian's "joy" you paint?
Is thisthe Christian's boasted bliss?
Avails your faith no more than this?

Take up your arms, come out with me,
Let Heav'n alone; humanity
Needs more and Heaven less from thee.
With pity for mankind look 'round;
Help them to rise---and H eaven is found.

And the inevitable of all feeling humanity, to stop the steps of Time, and chain the Dreams that disappear e'er they are born:

Ships That Pass In The Night

------My tearful eyes my soul's deep hurt are glassing;
For I would hail and check that ship of ships.
I stretch my hands imploring, cry aloud,
My voice falls d ad a foot from mine own lips,
And but its ghost doth reach that vessel, passing, passing.

O Earth, O Sky, O Ocean, both surpassing,
O heart of mine, O soul that dreads the dark!
Is there no hope for me? Is there no way
That I amy sight and check that speeding bark
Which out of sight and sound is passing, passing?

And Cullen sings of Dunbar:

Born of the sorrowful of heart,
Mirth was a crown upon his head;
Pride kept his twisted lips apart
In jest, to hide a heart that bled.

William E. B. Dubois

Another, and undoubtedly the most widely known of our contemporary American Negro Writers is W. E. B. Dubois. He is famous as a lecturer, essayist, socialogist, and poet who expresses his emotions principally in prose!

He was born February 23, 1868, at Great Barrington, Mass, and received his B. A. at Fisk University, M. A. at Howard, and a Ph. D. at Harvard. He has served as editor of the "Cirsis", and has written and still does write articles for the leading magazines. His principla books are "Souls of Black Folk", Quest of the Silver Fleece", and "Dark Princes".

As a poet he is infarior to Countee Cullen, but surpasses the latter in practical defense and discussion of the problems of race predjudice and economic conditions.

But even as Cullen expresses the desires and longings of his fettered race in verse startling in its musical perfection, so does Du Bois awake the hitherto-indifferent reader to a tingling sensation of pity, injustice, and admiration. Altho Cullen is morose and often even bitter, Du Bois rarely allows his superb talent for expression to degenerate into mere denunciation or protest. He points out injustice, it is true, but gives sane reasons for it, and acknowledgees the vastness of the predjudice problem.

Is it poetry? Or is it prose? In it the cry of not only the negro race, but of all down-trodden mankind from the birth of Time. It is significant that this is the only poem of Du Bois' printed in the book of American Negro poetry, 1922. There is a wail, a long, weird cry of of forsakeness in it---a plea that shakes the soul---words which tear at the heart strings even as they flood the brain with admiration and awe---and fear.

I speak f a Litany of Atlanta, Done at Atlanta, in the Day of Death, 1906. It savors of the despairing words of David to Yahveh, in his immortal psalms.

----Doth not this justice of hell stink in Thy nostrils, O God? How long shall the mounting flood of innocent blood roar in Thine ears and pound in our hearts for vengeance? Pile the pale frenzy of blood-crazed brutes who do such deeds high on Thine altar, Jehovah Jireh, and burn it in hell forever and forever!

Forgive us, good Lord, we know not what we say!

---------Sit no longer blind, Lord God, deaf to our prayer and deaf to our dumb suffering; Surely Thou too art not white, O Lord, a pale, bloodless, heartless thing?

Ah! Christ of all the Pities!

----------But whisper--speak---call, great God, for Thy silence is white terror to our hearts! The way, God, show us the way and point us the path.

Whither? North is greed and South is blood: within, the coward, and without, the liar. Whither? To death?

Amen! Welcome dark sleep!

------Lord, we have done these pleading, wavering words.

We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!

Our voices sink in silence and in night.

Hear us, good Lord!

In night, O God of a godless land!

Amen!

In silence, O Silent God.

Selah!

James W. Johnson says of him: "Z---As a poet he pours out the bitterness and rebellion in his heart in those two sonnet-tragedies, "If We Must Die", and "To The White Fiends", in a manner that strikes terror;----as a cosmic poet he creates the atmosphere and mood of poetic beauty in the absolute as he does in "Spring in New Hampshire", and "The Harlem Dancer".

To The White Fiends

------Thin you I am not fiend and savage too?
Think you I could not arm me with a gun
And shoot down ten of you for every one
Of my black brothers murdered, burnt by you?
Be not deeived, for every deed you do
I could match--out-match: am I not Africa's son,
Black of that black land where black deeds are done?

But the Almighty from the darkness drew
My soul and said: Even thoushalt be a light
Awhile to burn on the benighted earth,
Thy dusky face I set among the white
For thee to prove thyself of highest worth;
Before the world is swallowed up in night,
To show thy little lamp: go forth, go forth!

Spring in New Hampshire

Too green the springing April grass,
Too blue the silver speckled sky,
For me to linger here, alas,
While happy winds go laughing on,
Wasting the golden hours indoors,
Washing windows and scrubbing floors.

Too wonderful the April night,
Too faintly sweet the first May flowers,
The stars too gloriously bright,
For me to spend the evening hours,
When fields are fresh and streams are leaping,
Wearied, exhausted, dully sleeping.

Black Diamonds

James Weldon Johnson, born, Jacksonville, Florida, 1871. Atlanta University, Columbia University. U. S. counsel to Nicaragua and Venezuela.

Brothers

-------In me the muttered curse of dying men,
On me the stain of conquered women, and
Consuming me the fearful fires of lust,
Lit long ago, by other hands than mine,
In me the down-crushed spirit, the hurled-back prayers
Of wretches now long dead,----

------And now his fiendish crime has been avenged;
Let us back to our wives and children.---Say,
What did he mean by those last muttered words,
"Brothers in spirit, brothers in deed are we"?

Fenton Johnson, Chicago, 1888, University of Chicago, and Northwestern University.

Tired

I am tired of work; I am tired
Of building up somebody else's civilization.
Let us take a r st, M'Lissy Jane.
I will go down to the Last Chance Saloon, drink a gallon
Or two of gin, shoot a game or two of dice

And sleep the rest of the night on one of Mike's barrels.
You will let the old shanty go to rot, the white people's
clothes turn to dust, and the Calvary Baptist Church
sink to the bottomless pit.

Throw the children into the river; civilization has
given us too many. It is better to die than it is to
grow up and find out that you are colored.
Pluck the stars out of the heavens.
The stars mark our destiny. The stars marked my destiny.
I am tired of civilization.

Georgia Douglas Johnson, Atlanta, Ga., 1886, Atlanta U.

UI Want To Die While You Love Me

I want to die while you love me,
"hile yet you hold me fair,
While laughter lies upon my lips
And lights are in my hair.
------I want to die while you love me
Oh, who would care to live
Till love has nothing more to ask
And nothing more to give!

Jessie Fauset, Snow Hill, N. J. Cornell U. and U. of Penn.

Dead Fires

If this is peace, this dead and leaden thing,
T en better for the hateful fret, the sting.
Better the wound forever seeking balm
Than this gray calm!

Is this man's surcease? Better far the ache,
The long-drawn dreary day, the night's white wake,

Ah, how poets sing and die!
Make one song and Heaven takes it;
Have one heart and Beauty breaks it;
Chatterton, Shelley, Keats, and I---
Oh, how poets sing and die!

----Anne Spencer

~~6 - Commission on~~
International Coop.
SRC Historical Materials

America's Tenth Man

SUBMITTED BY THE STUDENTS OF THE

Richard J. Reynolds High School

UNDER A COTTON MOON

By-Louise Stewart

Time

During the Slavery period.

Place.

In Virginia

Characters...

Joe.....A slave.

Fenny.....A slave.

Morduant.....Owner of plantation.

Jack.....A slave.

Diana.....Fenny's mother.

First slave.....

Second slave.....

Third slave.....

UNDER A COTTON MOON

Act I

Scene I

Under a Cotton Moon a tiny negro boy named Joe, wanders. He has been on an errand in the city for his mammy, and is lost. As he walks through the lonesome pine trees, he becomes frightened and kneels down in the moonbeams to pray.

Joe. Oh Lawd he'p me find my way home. I iz so tored and sleepy, and I'ze don't have no where to lay my ole black nigger head 'cept on a rock. I wants my mammy Cloe to tuck me in my bed. De aint nobody here, 'cept dis cotton moon, and oh Lawd, I iz feared o' de dark. If de aint nobody, let dis man in de moon lead me home.

(Horse hoofs are heard and a man well dressed appears along a rocky path near Joe.)

Mordaunt. Hey boy, what are you doing here this dark night?

Joe. (trembling with fear) Please Mas' do take me to my home. I iz lost in dese woods. I can't find my way, please Mas' take me to my home.

Mordaunt. Come along with me, I'll take you home so you won't have to sleep out in the woods alone.

(Lifts Joe on his horse. They ride on and on from northern Virginia, down to the extreme section of Virginia.)

Joe. Mas' it seems like dat we iz gwine a mighty fer and long way to my house.

Mordaunt. Yes son, but you see you traveled so far from your home, as you were lost. Do you recognize this way to be the way to your home?

Joe. I'ze don't know, Mas', but I thinks dis am de right road. I lives on a hill. I lives with my mammy Cloe. She used to be a slave, but her Mas' died so we live out in a l ttle house on a big hill.

Mordaunt. We have been riding all night and nearly all day, I think we ought to be near there now, don't you?

Joe. Yas sah, if we ever aiims to git near it.

Mordaunt. (Pointing to the west). You see that house, Darky? Do you think that is it?

Joe. (Seeing it in distance). Dat looks like it.

Mordaunt. (Riding up to large plantation house.) Jump off, here we are.

Joe. Mas', you have come all dis far, and dis am de wrong place. I don't live here.

Mordaunt. You might not live here, but this is where you are going to live now. You are going to be my slave. You are now in my hands. If you try to run away, I will punish you, perhaps beat you until the blood pop s out on your legs, or perhaps kill you. Do you hear? You are forbidden to leave. I think you would have a hard time finding your home anyway. Come on, I am going to show you your room. (pulling him by sleave, after tieing horse)

Joe- Mas',please let me go back to my mammy Cloe. Please do, Mas'. She will be so lonesome, and who will do her work for her?

Mordaunt. I don't care who does her work, but <u>you cannot get away from here</u>. (Takes him to servant house.)

Mordaunt. (Talking to Jack, a servant, who has become tired and lies down to rest.) Wake up Jack, you indolent procrastinator. (Gets a stick that is very strong and whips Jack while he is asleep.)

Jack. Stop dat.

Mordaunt. Don't tell me to stop. (He whips him still harder)

Jack. (Waking up) Oh-----er----er-----, 'cuze me. Didn't know dat wuz you Mas'.

Mordaunt. Why are you lying in here when you are susposed to be picking cotton?

Jack. Er------er--------I---- I---- -wuz so tired I had to rest.

Mordaunt. The next time I catch you to such a trick, I am going to hurt you worse than this. Now take care of this little darky or I'll hang you to a tree.

Jack. Yas sah, Mas' I'll see to dis little ape.

Mordaunt. Remember what I said little Darky.

Exit Mordaunt.

Joe. Please take me home.

Jack. Sorry feller, but I can't. Dat's how I got in dis ole place. He jest picked me up, and I aint seen my home folks since. I might git dis kinky headknocked off, if I he'p you.

Exit.

Act II

Scene I

In cotton field.

In lapse of four years. Joe is so tired he sits down to rest. as soon as his master gets out of sight. He becomes so sleepy that he falls to sleep and dreams. He awakes as his master is drawing back his fist to hit him.

Marduant. Ah, I caught you sleeping. You shall do without food tomorrow.

Joe. Oh, I wish I could have dreamt on and on. I dreampt I went in a place to eat and I seen de loveless gal with black curls. I was jest kissin'--

Marduant. Never mind about the dream, did you understand what I said?

Exit.

Scene II

In kitchen.

Ding, dong went the dinner bell. The negroes marched in a line into the kitchen. It was three days aft r Joe's dream. Joe looks up, and behold there is the girl of his dreams.

Joe (to himself) Aint she a huney? My, dat chile sho' am pretty. I've got to have somethin' dat will cheer dis ole nigger up, and dat's whut I wants.

Exit.

Act III

Scene I

Joe strolls along silent and stops beneath a cabin window looking and talking to the moon.

Joe. O Cotton Moon you tell me of two stories. One is de night when I wuz los' years ago. I wuz picked up by dis turrible ole' Mas'. I wuz so sad cuz I cound't see my mammy Cloe. I knows not where she am today. Den de udder day, I dreampt dat lovely dr am, and it come to pass, b'lieve me. I always b'lieves in drea s. My heart am growin' happier cuz I seen dis pretty gal. If I can oney git her to love me, den dats all I needs.

(Joe stops as he hears a lovely song, "In the Evening by the Moonlight", by someone in the cabin above. He peeps in at the window.)

Joe. O, it am her, my lover, lissen at dat song, dat g l sho' can sing.

(She continues her song. Joe decides to raise the window above him)

Joe. (Peeping in at window). Please 'cuze me suger, but dat song jes' called me to dis winder. I couldn't 'fuze it.

Josephine. (Trembling) Who are you, and from where did you come? Git 'way you brute.

Joe. Now please, honey, jes' lissen-----

Josephine. (Sterner) Git from b'low dat dar wind r, I says.

Joe. Now sweety, I rally love you. I don't mean to hurt you, not one speck.

Josephine. Why, Ize don't even know you, how dare's you talk to me like dat.

Joe. Well, we will know each other, my name am Joe, what may yors be, sugar?

Josephine. Quit callin' me sugar and I'll tell you. Will you stop?

Joe. Yas, honey, I will.

Josephine. No honey's either.

Joe. Go 'head.

Josephine. My name iz Josephine, but peo'ls calls me Fenny. My Mas' calls me Josephine.

(Someone calls, "Fenny, come here.")

Josephine. I must go, my mammy wants me.

Joe. Wait a minute. Can I see you t'mar night? Le's meet 'neath this winder under the moon. At moonrise we will meet.

Exit.

Scene II

(At moonrise a negro is seen beneath Josephine's window.)

Joe. I b'lieve de hour iz broke! O, Feeny, please come to see me, and let me see your pretty eyes.

(Hears voices above. One is the voice of Josephine's mother and the other Josephine.)

Dinah. Now Feeny, you iz not wine out o' dis house tonight. You dunno who dat ole' kinky head nigger is and I says you can't go.

Fenny. I'ze so glad you says dat mammy, I'll tell him dat you said I couldn't go.

Joe. (Lowers head in sadness, and then speaks.) I kin tell, she don't love me. What will I do? Nobody to love.

Exit.

Scene III

(Joe is seen again two night later under Josephine's window.)

Joe (singing the song that Josephine loves, ~~as~~ the one he heard her singing

the first night that he went under he window.)

Joe. In De evening by De moonlight, you can hear Dose darkies sinin'.....

(There is no response; he sings the second verse to the best of his ability. Still there is no response. He goes orr quietly, leaving with a melancholy expression on his face.)

Exit.

Act IV

On Josephine's cabin porch.

Jack. Fenny, you know, chile, I jes love you de most. I don't b'lieve I can ever live without you.

Fenny. Do you love me all dat much, honey?

Jack. Yas, I do Fenny. Won't you be mine?

(Joe listens at the end of the porch. He is hid behind some trees.)

Fenny. I had better not tell yo today, but I will tell you t'morr.

Jack. Good! I can work t'morr is good heart. You know de rus time I seed you, 'bout two weeks ago when you come here as a cook and slave ror de Mas', I fell in love with you.

Fenny. Say, you did. Well lissen, who is dat young nigger 'round here, named Joe?

Jack. Oh! He's de nigger dat de Mas' brought here 'bout four ago. You know he's crazy 'bout you.

Fenny. Well, I can't stan' him. He comes to my winder and sings. I could kill him.

Jack. I tell you I'll get him out o' de way. I'll think and think... don't worry suger I can git rid o' him. I must go tonight.

(They kiss and bid each other goodnight. Joe sighs from his hiding place.)

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Scene II

At Fenny's cabin.

Jack. Lissen suger, you know I loves you so much I am going to give you somethin'. (He takes out a box with these letters scribled, almost unreadable, "To Fenny from Jack."

Fenny. Oh, what iz it? You sweet boy. (Opens it up. She kisses him.) Fifty dollars! Where did you git so much? Jack- My mammy give it to me, and I love you so much I am givin' it to you.

Fenny. I mus' hide it at once so no nigger will fin' it.

(Jack follows close behind her and watches where she put it. They come out on the porch again.)

Jack. (Breaking long silence) You know whut you tole me yisterdy?

Fenny. (Laughing). No suger, whut wuz it?

Jack. Can't you guess it? Why, you tole me you would tell me whether you would marry me or not.

Fenny, Oh yes, I 'member.

Jack. Will You?

Fenny. You now I will.

Jack I'ze so happy---when?

Fenny. Oh! about next week.

Jack. Here comes de ole' Mas'. Run!

(He looks which room she goes in.)

Mordaunt. What are you negroes doing up this late, get to your cabin.

Jack. Yas sir, Mas'.

Exit.

Scene III

Same night about one o'clock at Jack's cabin.

Jack gets up and look out of the door.

Jack. (To himself). Yas de oon am still up. It's gettin' late, I mus' be on my way.

(Joe wakes up----"Say whut you doin' up dis time o' night?)

Jack. Shut up. Go to sleep. I can't sleep. It's jus' well git up.

(Jack waits for Joe to go back to sleep and he slips out of the door.)

Jack. She will think Joe did dis now, if I put dat ole' box under his piller. I needs dat money. I'll jes git it back and put de box under Joe's piller. Den I'll have some 'cuze to fin' dat box and show it to Fenny. She'll think he got it, and dat will sho' nuff turn her 'g inst him.

(He slips in quietly at window in room which he knows Fenny is not in. He goes to the old box where Fenny put it the night before. He slips out quietly and goes back to his cabin. He takes the money out, hides it, puts the box in under Joe's pillow. He then slips in his bed and goes to sleep.)

Scene IV

Next morning

(Joe gets up and starts spreading his bed.)

Jack. Joe I'll fix yer bed. You had better run on and git ready to work. You know the Mas fussed at you de uder day for comin' on field a little late. (Thinking he might find that box)

Joe. (A little surprised at him helping him when the other night he heard Jack talking about him.) Thank you.

(Jack gets up and goes to breakfast.)

SceneV

In kitchen.

Jack sits down. Fenny comes from making bread and sits beside him.

Fenny. (Trembling and crying.) Ja----------ck, do you 'member what I done with dat money last night?

Jack. You aint lost it?

Fenny. No. Somebody has got it. Somebody stole it.

Jack. Fenny you know, nobody aint stole it.

Fenny. Well, it's gone.

Jack. I 'member you puttin' it in dat ole' box.

Fenny. O, it's gone.

Jack. I'll look 'round today and at supper, I'll tell you whether or not I have found it.

(Jack goes back to cotton field)

Exit.

Scene VI

At kitchen door.

Jack. I tell you Fenny, I b'lieve I know whose' got yor money.

Fenny. Who, honey?

Jack. Fenny, you come with me at dark, and we'll see if we can find dis money.

Fenny. Can you show' me sho' nuff?

Jack. I think I can. I tell you, I'll come fo' you after dark.

Fenny. Alright, I'll be ready to go with you.

Scene VII

At Fenny's cabin.

Jack. Fenny are you ready? Le's slip 'round de Mas' house for he will punish us if he knows that we are going to get married.

Fenny. I show' would be glad if we did rin' it.

Jack. Now honey, I iz gwine to take you in my room. He iz gwine to look 'round in dare. I b'lieve dat Jo am got dat money. He will search our room and see.

(They enter Joe's and Jack's room and begin searching.)

Fenny. Iz you show' dat dat Joe won't come in here.

Jack. No, he has to work late tonight.

(Jack looks under Joe's piller and takes out box.)

Joe. Aw. What iz dis? Aint dis dat box I give you with dat money in it, honey?

(Fenny takes in her hand and reads letters on top of it.)

Fenny. Yas it iz de box. He's got dat money. I'll have de Mas' to punish him.

Scene VIII

At Mordaunts big plantation house

Mordaunt. Josephine tellsme that you were round with the box that was given to Fenny.

Joe. I tell you Mas' I didn't take dat money. Can't you b'lieve me? I didn't take it.

Mordaunt. How do I know you didn't take it, I have no proof?

Joe. How do you know dat I did take it. Finding a box under my piller am no reason that I did take it. Somebody might have slipped it under my head.

Mordaunt. I am going to punsih you. You must not eat anything for two days and stay in your room during that time. After thos two days you must work and go to your cabin at nights and stay there. I am going to have you beaten. If you disobey these orders, I will give you a still severe punishment.

Joe. I tells yo I didn't steal dat money.

Mordaunt. Shut up, Go to your room and don't youlet me catch you out either.

Scene IX

Next day in Joe's room.

Joe. Oh! I bets dat my gal will be married times I gits out o' dis prison. If she aint, she won't look at me, cuz she thinks I stole dat ole' money o' ers. I'll p'ove to her I didn't. O,I iz so hungry, oh?:if I had something to eat.

(Jack comes in from work.)

Jack. OH! so your paying your cos'. Dat shows you took dat money

or you wouldn't stay in here so close and listen at de Mas'.

Joe. Shut up I didn't take it. Oh I guess yo' put dat bux under my piller.

Jack. Don't tell me dat, Nigger, or I'll kill you.

Joe. You didn't say yo' didn't put it under there.

Jack. Oh sho' I did not, and yo' had better shut up.

Exits.

Joe. I b'lieve he did have something to do with dat thing.

Act V

Scene I

Elapse of 2 months.

On plantation field.

First slave. Did you niggers hear about Mas' fussing at Jack 'cause he wuz 'bout to git married to Fenny.

Second slave. Yas You know dat sho' am some gal. I'd hate fer Jack to marry her. I'd likes to have her myself.

Third slave. Oh I would too. I wish we could think of something to break up dis wedding.

Second slave. Le's all think hard. Mas' aint here yit, He's still eatin' dinner.

(They all sit down)

First slave. Oh I wish we could git dis gal and run away with her some night.

Third slave. No I don't thinks dat would work cuz they jist catch us. De [illegible].

Second slave. I know. I will talk to de Indian Chief dat lives right out here and he'll git her.

All. Go d!

Exit.

Scene 2.

Next day. Early in morning.

At Fenny's cabin.

Diana. Hurry Fenny you know how de Mas' iz.

Fenny. I iz so 'cited mammy. Jus' think tonight Jack will be mine.

Diana. I am so glad you have took Jack. He's a nice feller. He done all he could do to make dat ole' Joe give you back dat money.

Fenny. He can be out now, and not be in de ole house all time. I sees him walking 'round. I hates him. He says he didn't take dat money, but he hung 'round here a might lot.

Diana. Fenny, hurry it's nearly day light.

Exit.

Scene III

At one of the farm houses.

Joe. Today am de day O' de marriage. I aint got nothin' to live fer now, no nothin'. What will I do? De all hate me 'round here cuz de think I took dat money. Hark what's dat?

(voices from inside barn. Joe listens.)

First slave. What did de chief say? Did he say he would?

Second slave. Yas, he said he would be glad to do us a good deed.

Third. Did you know she is goin' to git married tonight. We Can't let dat ole' nigger marry dat gal. We wants her ourselves.

Second. I'll fix dat up. I'll tell him tonight is her wedding night and he'll have to work fast.

First. Come let's go I hear de Mas'.

Joe. What wuz dat? What are de going to do with my gal? I'll jus' hang 'round her house tonight and see what is goin' to happen.

Exit.

Scene IV.

In kitchen.

Fenny. Mammy, you know when I had to go outdoo's to throw some food out to de chickens, a black cat run right in front o' dis nigger.

Diana. You know de didn't honey. I iz feared somet in' iz goin' to hap en to you. Do you feel dat way?

Fenny. Yas I feels like someobyd iz watchin' me.

Diana. Here comes Jack.

(Jack comes in)

Jack. Honey, you be outside your cabin at moon ise, and we will go.

Fenny. Alright, Jac, but Jac, I'ze feared. You know a black cat run right 'cross my path dis m rnin!

Jack. Don't worry honey, I'll take care o' you tonight.

Exit.

Scene V

In front of Josephi es House

Josephine comes out at moon ise. She stands on the front porch.

Josephine. He iz not t ue, he said he'd behere by moonrise.

(Indians grab her and tie her on a horse. Joe looks from his hiding place. He gets up and follows them. He has a horse with him he had been riding and he kept in seeing distance behind them. Then the Indians come to their destination, he hides in the trees and watches. hey tie her to a tree. All to to sleep and leave guar s with her.

Scene VI.

In front of Josephine's House

Jack. She iz not here. The moon iz full high. Has she broke her word? I'll jes' go i and see what's ailin her.

(goes in house).

Jack. Diana, where iz Fenny?

Jack. She ai t out dar.

Diana. Aint she gone? She went outside before moonrise waiting for you.

Jack. I didn't see her, but maybe she's hidin' out dar--I'll see.

Exit.

Scene VII.

In Joe's and Jack's room.

Mordaunt. Both darkies are gone, now iz my chance. I am going to search this room over for that money. I must find it.

(He looks in boxes and everywhere)

Mordaunt. (leaving room) I'll go back and look one more place that I did not look. (He looks in a trunk). Here's some kind of package. (Opens package and finds $50.00. I wonder now if Joe really did steal the money. This trunk is Jack's. Strange the money is in his trunk. I think I can see through it all. Jack got that money back, I b'lieve. I don't think that Joe would get it and put it in Jack's trunk. Joe is no longer the guilty one, according to my decision. I am going to explain this to Josephine.

Exit.

Scene VIII.

Along a path near the Indians camp---- Joe is waiting, waiting for a chance to grab Fenny.

Joe. (To himself.). Oh! Whut will de do with her? Will de kill her? Will de leave her tied to dat tree? I wish dot de would go to sleep sometimes, so I coud release her from dat tree. If I go up to de Injuns de will kill me. I iz goin' to wait. (Silent) Dem guards air some guards, b'lieve me, de stay on der post. I b'lieve de are sleepin', but sleep or no sleep, I'z gwinin, cuz I can't stan' to see my lover punished.

(He ties the horse by a tree, walks bravely up to Fenny.)

Fenny. Sh-h-h. I knowed somebody would come. Iz dis Jack?

Joe. No diz iz Joe, now yuo sees who loves you, don't you Fenny?

Fenny. Why didn't Jack come? Oh I'll reckon you will do though.

Joe. (Cuts the ropes) Be very quiet and le's not wake de guards, if we do, both of us will be killed. Walk still, chile.

(Come to horse and Joe puts her on)

Joe. Le's not waste no time case if we do, de might ketch us.

Fenny. I can't bear a thief takin' me home.

Joe. Now lissen, I iz no thief. I don't know who stole dat money, but I didn't.

Fenny. Iz you sho' you didn't?

Joe. I iz sho'. If I did, I wouldn't have saved your life from de Injuns.

Fenny. Hark! Who iz dis? Oh! Is it a Injun?

(A man stops them.)

Mordaunt. Who is this? Is this Josephine? Who is this with you?

Fenny. Diz iz Joe, Mas', he saved me from de Injuns. I wished it wuz Jack instead o' dis thief.

Mordaunt. You needn't be afraid of him being a thief, Josephine. He didn't steal your money. Your own lover did. He gave it to you and took it from you. He is to be punished tomorrow.

Fenny. My Jack stole my money?

Mordaunt. Yes. I discovered it tonight and have made the decision. You Darkies come on to bed.

Exit Mordaunt.

Fenny. He likes to break up lovers.

Joe. He has jes started one now, aint he Fenny?

Fenny. Yas Joe.

Joe. I love you Fenny, do you love me?

Fenny. Yas. I used couldn't stan' you, now I love you. You were so good to me.

Joe. Le's git married. Now please don't say no. Le's forgit 'bout Jack.

Fenny. I don't want to eve see him no mo'.

Joe. Will you be mine?

Fenny. Yas, sugar.

(They embrace.)

Joe. It wuz under a Cotton Moon you hated me and tiz under a Cotton Moon you love. It iz under Cotton Moon we b'long to each udder.

The End.

THE SOUTH OF THE FUTURE
A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council
December 12, 1951

Eight years ago, the Southern Regional Council was born out of the conscience and high resolve of a democratic nation at war. Today, in another period of international tension, we are faced with a renewed challenge to provide leadership and direction in a troubled region. It is essential that we assess clearly and wisely the role that the Southern Regional Council is to perform in this critical time.

We do not believe in the exclusive validity of any single approach or any single organization. There is not only room, but a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic, legislative, religious, and educational means. Moreover, such programs are needed on all levels - national, regional, state, and local. Every group, like every individual, should chart its course with due regard for the special contribution it is fitted to make.

The Role Appropriate to the Southern Regional Council is evident in its origin and make-up. The Council's main asset is and has always been the people of the South who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and who at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. From such people is the Council's membership drawn. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and conscience; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to agencies outside the region.

The Council seeks to be a practical organization, emphasizing working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. Indeed, that philosophy is basic to an organization which hopes to open closed minds and substitute reason for prejudice.

The Council, by its very nature, is not a "mass pressure" organization. The number of persons in the South who are able and willing to reject the taboos on interracial effort in their own communities is growing, but it has not yet reached mass proportions. Meanwhile, the Council's membership can function effectively as enlightened citizens acting through the civic life of their communities in behalf of our common principles. Their methods are the established ones of conference, fact-finding, and persuasion.

The Council takes no part in political activity. However, it can and does consult with public agencies and officials and makes its influence felt for truly representative government.

The Council's Functions may be briefly summed up as follows:

To serve as a meeting ground for citizens of all races, occupations, and religious persuasions.

To present the facts about the region, and their implications, through newspapers, radio, magazines, pamphlets, and other public media.

To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots, and hate organizations.

To provide a program adaptable to local need in both the relatively backward and the relatively advanced areas of the South.

To translate appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the action program will be concerned.

To give special emphasis to the development of leadership among promising young Southerners of all races.

To convene, by interest group, key persons in the various fields of Southern life, so that steps to genuine integration may be representatively agreed upon.

To stimulate local initiative to work for local solutions in full democracy, so that legislation and judicial rulings may be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

The basic machinery necessary to enable the Council to work effectively at these tasks is: (1) trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life; and (2) staff in a central office of the Council to direct and service the field people.

The Declared Purpose of the Southern Regional Council is "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." This objective has lost none of its timeliness since it was first adopted. Although the past eight years have brought notable progress in the South, the job remaining is a vast one, and the pressures of national and international events demand an even speedier advance. Many of our institutions continue to make unfair and unwarranted distinctions between citizens solely on the basis of race. Outmoded traditions, unjustified fears, and ancient prejudices continue to exact a heavy toll on the unity, productiveness, and integrity of our society.

It is the ultimate hope and aim of the Council that it may help in bringing solution to regional problems that transcend the question

of race -- problems economic, social, ethical, which affect impartially people of all races. But, for the present, the unique liability under which the South labors arises out of an unreasoning racial disharmony. The first task of informed and conscientious Southerners is to strive to create here the atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discriminations based upon race will no longer persist. Only when that goal has been attained will the energies of enlightened men be fully released for the great task of realizing all our potential resources, natural and human.

The South of the Future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

Equal opportunity, truly defined, includes all this and more. We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part toward its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied. For it is nothing less than the American ideal.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
A Brief Account of its Origins and Aims
April 1956

The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

-From "A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council" (1951)

Southern Regional Council
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SRC AND THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity.

In the troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early 'twenties. Their influence became Southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The Commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, Dr. Robert Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the Commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials.

The Commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to

factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the Commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its twenty-five years of operation, the Commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of Southern church people in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued two million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the Southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

TRANSITION TO SRC

In 1939 the leaders of the Commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the Commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on Southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive Southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction

took place when a group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, North Carolina, on October 20, 1942, to set forth "just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation," and to enlist the aid of interested white Southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and Civil Rights, Industry and Labor, Service Occupations, Education, Agriculture, Military Service, and Social Welfare and Health. Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April, 1943, a group of Southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement "so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum," and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

SRC ORGANIZED

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June, 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a "call" issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including:

C. H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President Emory University

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council. A strong and democratic Council had been established "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Since this auspicious beginning, the Council's membership has included distinguished Southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for six years -- from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

HOW SRC WORKS

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an Executive Committee which meets at least every three months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, The Fund for the Republic, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S., the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Marshall Field Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation, various trade unions and some business firms. Individuals support the Council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

WHAT SRC DOES

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearing-house and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on Southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the New South, and

through pamphlets, press, radio, television, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the Council staff and affiliated State organizations.

Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

* Employment of Negro policemen in Southern communities.

* Newspaper handling of racial news.

* Community self-surveys, in which local people of both races study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

* Conferences of leading white and Negro Southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest -- religion, health, housing, education, etc.

* Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

* The right to vote without racial discrimination or intimidation.

* Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

* Orderly compliance at the community level with the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

CHURCH SUPPORT

Church people have always been the moving force in the Southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken

their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the Southern conferences of The Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Southern), the Province of Sewanee (Southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious Southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated state groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Council, received the 1953 Annual Award of the Catholic Committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

AFFILIATED STATE ORGANIZATIONS

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern states - Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the state involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the state groups become strong, self-sustaining human relations agencies.

TOWARD THE SOUTH OF THE FUTURE

The Southern Regional Council's main asset is and has always been those Southerners who believe deeply in democratic practices, and who know first hand the problems of the region. On such people rest the hopes of the South. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and conscience; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to national groups.

The Southern Regional Council and its affiliates seek to be practical organizations, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. They hold the belief that every community must ultimately find its own answers within the framework of law and conscience. They offer no master blueprint, no sovereign remedy for the South's human problems. But they do offer a method - - that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

SRC - Historical Materials
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RACE COOPERATION

By GEORGE MADDEN MARTIN

An account of the successful effort in two-thirds of the counties of thirteen Southern states to promote justice and good-will between black and white

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By George Madden Martin

The purposes of this movement for racial cooperation, the extent of its influence and its application to specific problems are described in the following article by George Madden Martin, a Southern woman and author of the Emmy Lou stories which delighted the readers of McCLURE'S *a score of years ago. Mrs. Martin has known the Negro in the "black belt" of Mississippi, in Louisiana and Florida, in the rice-country of Carolina and has lived "side by side with him in rural Kentucky." The black man, she holds, has two worst enemies: "the over-zealous advocate who claims too much for him, and the execrable creature wearing a white skin who says, 'I hate a nigger.'"*—THE EDITOR.

"I know of nothing that appeals so directly to the intellects and sensibilities of thoughtful men as the treatment the Negro has received among us, North and South, in the present and in the past . . . I look back . . . and I see him, not as a squalid serf, picturesque in his rags, or as we behold him on the minstrel stage, the clown in the pageant making merry with cap and bell, but as an image of impending sorrow crouched beneath the roof-tree, God's shadow upon the dial of American progress, whose cabalistic figures the wisest have not been able to read."—

HENRY WATTERSON.

THE words quoted above, written by Henry Watterson, appeared in *The Century Magazine*, April, 1882, forty years ago. He was then, and always, to the hour of his death, the sane friend and trusted counsellor of the Negro race. And throughout the South are innumerable other good friends of the Negro, many of these doubtless unknown to him, whose silent steady influence is of unsuspected benefit to him in many a locality, many a section of the country, where race breeds friction.

It is because these white friends do exist in unsuspected numbers throughout the South, and because they believe that through discussion and cooperation between the races better inter-racial relations may obtain, this article setting forth their ideas, is written.

Economic prosperity is essential to general progress. Economic justice is a primary condition to general peace and contentment. It is upon truisms such as these alone the white friends of the Negro in the South feel they can rest their case. Any program of economic betterment that excludes or ignores the Negro, merely retards the economic betterment of the South as a whole. On the other hand, the principal of Tuskegee Institute, Dr. Robert Moton, says:

"It is not too much to say that if the Negro could in every case receive economic justice, a large part of what we call the race problem would be solved. In many cases he would be in a position to solve his own problems."

Human misfortune beats more mercilessly upon those who are already unfortunate. The color line holds in industry. In the cities, the country over, the black man is the first laborer to be discharged, the first to have his wages cut, the last to be re-hired. Negro women and girls engaged in domestic service in cities and towns, the country over, too often are without adequate provision for their physical well-being and comfort, and without proper moral safeguards during the hours of their rest and recreation. In our larger centers of population the Negro must live and must labor in conditions that are unsafe and unsanitary. And it is the generally accepted practice in the South that Negroes are paid a lower wage than is paid the white employee for the same kind and character of work. What more baffling and discouraging to the industrious, self-respecting Negro than his knowledge of all this! The facts are ugly, and they are against us.

THE NEGRO'S HANDICAP IN FARMING

In the rural districts in the South fully eighty per cent of the Negro population is engaged in the different phases of agriculture. There are about a thousand counties in the South, and there are about nine hundred thousand Negro farmers in this section. Negro tenant farmers suffer from the disadvantages of makeshift methods of accounting, and irregular terms of settlement with their landlords. Many of these Negro tenant farmers are ignorant and unable to keep their own accounts at all, while their landlords do not always take the time and trouble to keep systematic accounts themselves. The result is that the disadvantage of the doubt in such cases falls on the Negro farmer. Housing conditions for these Negro tenants on many farms are deplorably bad. Many planters still provide their tenants with nothing better than a one-room log cabin, or one-room box house, which is conducive to neither comfort, vital energy, nor morality. In some places in the South it is still impossible for Negroes to buy land at any price. The effect of this

policy is bad. Without the responsibility that attaches to land ownership, the Negro farmer tends to become restless, indifferent, unreliable and unaspiring. It is short-sighted policy also that is based on the idea that the planter gains where he makes it necessary for his tenants to come to him for all of their food supplies. And the system of farming with such Negro labor as the planter may obtain from prisons and through the courts by payment of fines and fees for the offenders, the system of peonage, works injury to all around, to white and black.

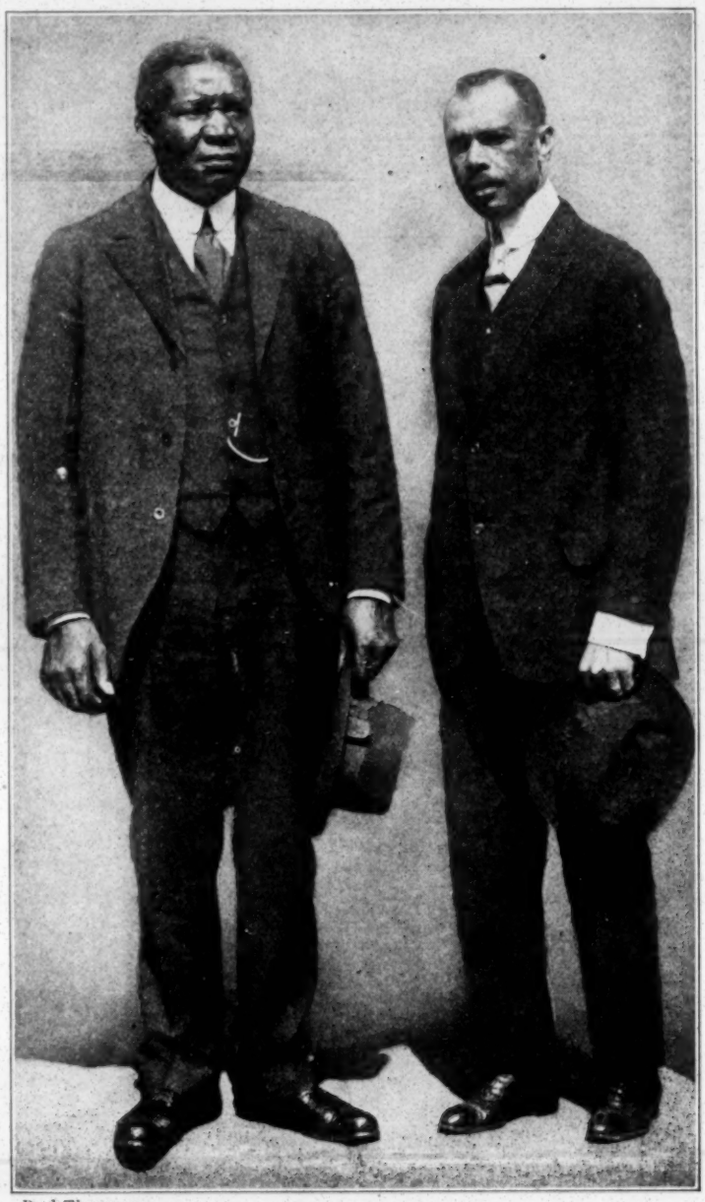
It is consciousness of these economic disadvantages the country over, to go no further in the enumeration of the Negro's wrongs, that, as Mr. Watterson says, weighs upon the minds and sensibilities of his white friends. Says The University Race Commission, composed of representatives of all the leading state universities of the South:

"The South cannot realize its destiny if one-third of its population is undeveloped and inefficient."

Says Dr. George Stoves, of the Social Service Committee of the General Conference, M. E. Church, South:

"Treat the Negro half-right, and he is the best common laborer in the world. What would he be if we treat him wholly right?"

The attempt is constantly made by the unthinking and uninformed white, to fasten upon the Negro of to-day as perforce a racial trait, the characteristics of the old-time, easy-going Negro as popularly conceived, the childlike, shiftless, irresponsible, Negro of fiction and the stage. The attempt is as short-sighted as the supposition is untrue.



Paul Thompson

Two eminent Negro Leaders—Robert R. Moton (left) and James Weldon Johnson

The paragraph which follows appeared not long ago in *The Saturday Evening Post*:

"The long period of serfage . . . brought out in him the best and the worst of his traits—patience in suffering, or with work in hard conditions, adroitness in catering to those above . . . fear of punishment from which there was no appeal, lazy enjoyment of any pleasure possible, waste without counting for the morrow, since one had no responsibility or obligation to do more than get through appointed tasks from which escape was impossible."

This is not a character sketch of the old-time Negro as revealed to us during and just after slavery, though it well could be. The paragraph occurs in an article upon Russia by Princess Cantacuzene, and describes the Russian peasant under and just after serfdom. A common condition will produce a like result regardless of the race or the color upon which it operates.

White Man Doesn't Know the Negro

A serious obstacle to a proper consideration of the Negro question lies in popular and mistaken notions of the Negro. There is no predominating Negro type. Alfred Holt Stone, one of the largest and most successful planters of the Mississippi Delta region, in an address at the University of Virginia, said on this question:

"There is no such concrete thing as the Southern Negro, just as there is no such definite and delimited individual as the Southern white man. The Negroes present a large variety of differences of complexion, native intelligence, education, inherited and acquired characteristics, temperament and disposition. In short they differ among themselves in all these respects which differentiate individuals and groups of any and every other race."

In other words, the white man in the United States will never see the Negro as he is, until he sees him as an individual, and sees his case as an individual case. The Negro tenant farmer cannot read, write or cipher. The Negro college student majors in economics. The Negro editor sits in the Pan-African Conference assembled in London, Brussels and Paris consecutively. The Negro child in the remote districts, ragged and barefooted, attends school three months out of the year. A Negro high school senior receives a first prize in a poetry contest held by the Empire Federation of Woman's Clubs. The Negro field-hand shuffles as he plays his mouth-organ. Henry Burleigh sets down the spirituals and songs of his race. Charles Gilpin plays "Emperor Jones" in an O'Neill play.

Dr. D. C. Barrow, Chancellor, University of Georgia, comments thus upon this lack of knowledge of the Negro on the part of the white man:

"It is not strange that a want of knowledge should exist on the part of white people as to the Negroes.

"With abolition of slavery the Negro was turned loose in a large measure to find his own way. The effort was necessarily a groping search. Sympathetic understanding between the two races was in a large measure destroyed by the experiences of reconstruction. It is not worth while, however, to thresh over this straw except in so far as to state these things as causes of the misunderstanding.

"The Negro, in making his independent effort to adjust himself to his new condition, did not always go as wisely as he would have gone if sympathy had been enlisted in his behalf. He did go, however, and he did grow.

"The changes which came about were more or less carefully hidden from his white associates. He thought this necessary.

"One effect of this was to have the Negro undergoing a change of which his white neighbors were not aware. He, on the contrary had the white man as an open book."

Dr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, author of "The Present South," and a Southern authority on racial conditions in general, says:

"The moment the Negro passes out of the servant class, lifts himself into the property owner class, becomes a business man or becomes a leader among his own people, by that very process of lifting himself up, he passes out of the knowledge of the white people, so that the strata of Negro life that offers the best of what the Negroes may become, is not known to the white people. There is among many white people the assumption that every Negro is an uneducated Negro."

The World War had its effect upon the Negro as it had upon all other peoples. It marks an epochal change in the consciousness of the race here in the United States. Says the Rev. Cary Montague, Editor of *The Southern Churchman,* of Richmond, Virginia, speaking through his own paper:

"It brought to him a great awakening. He awoke to find himself able to do, and do well, a great many things he had not known he could do, and no one else had known he could do. He stands to himself today in an equivocal place between the old and the new."

The Great War brought to him unforeseen opportunities. It thrust him into the draft and the army, bringing to him a consciousness as never before that he, too, was a citizen. The same editor through *The Southern Churchman* points out that he bore his full share in the struggle, that he put two hundred and twenty-five million dollars into Liberty bonds, gave his two million dollars for relief work, shared in the work of the Red Cross, went overseas, was cited for bravery, was awarded the croix de guerre, and that he made the discovery that he, too, was a thorough-going and feeling American.

The War also thrust him, a concededly valued factor as never before, into the industrial world. An unforeseen hand opened to him the door to economic equality and freedom. His unprecedented migration to the North at this time, and the awakening of the South to the dangers of labor shortage, revealed to him his economic value to the South as never before. Better jobs, better treatment, higher pay, the country over, taught him much that he has not forgotten.

Singularly enough the boll-weevil — of all agents — *since* the War, has done its unforeseen economic part for the Negro also in some sections of the South. It has reduced the value of cotton-producing land to a point where in some localities, it is being offered to, and purchased by, Negro farmers and laborers.

Now all these things, however vaguely known to the whites, are well known to the Negroes. They have an increasing number of newspapers and magazines that make a specialty of publishing such facts and spreading them among the race.

The reaction which everywhere followed the signing of the Armistice was seen first in the United States in the abruptly changed attitudes of the black and white races. Changed conditions called for too sudden a readjustment between the two. There was in some sections a movement to resurrect the Ku Klux in preparation for a rumored uprising of the Negroes. There was a general undertone of excitement and apprehension among the Negroes over rumored plans of whites to repress and oppress all Negroes, especially Negro soldiers. Unwise leaders and counsellors appeared in both

"The Work of the Commission is Sane and Constructive."

Underwood and Underwood

Former Governor Brough of Arkansas

races. Race riots became more and more frequent throughout the states.

White Friends Seek to Dispel Prejudice

When these grave conditions of bitterness and violence began to be apparent, there came together in Atlanta a group of men and women representing all sections of the nation; some of them had been for years laboring for better race relations; others had in different phases of war work in America and overseas been brought into touch with the Negro soldier. These men and women, recognizing that this undeniable progress in the teeth of great odds had stimulated the hope and ambition of the Negro race, and reminding themselves that the aspirations of the human heart cannot be suppressed without disaster, agreed that some way must be discovered to dispel this race suspicion and hatred, and if possible make what threatened to be a national calamity, contribute to permanent improvement in the relations of white and black Americans.

The following statement was given out to the people of Atlanta as an expression of the spirit animating the conference:

"We, a group of Christians, deeply interested in the welfare of our entire community, irrespective of race or

class distinction, and frankly facing the many evidences of racial unrest, which in some places have already culminated in terrible tragedies, would call the people of our own beloved community to *a calm consideration of our situation before extremists are allowed to create a condition where reason is impossible.* In no spirit of alarmists, but with the clear vision of earnest men, conscious of the responsibility which a Christian democracy imposes upon self-reasoning and self-governing citizens, let us strive to meet our obligations in the spirit of Jesus Christ. . . .

"We do not believe that there is any one statement which we may make, or any one act which we may perform which will solve all the supremely difficult and delicate problems that face us, but we are confident that by *conferences conducted by leaders of both races, coming together in the spirit of Jesus Christ, there will be an atmosphere of mutual confidence and wisdom* out of which shall come plans and enterprises for the righting of wrongs, and the creation of fair and just opportunities for even the least of our brethren."

The Negro himself, born into race consciousness and race pride overnight, as it were, looked askant at the movement. He welcomed friends, but scanned carefully and even suspiciously the gifts they bore. Yet never had he greater need than at this time of friends; wise friends; sane friends; honest friends; *real* friends; friends to help him to such an understanding of true conditions as would lead him to shun alignments that would compromise him, to denounce cajoleries that would flatter him, and to refute false hopes that falser counsellors held out to him. Friends who cared for him and believed in him, who never have in the past, and never will in the present abandon him, who recognize their need of him as his of them, and who see in a common frankness and cooperation, the road to common trust and common welfare.

International Newsreel

"I believe that through Inter-racial cooperation there will come a better understanding between the races; more helpfulness; more usefulness and in the end the great betterment of all citizens"
—Governor Edwin P. Morrow of Kentucky

After many conferences between these men and women gathered at Atlanta, it became apparent that as nearly as possible the facts should be secured and such work begun as these facts seemed to demand. Three things were clear at the start:

1. The white people of the South have a conviction that they understand the Negro best. Yet the white man of the black belt in Mississippi, or in Alabama, sees his racial problem as one thing, and the tidewater planter of South Carolina, and the farmer in Arkansas, sees his as something altogether different. Chicago in her turn considers that she alone grasps her own racial difficulties relating to the Negro. Omaha sees hers as peculiarly hers. And so with Ohio, or Maryland, or New York City, or Boston. So with the Pacific coast. Attempts on the part of any one section to settle the racial troubles of another, as a rule breed fresh bitterness and fresh misunderstandings.

2. On the other hand, common counsellings among wise leaders of both races in local troubles in whatever section, have led to better relations time upon time. After riots in Southern cities the representative whites have called in to conference representative Negroes.

3. And further, we American white people will discuss without self-consciousness, our duties born out of present conditions to every people under God's heaven except the one that, as things are now, we must stand or fall with.

The Need of Joint Discussions

With these three outstanding conclusions in mind, the men and women gathered in conference at Atlanta felt and declared that the time was come when the American people, white and black, must get together and discuss their differences.

The National War Work council of The Young Men's Christian association at this point appropriated a sum of money sufficient to make a beginning (later other appropriations were made) and the Inter-Racial commission was formed under the leadership of Southern men, with authority to do anything possible to find a way out of the tangled race situation which the war had left.

After much study by the commission of existing conditions, it was agreed that between the best white and the best Negro men and women of the South, there is little communication or understanding. That this gulf is due to race prejudices, the after effects of reconstruction, the agitation of designing politicians etc., etc. That as a result, white people in the South, in spite of frequent claims to the contrary, have been kept from a knowledge of the aspirations and capabilities of the best class of Negroes. And the best Negroes have grown farther and farther away from the best white people, and there is a tendency with the Negro people to a loss of faith, not only in the Southern whites, but in whites generally and their civilization.

It was apparent therefore, that the first task was to bridge the gulf between intelligent white and Negro men and women. This was attempted by the commission by building from the bottom. After making a survey of the counties of the South having an appreci-

able Negro population, an attempt was made to bring together in each of these counties, a small group of not over six to ten white and Negro leaders as a permanent committee of counsel and cooperation. These are known as Inter-Racial committees.

These county inter-racial committees in turn were asked to cooperate with the State Inter-Racial committee made up in each state of leading church men, business men, lawyers, and others interested, who would guide the work of the local committees. In most of the states the governor cooperated in creating the state commission.

Over all state committees and county committees is the Southern Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation, with headquarters in the Palmer Building, Atlanta.

On the general commission, including representatives from thirteen Southern states, are five Negroes out of a total membership of fifty-eight. The Negro members are: R. R. Moton, president of Tuskegee institute; Dr. John Hope, president of Morehouse college, Atlanta; Bishop R. E. Jones, of the Methodist Episcopal church North, New Orleans; Dr. Isaac Fisher, editor of the *Fisk University News*, Nashville, and Dr. John M. Gandy, president of the Petersburg Normal and Industrial Institute, Petersburg, Florida.

There are eight women on the commission of which Mrs. Luke Johnson of Atlanta is director of woman's work. Other women members are Mrs. J. D. Hammond of Islip, N. Y., director of the Southern Publicity bureau; Mrs. J. H. Cranford, Jasper, Alabama; Mrs. Archibald Davis, Atlanta; Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick, Madison, Georgia; Mrs. T. W. Bickett, Raleigh, North Carolina; Mrs. W. D. Weatherford, Nashville, and Mrs. B. B. Mumford, Richmond, Virginia.

John J. Eagan, Atlanta manufacturer, heads the commission. Dr. Will W. Alexander, of Atlanta, and R. H. King, of Atlanta, member of the international committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, are directors.

Heading the state organizations are ministers, attorneys, social workers, college presidents and a governor.

The list of chairmen of state committees follows:

ALABAMA—John D. Rather, attorney, Tuscumbia.

ARKANSAS—Dr. J. H. Reynolds, president of Hendrix college, Conway.

FLORIDA—Dr. J. G. Venable, pastor Riverside Presbyterian church, Jacksonville.

GEORGIA—Dr. M. Ashby Jones, pastor Ponce de Leon Baptist church, Atlanta.

KENTUCKY—Governor Edwin P. Morrow, Frankfort (honorary chairman). P. C. Dix, state secretary Y. M. C. A., Louisville (active chairman).

LOUISIANA—L. M. Favrot, department of education, Baton Rouge.

MISSISSIPPI—Dr. C. W. Crisler, Galloway Memorial Methodist church, Jackson.

NORTH CAROLINA—Dr. William L. Poteat, president of Wake Forest college, Wake Forest.

OKLAHOMA—Judge J. R. Keaton, attorney, Oklahoma City.

SOUTH CAROLINA—G. Croft Williams, Secretary of the state board of charities, Columbia.

TENNESSEE — Dr. W. D. Weatherford, president of Southern College of the Y. M. C. A., Nashville.

TEXAS—Dr. R. E. Vinson, University of Texas, Austin.

VIRGINIA—Dr. R. E. Blackwell, president of Randolph-Macon college, Ashland.

At this moment the commission is functioning in these thirteen states. Its work thus far has met with approval and encouragement from the press, the bench, the bar, the church, the faculties of schools and colleges, the medical profession and the business men. Eight hundred county inter-racial committees have already shown their value in their communities.

A few counties hesitated to cooperate at first, but in almost every case substantial citizens were found who were ready to lead.

Underwood and Underwood

"If the conditions indicated by these charges should continue both God and man would justly condemn Georgia more severely than God and man have condemned Belgium and Leopold for the Congo atrocities."—Former Governor Dorsey of Georgia

This commission on inter-racial cooperation now functioning at Atlanta, states its own case:

"All the members of the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation live in the South, and have been throughout their lives intimately related to Southern institutions and Southern communities. They are leaders in various phases of Southern life, legal, educational, industrial, agricultural, church and civic. The service of these men and women to the commission has been voluntary. They have been actuated solely by a desire to serve in relation to a national problem, recognizing that in the adjustment of race relations in America, the South must bear the major responsibility.

"The commission believes that race hatred and force will only complicate race relations in America more seriously, and that the only alternative to these is to be found

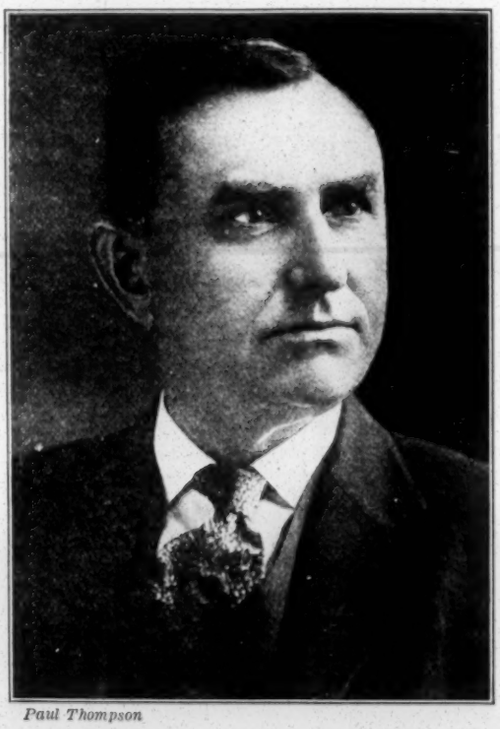
Mrs. T. W. Bickett, member of the women's con inuation committee of the Inter-racial movement

in the counsel and cooperation of men of character, intelligence and good-will. To that end the commission has sought to bring together in every locality in the South, the strongest white and colored leaders of this type. Wherever this habit of conference between the leaders of the races has been practiced, racial peace has been easy to maintain, and many community improvements beneficial to both white and colored have been made.

"The commission is convinced that the local community is the place in which permanent improvement in race relations must be made, and that the problem of race relations in its larger aspects is but the sum total of numerous local situations, and that these can be satisfactorily adjusted only by conference and cooperation between the white and colored leaders. None of these within themselves are race problems, they are national problems which affect all races, but which are often found in a more aggravated form in communities which are composed of two different races.

"The Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation will do whatever it can to cooperate with the local inter-racial committees. However, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the success of this effort to secure inter-racial good will and justice depends upon the sincere and intelligent effort on the part of *local* inter-racial committees.

"The activities are not new. *Persons and agencies already in the communities* may be set to work for the welfare of the whole community, and not merely for the white community."



Paul Thompson

"I can bear testimony to the increasing good-will between the two races and to their cooperation in many things for the public welfare."—Former Governor A. H. Roberts of Tennessee

Southern Leaders Called Together

Immediately following the permanent organization of the commission at Atlanta in 1919, three members of the commission, Rt. Rev. Theodore D. Bratton, Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi, Dr. Wm. L. Poteat, president Wake Forest College, N. C., and Dr. R. E. Blackwell, president, Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, sent invitations in the name of the commission to a hundred leaders of these state and county committees over the South, to attend a conference at Blue Ridge, N. C., August 18-21, 1920. The findings of this conference are embodied in a report entitled, "An Appeal to the Christian People of the South." This report opens as follows:

"We, a group of white Christian men and women of the South, absolutely loyal to the best traditions and convictions of the South, and especially to the principle of racial integrity, voluntarily assembled upon the invitation of the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation, and after prayerful and careful consideration of prevailing inter-racial relations and conditions, do deliberately declare it to be our profound conviction that the real responsibilities for the solution of inter-racial problems in the South rest directly upon the hearts and consciences of the Christian forces of our land.

"We are also persuaded that the best method by which to approach the consideration and solution of such problems is through local organizations composed of the recognized Christian leaders of both races, organizations similar to the Christian Council formed and functioning so effectively under the Inter-Racial Christian leadership of Atlanta, Georgia.

"It is a matter of common knowledge that grave injustices are often suffered by the members of the Negro race in matters of legal procedure, travelling facilities, educational facilities, and public press, domestic service, child welfare, and in other relations of life. Therefore we venture to make the following observations and suggestions."

Whereupon follow declared and definite stands upon the subjects of lynching, legal justice, travelling facilities, sanitation and housing, education, and an appeal to fellow Christians of both races to unite in a sincere and immediate effort to solve inter-racial problems according to the principles of the Gospel, and for the highest interest and benefit of all concerned.

As stated already, there are now eight hundred committees in eight hundred counties of the South. Of these forty per cent are functioning with fair efficiency. This means that in eight hundred of the thousand counties of the South, have been found a little handful of white men and colored men who desire to cooperate and work out together this and that concrete trouble; that in eight hundred counties there is a group willing to sit down and *talk things over.*

Many of these county committees have already shown their value in bettering their communities. Their activity has not sprung from any *outside* pres-

sure. It has been planned in frank open counsel of white and colored leaders, *the home folks*. The work of these cooperative committees is not work *for* colored people, but work *with* colored people for community betterment. Since the committees are without authority they must rely upon the various organizations already functioning, and which are, or should be, concerned with race relations, such as city or county boards administering health, education, recreation, streets, sewers, and lights; private organizations such as churches, associated charities, child-caring agencies; civic agencies such as the press and public service corporations.

Work Commands Enlightened Consciences

All of the colored people do not have confidence in the movement, nor do all the white people subscribe to its aims. But it represents the most enlightened conscience, and the mutual good will of the South. It sprang out of the desire on the part of Christian white people to meet the demands of social justice. And it has been made possible by a small group of colored people who are not too much embittered by the past to give their white friends this opportunity to prove that they are sincere in their desire to find the basis of lasting racial peace, and to safeguard to the Negro a fair day of full opportunity.

The wisdom and necessity of cooperation between the two races have been frequently emphasized, not only by statesmen of national influence but by men of the South, both black and white.

William Howard Taft, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, declared in 1920 in a letter to Dr. John R. Mott of the National War Work council:

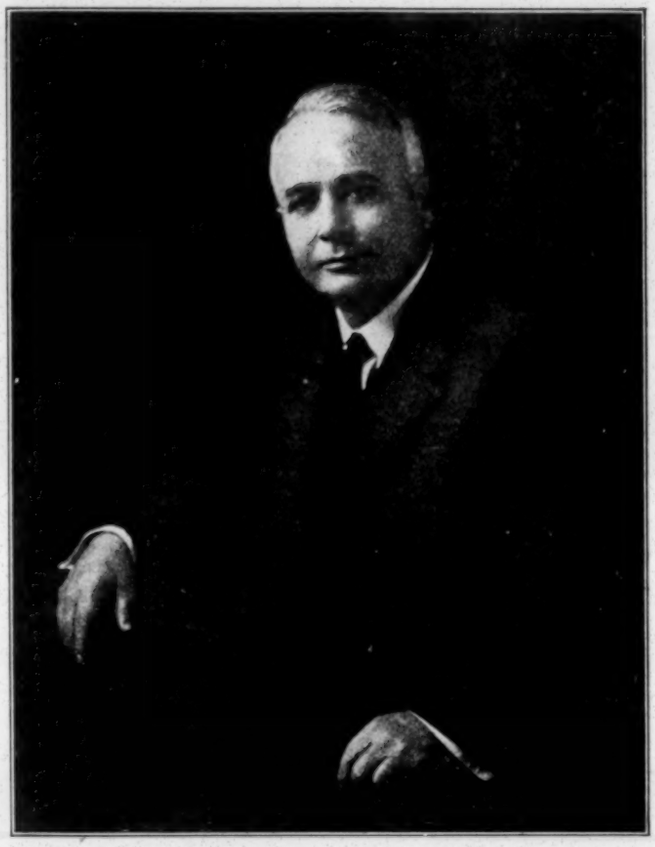
"The only hope of the Negroes of the South is through their own efforts and through the cooperation of the Southern whites with them. I earnestly urge you not to withhold further aid out of your war fund because of the imminence of the danger of race conflict due to the conditions produced by the war."

Governors of Southern states are giving material aid to the Inter-racial commission. Governor Edwin P. Morrow of Kentucky is not only an advocate of racial cooperation but is a member of the commission in his state.

Former Governor Charles H. Brough of Arkansas in a telegram urging the National War Work Council to make a part of its funds available for the inter-racial movement, said:

"Arkansas vitally interested in renewal inter-racial appropriation from War Work council for 1920 in order to take care of vital and important work being done by our splendid inter-racial commission. Quick and definite action is absolutely essential for the success of future progress which means the suppression of race disturbances in our state. The work of the commission, is sane and constructive."

Former Governor A. H. Roberts of Tennessee during his term of office said of the work of the commission:



"I am satisfied that the work done by the Inter-racial commission has greatly promoted a sense of justice and friendliness between the races."—T. W. Bickett, late Governor of North Carolina

"Will you permit me to express my appreciation of the fine work that has been done in Tennessee by the State and local inter-racial committees. I can bear testimony to the increasing good-will between the two races and to their cooperation in many things that make for the public welfare."

Mrs. Luke Johnson, director of women's work for the Inter-racial commission

The late Governor T. W. Bickett of North Carolina, who died recently, said of the movement:

"I have been deeply interested in the work done by the Inter-racial commission. I am satisfied that it has greatly promoted a sense of justice and friendliness between the races. In my opinion it would be a calamity for this work to be discontinued."

Former Governor Hugh M. Dorsey of Georgia in his pamphlet, "The Negro in Georgia," in which he considered charges that Negroes had been lynched, held in peonage and driven out of the state by organized lawlessness, said:

"In some counties the Negro is being driven out as though he were a wild beast. In others he is being held as a slave. To me it seems we stand indicted as a people before the world. If the conditions indicated by these charges should continue, both God and man would justly condemn Georgia more severely than God and man have

"The Inter-racial movement in the South was inspired by a desire to make a practical contribution to the solution of the race problem. The race problem cannot be solved by either race alone. The Inter-racial movement while recognizing rights, emphasizes duties on the part of each race. The only way to help the black man is to help him to help himself."

R. E. Jones, Negro, New Orleans; Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, says:

"The white people of America must actively, with a genuine, unselfish friendliness continue to help the Negroes industrially, intellectually and morally, not only for the sake of the Negro but for the whole nation. In order to obtain the best constructive results there must be real sympathetic cooperation between the leaders of the two races: there should be an earnest effort to understand the causes of bad feeling and open friction."

R. E. Blackwell, President of Randolph-Macon college, Ashland, Virginia:

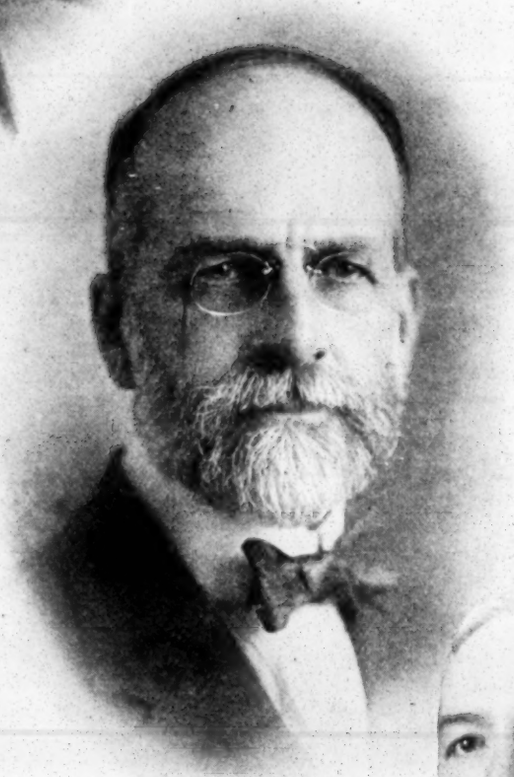
"A movement that has the support of church women of all denominations and of social leaders as well will meet with no antagonism. Indeed what has surprised me is to find that the conscience of our people of all classes is so quick to respond to the appeal we make for cooperation with the Negro in his efforts for improvement."

Isaac Fisher, Negro, professor at Fisk University, Nashville:

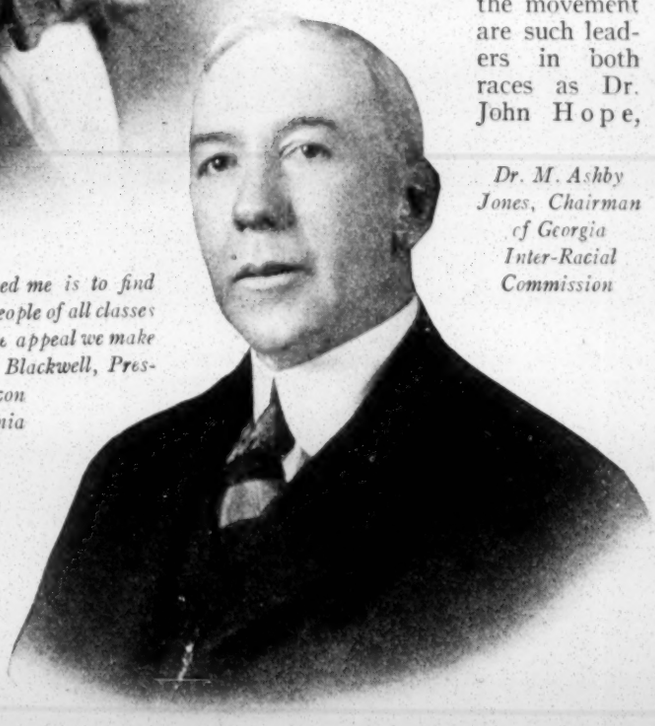
"In the history of the South this was the first agency ever set up to give the Negroes and whites a chance to see into each other's hearts on a large scale."

Serving actively in the movement are such leaders in both races as Dr. John Hope,

J. H. Reynolds, President of Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas



"Indeed what has surprised me is to find that the conscience of our people of all classes is so quick to respond to the appeal we make for cooperation."—R. E. Blackwell, President of Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Virginia



Dr. M. Ashby Jones, Chairman of Georgia Inter-Racial Commission

condemned Belgium and Leopold for the Congo atrocities."

Former President Wilson, during his second term declared in the course of a public address:

"I know myself, as a Southern man, how sincerely the heart of the South desires the good of the Negro and the advancement of his own race on all sound and sensible lines. Everything that can be done in that direction is of the highest value . . . Our object is to know the needs of the Negro and sympathetically help him in every way that is possible to his good and for our good."

Bishop Theodore Bratton of the Episcopal diocese of Mississippi says:

"The progress of proper racial relations must be faster than at present if the Christian forces are going to reach and overcome the un-Christian forces which are too busy and too blatant."

William J. Hutchins, President of Berea college, Berea, Kentucky, says:

"I heartily endorse the work and methods of the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation with which I have had some familiarity."

George Colvin, State Superintendent of Education for Kentucky says:

Negro, president of Morehouse college, Atlanta; John H. Little, Louisville, head of the Presbyterian Colored Missions; Mrs. T. W. Bickett, Raleigh, N. C.; Dr. James E. Gregg, Hampton, Va., principal of the Hampton Normal and Industrial institute; Dr. M. B. Adams, president of Georgetown college, Georgetown, Ky.; Bishop George Clement, Negro, Louisville; Bishop Benjamin Kaily, Savannah, Ga.; Bishop Thomas C. Darst, Wilmington, N. C.; Bishop Thomas Denby, Little Rock, and Bishop William Mercer Green, Meridian, Miss., bishops of the Episcopal church; Bishop E. G. Richardson of the Methodist Episcopal church, Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. Wm. J. Martin, president of Davidson college, Davidson, N. C.; Dr. F. A. McKenzie, president of Fisk university, Nashville; R. F. Beasley, North Carolina state commissioner of public welfare.

Examples of Cooperation

The following colleges and universities in Kentucky are cooperating with the Inter-racial Commission of Kentucky:

Center College, Danville, (white)
Wesleyan College, Winchester, (white)
Berea College, Berea, (white)
Georgetown College, Georgetown, (white)
Eastern State Normal, Richmond, (white)
Simmons' University, Louisville, (colored)
Lincoln Institute, Lincoln Ridge, (colored)
Colored State Normal, Frankfort, (colored)

While none of the Southern colleges has officially endorsed the movement, many university men are on the inter-racial committees, and a number of these colleges actually are cooperating. Among these are:

Southern Baptist Theological seminary, Louisville, (white)
Fisk University, Nashville, (colored)
Southern College of the Young Men's Christian association, Nashville, (white)

As an example of how local inter-racial cooperation works, take the writer's own state of Kentucky. This state ranks high in illiteracy. Precarious and unhappy in many ways is the lot of the Negro child in the small town community. Nor is it fair to expect him to meet the competition in life without his quota of ordinary common schooling. The inter-racial committee for Breathitt county, long known as bloody Breathitt, a group of whites and blacks working together, secured three acres of land and erected an adequate school house for the Negroes of Jackson, the county seat, the building costing seven thousand dollars.

It is manifest that the Negro teachers should be better educated than those taught. It follows that in the absence of available high schools or normal schools for the colored people in the rural districts, the teacher, himself or herself, the product of the county grade schools, will be deficient in adequate standards. The inter-racial committee of Graves county, whites and blacks working together, assisted materially in creating sentiment making possible a high school for the colored people of Mayfield, Kentucky, the building costing twenty-five thousand dollars.

The committee in Fayette county, working together, aided in securing a bond issue in Lexington for a hundred thousand dollar high school for the colored people of that city. The building is about to be erected.

There is no more important work for local Inter-racial committees than preventive measures to be taken against the possibility of mob violence in their communities. In some sections the danger is always imminent, in others probable and in all possible. The average man does not think so, and yet experience shows that in places where the danger seems least, such things have occurred. Mob violence is not simply a question that involves the Negro race, but the entire structure of our society and civilization.

How a Mob Was Dispersed

A depraved, drug-crazed Negro killed the sheriff of Hopkins county, Kentucky, when this officer went to arrest him, unarmed and fearing no violence. A mob immediately formed in Madisonville, and not only were there threats of lynching the murderer on every hand, but also to burn the colored section of the town. The colored members of the Inter-racial committee got together and called a conference with the white members. The colored members of the committee agreed to offer a reward for the arrest and conviction of the murderer. They immediately had struck off hundreds of hand-bills, signed by representative Negroes of the region, regretting the killing of Sheriff Hunter, who was known to be especially friendly to the colored people, and distributed these among the angry threatening mob. The effect was immediate, for when these white men saw the attitude of the colored citizens, and were convinced they had no sympathy for the lawless element among their race, the mob quitely dispersed, and Hopkins county and the State of Kentucky were saved the disgrace of a lynching, and possibly the lives and homes of innocent colored people. The Negro was subsequently arrested, tried at Madisonville without any disturbance whatever, convicted, and electrocuted. The Negroes of the community paid their proffered reward, refusing assistance from their white friends, who, moved by their upholding of law and order, wished to help them.

At Corbin, Kentucky, a colored man was accused of seriously cutting a white man. In this case the man later was found to be innocent, and the real offender, a white man, apprehended. At the moment, however, mob spirit ran high, and all the colored people of the town were herded together, put aboard trains, and sent out of the county. The Inter-racial committee for this county later secured the indictment of some thirty members of the mob, and the ringleader was sent to the penitentiary.

The instinct for recreation and play is natural in all races alike, and alike for all its wholesome gratification makes for better health, better morals, better efficiency, and greater contentment. Segregation in cities forces the Negro to live and play in unwholesome and unsanitary conditions.

Prejudice fades before knowledge. Let any one interested observe, for example, the expending of public funds in communities where any proportion of Negroes live. They are the last to be given paved streets, the last to get hospitals or playgrounds, the last to be considered in all respects that make for better living conditions. The most needy, as a rule, theirs are the needs last to be considered or met.

Commercial clubs in a number of cities of the South have undertaken the improvement of relations between the races. In Nashville, the club committee meets with a committee of Negro citizens for frank discussions of a program to improve the condition of the Negro. A similar plan was recently adopted by the Memphis Chamber of Commerce.

In the Memphis territory, the Chamber of Commerce at the request of the local Inter-racial committee working according to program through already existing agencies, appointed a committee to inquire into better living conditions for the colored people in Mem-

phis. As a result of the findings of this committee, the business men in Memphis agreed to give two dollars for every one dollar given by a Negro, for improving recreation conditions for colored people in that city.

The Inter-racial committee for Jefferson county, Kentucky, moving through the park commission, has the promise of two play grounds and a swimming pool for colored people in the congested Negro district of Louisville.

The country Negro is often timid and backward in finding his best market. Yet the Negro farmer's prosperity is the country merchant's prosperity. An Inter-racial committee in Tennessee moving through the farm bureau for better markets for the Negro farmer, reports the case of a young colored man appearing at a local farm bureau:

"Can a man like me on the outside have a look in here?"

He was told that any farmer who had anything to sell was welcome. This colored man has since brought in one hundred thousand dollars in shipments of chickens from his county, starting with a small flock. This the Tennessee Inter-racial committee calls self-development in a local community.

Any man, white or colored, who knowingly through the medium of *the franchise*, creates prejudice between whites and colored here in America, is an enemy to both races. Intelligent whites and blacks rather will try to anticipate all grounds for such issues.

A leader of his race—Dr. John M. Hope, President of Morehouse College, Atlanta

How Race Prejudice Retarded Progress

The Negro vote in Louisville two years ago, defeated a bond issue for the betterment of the Louisville University, an institution from which colored students are excluded. Bad feeling between the races was engendered. Recently the Inter-racial committee for this territory helped to put over a million dollar bond issue for the public schools. Going to the Board of Education it secured a statement that 18 per cent of the issue would be devoted to the colored schools. The colored people considered this division just and generous and almost to an individual lined up in favor of the issue. The good will this time engendered by this cooperation between the Board of Education and the colored people, went a long ways in restoring former relations. The University bond issue is to be put to the public again in the near future. The Inter-racial committee is now seeking for some possible common ground that will insure its passage.

Cooperation between local committeees and the press of each community, has led many editors throughout the South to adopt a policy of handling Negro news which will not agitate the sensational features of race relations. Incalculable damage can be done by flaring headlines. The abandonment of a sensational policy in news and headlines both in the white and Negro press is desirable. Almost every editor who has been approached on this subject by inter-racial committees has gladly cooperated.

A complete list of the newspapers cooperating is difficult to furnish, the majority of the editors in the South proving themselves ready to cooperate. Among the representative newspapers now cooperating through editorials and news columns are *The Charlotte Observer, The Greensboro News, The Nashville Banner, The New Orleans Times-Picayune, The Dallas News, The Atlanta Georgian, The Memphis Commercial Appeal, The Louisville Post, The Herald,* and *The Courier Journal, The Lexington Leader, The Macon Telegraph, The Jackson News, The Record,* a Catholic weekly of Louisville, and *The Christian Observer,* Louisville.

In the face of a racial outbreak, *The Pensacola Journal* featured a communication from a leading white citizen of such standing as would command a general and respectful hearing, the effect of this appeal preventing a lynching. Under the caption, "Let the Law Rule," this appeal said:

"The ship that weathers a bad storm is the one that passengers select for future travel. So the community that retains its poise in socially stormy weather, is the one which wise people select as their permanent home. Such a storm we have now upon us, and I am pleading for community poise and calmness, so that we may find the proper solution.

"A homicide took place on Friday. Let us be calm. I am informed the facts are:"

After details of the crime the story proceeds as follows:

"Sheriff....., of Santa Rosa county, when notified ..., placed his deputies on the trail and succeeded in arresting the Negro..... He wisely eluded the excited neighborhood and like a veteran of experience, brought his prisoner to the Pensacola jail for safe keeping.

".....Now I wish to plead with my fellow-citizens of Santa Rosa county to follow the example of this excellent sheriff. Friends, let us be calm. Let the law reign supreme. This is not a case of heinous, wilful, premeditated homicide. No atrocious motive is laid bare by the act of this darkey. He was at his own home. He was on his own rented farm. He was asserting his right not to loan his cutter. He was assaulted by one man and held by another.

"Remember, I am not blaming any one. I am pleading with you not to momentarily forget the dignity of your

citizenship and resort to violence. We have courts of law dealing out justice. All the witnesses are living. ..... Let us not besmirch, soil, stain or defile the good record that Santa Rosa county has made in the last years of good citizenship. I am your fellow-citizen, etc., etc."

As stated, this appeal together with the editorials of the Pensacola press prevailed, and it appears that the Negro, who acted in self defense, will get a fair trial.

The Louisville newspapers recently featured the startling news of a school girl returning home here in the city, being dragged into an alley by a Negro, and her hair cut off. The local inter-racial committee investigated. Racial outbreaks have started on less provocation. Weakening under cross examination, the girl broke down and confessed that having had her hair bobbed against her parents' wishes, she was afraid to return home and tell the truth, and so made up the story. The facts proven, every newspaper in the city gave the correct version.

Knowledge Versus Preconceived Ideas

The second state Inter-racial Conference for Kentucky, Governor Edwin P. Morrow, honorary chairman of the state committee, was shortly held in Louisville at the Jefferson county courthouse. A portion of the report of the findings committee as adopted by the Conference follows:

"Resolved that we place on record our gratitude to Almighty God for his grace as shown in the improvement of the racial situation, and the advance of the Negro race in Kentucky.

"Resolved, that it is essential not only to inter-racial harmony but to the highest welfare and the best progress of each race, that there be equal justice and impartial enforcement of the law in the courts for both races. Only thus can common interest and the security of the commonwealth and our institutions be conserved.

"Resolved, that it is most earnestly recommended that students in the high schools, academies, colleges and normal schools, both white and colored, be given an opportunity to become familiar with the history, literature, songs, and aspirations each of the other race, with a view to banish prejudice from the minds of youth by substituting knowledge for preconceived ideas.

"Resolved, that the fiscal courts of Kentucky be urged to appoint Negro County Farm Agents, and to assist the Negro farmers in becoming up-to-date producers and citizens.

"Resolved, that appreciative attention be called to the fact that in Louisville colored taxpayers serve on both petit and grand juries apparently in just ratio to their respective numbers. What is safe in Louisville is certainly safe elsewhere in the state, and we express our earnest hope that the Negro will be given his share in this field of service.

"Whereas, mutual understanding is obviously the fairest basis for good will and agreement, and

"Whereas, the most direct avenue of approach to inter-racial understanding lies in community action, and

"Whereas, abstract discussions are, on the other hand, the cause of much racial misunderstanding, therefore be it

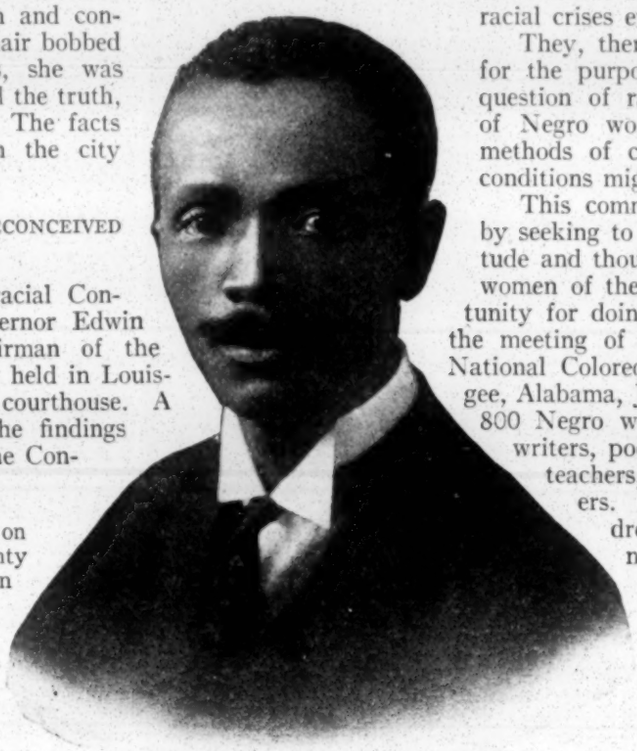
"Resolved, that we urge for adoption the principle that concrete cases and situations in local communities be made the basis of inter-racial adjustment."

The women of the South, white and colored, can do much to aid in this inter-racial readjustment. The Southern white woman in fact has spoken for herself.

In the beginning of the year 1920 the women of the Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, Mrs. H. P. Winsbury, of Missouri, and Mrs. Archibald Davis, of Georgia, Chairmen, became convinced that the "existing racial situations in the South were a challenge to Christian faith," and also an opportunity "to show to the whole world the power of Christianity to settle racial differences and to meet inter-racial crises everywhere."

They, therefore, created a commission for the purpose of "Studying the whole question of race relationships, the needs of Negro women and children and the methods of cooperation by which better conditions might be brought about."

This commission began its operations by seeking to know something of the attitude and thought of the leaders of Negro women of the South. An unusual opportunity for doing this was afforded them in the meeting of the biennial session of the National Colored Women's Clubs in Tuskegee, Alabama, July, 1920. In that body of 800 Negro women, they found speakers, writers, poets, artists, business women, teachers, secretaries, lawyers, bankers. As they listened to the addresses and debates and witnessed the executive ability of these educated Negro women they realized that in that body was massed a potential power of which they had not dreamed.



"In the history of the South this was the first agency ever set up to give the Negroes and whites a chance to see into each other's hearts on a large scale."—Isaac Fisher, professor at Fisk University, Nashville

Women of Two Races Go Into Conference

Before going to Tuskegee a group of these Negro women had been asked to remain after the close of their biennial session for a day's conference with the representatives of the white denominational commission.

When this conference, held by the women of the Southern Presbyterian Assembly, was reported to the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation, this organization offered to finance a meeting which should be composed of the official leaders of *all* the denominations and Christian agencies of women in the South.

This conference was held in Memphis, Tennessee, October 6-7, 1920, and was attended by leaders of women's organizations from sixteen Southern states, to wit: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia, Missouri, Maryland, and West Virginia.

Negro women were invited to speak to the conference. They spoke of "What it Means to Be a Negro," "The Negro in His Home," and "The Difficulties of the Daily Life of the Negro Peoples."

The Negro women whose advice had been sought at Tuskegee had been requested to prepare a paper setting forth the things which they considered respon-

sible for some of the unhappy conditions of the day. This they did in a statesmanlike paper of broad Christian spirit. With this and the addresses of the two days' conference as a basis, the committee on findings made a report which was unanimously adopted, as follows:

"We, a company of Southern white women, in conference assembled on the invitation of the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation, find ourselves with a deep sense of responsibility to the womanhood and childhood of the Negro race and also with a great desire for a Christian settlement of the problems that overshadow the homes of both races.

"We recognize and deplore the fact that there is friction between the races. But we believe that this can largely be removed by the exercise of justice, consideration and sympathetic cooperation.

"In order that the results of this conference may be perpetuated and enlarged, we recommend:

"a. That a continuation committee be appointed to devise ways and means for carrying out the work considered by this conference.

"b. That this committee be composed of one woman from each denomination and Christian agency here represented and that it be empowered to add to its membership as may seem necessary.

"c. That each local community form a Woman's Interracial Committee which may include representatives from all religious, civic and social service bodies working in the community, and that this continuation committee recommend plans by which this may be accomplished."

A continuation committee for immediate convention and beginning of the work consisted of the following women: Mrs. Luke Johnson, Griffin, Ga., chairman; Mrs. J. G. Jackson, Little Rock; Mrs. Archibald Davis, Atlanta; Mrs. T. W. Bickett, Raleigh, N. C.; Mrs. J. H. Cranford, Jasper, Ala.; Mrs. W. D. Weatherford, Nashville; Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick, Madison, Georgia.

The Negro Woman's Response

And what of the Negro woman's response to this evidence of the Southern white woman's interest in the racial problem? They, or one group of them, speak as follows:

"We, the members of the Southeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs assembled in Atlanta, Ga., June 1921, desire to state our position on some matters relating to the welfare of colored people and to enlist the sympathy and cooperation of Southern white women in the interest of better understandings and better conditions, as these affect the relations between white and colored people.

"First of all we wish to express our sincere gratification in the fact that race relations in the South have advanced to the place where the white women of the South are conscious of the part which colored women must play in any successful effort to adjust the unhappy conditions about us which have distressed the hearts of all lovers of right and justice and dangerously threatened the common welfare and the safety of the Nation.

"We are also keenly alive to the growing tendency to give a larger place to the influence of womanhood in the affairs of the Nation and to the fact that there is an increasing number of Southern white women whose vision includes the welfare of women of every race and condition; who desire to secure equal opportunities for development to all womanhood and are determined to face the truth without flinching and to give themselves, at whatever cost, to creating an enlightened sentiment among their own people, and establishing a new and better foundation for relations between white and black women in the South."

The value of this step towards racial cooperation and understanding is not to be measured, since understanding is the basis of any sort of agreement. There is a reaim which no laws can reach, "the realm of neighborly good will and interest, and it is in this realm the inter-racial movement would work, seeking to create so real a feeling of common interest that causes of bitterness and ill will are eliminated."

It is only in such a sphere of good will that constructive work can be done, just as the real spirit of cooperation can come only with cooperative activities. It is when peoples act together they come to see that they think alike, and act alike, and this demonstration is more valuable than protestations of friendship.

These conclusions as given are not only those of the writer individually. Gathered from many sources, and often in the actual phrase, they are the opinions of a number of thoughtful men, leaders in various phases of Southern life.

It is not the opinion of Southern people that conditions may be rapidly changed, or changed at all without patient effort and persistence. No one among them but knows that the future adjustment of the relations of the white man and the Negro in the United States will tax the wisdom, forbearance, and statesmanship of the best of both races. And no man among them but knows that adjustment now or for the future, cannot be made by the decision of the white man without regard to the rights and interests of the Negro.

The Problem of The South

Here is a problem to be solved by the South that has been solved nowhere else in history, as Henry Grady, editor and orator of the South, long since pointed out, "to carry in peace and with justice within the body politic, two separate races under conditions where assimilation cannot be, two races that in human probability will never be quit of each other."

It is not a task for limited sympathies and petty natures. It is not a task that can be done by the machinery of mere organization. It is a spiritual task, as leader after leader throughout the South reiterates, clerical and lay alike — "A task to be carried out in the spirit and according to the ethics of the Man of Galilee." "It is an old, old story, and touches every phase of Southern life. Prejudices are stubborn. It is a long, long road ahead."

Democracy, as that Southern authority on the racial question, the Rev. Cary Montague, of Richmond, quoted before, points out, is a building not made with hands. Faith in humanity has made it. The destiny and happiness of the human race are in it. Its foundations rest upon the character of the man at the bottom. The Negro is at the bottom of the Southern half of our American democracy. The superstructure cannot endure unless we recognize him as part of the whole.

As said at the start of this article, economic prosperity is essential to progress. Economic justice is a primary condition to general peace and contentment.

The Negro responds to justice, kindness and generosity. He makes surprising headway with his limited opportunities. This his friends everywhere admit. A larger measure of economic justice alone for him will add to the peace and prosperity of the South.

The purpose of this article is to bring the plan of the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation to the attention of the country and especially of the South at large. It appeals to the South to get behind the movement solidly, upholding the local committee in each community, that its every possibility for good be tried out. It repeats that the Commission as now functioning in thirteen states, represents the most enlightened conscience of the South, white and black, and holds that it is the most philosophic step yet taken to promote justice and good will between the races.

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THE ROLE OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION IN WAR AND PEACE

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I. APPRAISAL

AN APPRAISAL of the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation is not an easy task. There are no similar agencies with which comparisons of accomplishments might be made. Much of the work of the Commission has been done through other organizations. Many of its efforts have been in the field of education, specifically functioning in the attempt to change traditional racial attitudes, to improve interracial cooperation, and to increase understanding between races. These areas of knowledge and endeavor do not lend themselves readily to scientific measurement or objective appraisal. The entire culture of a people ties in so closely in shaping attitudes and in influencing action patterns that it is very difficult to segregate and to examine the influence of any single agency or institution from that of other institutions or the mass impact of the total culture.

Method of Appraisal. Irrespective of these limitations, it is worth while to appraise as carefully as possible the work of the Commission. This has been done through interviews and correspondence with some 300 persons (1942), most of whom have observed or participated in the work of the Commission, have served on state or local interracial committees, or have shown an interest one way or another in race problems or southern problems. In addition, there has been consultation with Commission personnel and a somewhat detailed scrutiny of the publications and official minutes of the Commission.

From these collective sources, there is evidence and testimony to the following accomplishments of the Commission:

1. THROUGH THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION, THE INTERRACIAL ORGANIZATION AND MEETING HAVE BECOME STANDARD TECHNIQUES DESIGNED FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF INTERRACIAL COOPERATION IN THE SOUTH

One of the difficulties of the racial situation in the past has been that there was almost no contact between white and colored leaders in the South. The annual meeting of the Commission, itself, the more frequent meetings of its Board of Directors, and the state and local interracial groups which have grown out of the efforts of the staff and the members of the Commission have built up points of contact between the leaders of the two races in the South which did not exist prior to the inception of the Commission. From these meetings have been discovered ways through which misunderstanding could be removed and by which cooperation could be secured.

Cooperation of Leaders. Through the interracial organization, responsible white and Negro leaders have been brought together in such a way as not only to become an example for other interracial groups but to provide a natural exchange of ideas. These meetings have had a normalizing effect upon interaction between white and Negro groups. Out of this interracial exchange has certainly come a furthering of the understanding and a broadening of the sympathies between the Negro and the white races, as well as the formulation of action programs designed to be of service to one or both of the races.

The Commission Born Out of Conflict and Suspicion. At the time that the Commission was conceived (April, 1919), the Nation, and more especially the South, faced widespread racial suspicion, distrust, and overt racial conflict. The founders of the Commission felt that there could be brought into being organizations in which problems between the two races could be fully discussed and action programs formulated. This was done and

early took the form of "about 800" state and local interracial committees or "commissions." Not only was the racial crisis of the post-war period of the first World War passed with less friction and conflict than was anticipated, but over the years the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and state and local interracial organizations have constituted perhaps the greatest single technique for preserving interracial peace, for discussing interracial problems, for increasing racial understanding, and for instituting action programs on behalf of the southern Negro.

2. THE COMMISSION HAS IMPROVED RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF BI-RACIAL EDUCATION

To this end, the Commission has been instrumental in formulating, synthesizing, and distributing information on the status and conditions of Negro life in the South and upon problems such as tenancy, education, enforcement of justice, and the like, which affect directly the welfare of both whites and Negroes.

Race Relations Kept before the Public. Certainly in the South the Commission has done more than any other agency to keep the issue of race relations before the public mind. As the president of one of the southern State colleges phrases it, "The Commission has done much to capitalize sentiment in favor of a square deal for Negroes in the South." Another outstanding southerner remarks,

> The studies that have been published, the publications that have been issued and sent out, the conferences which have been held, the point of view and attitude which have been maintained, the steady but quiet pressure that has been exerted on law enforcement officers and upon newspapers—all these things have given the Commission a place not filled by any other agency.

Widening the Scope of Racial Understanding. Able pieces of research on race problems and conditions have been sponsored by the Commission. Some of the research has been the product of field studies which provided original information on race problems or other problems of the South.

For years the Commission has maintained contacts with the leading editors of the South through conferences, personal visitation, and a news service which has reached 2,000 secular and religious newspapers and periodicals. Its own news letter, *The Southern Frontier*, is widely read and widely quoted. Clippings of the Commission press releases are on file from approximately 1,000 newspapers and magazines which have an aggregate circulation of about twenty million.

On the basis of recent interviews with leading editors of the South, it is apparent that newspaper editors and publishers have become increasingly sympathetic and intelligent in matters involving Negroes. Both their news and their editorial policies have changed definitely for the better in the last twenty years. The majority of editors can now be depended upon for constructive and intelligent cooperation in the field of racial adjustment. This change has come about to a considerable degree because of the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

The Commission has distributed more than five million pages of literature for classroom use and for study groups. About eighty colleges now offer courses in race relations, while some 400 other colleges and around 1,000 high schools integrate race relations topics into courses in sociology, ethics, civics, history, literature, journalism, and other subjects.

Race Relations Included in State Education Programs. Most of the southern State departments of education have put into their suggested State programs of studies units for the study of race problems, some of these being rather elaborate. While these have not functioned as the Commission staff members would like to see them, they do indicate that a more or less official stamp of approval has been placed upon studies and curriculum content which a few years ago would have been taboo and which the state of public opinion then in existence would not have stood for.

Cooperation with the Church. In its work toward improved education and toward creating a more wholesome public opinion between the two races, the Commission has worked very closely with the church. In the first place, the church has been liberally recognized on the membership of the Commission and in the composition of state and local interracial groups. From the inception of the Commission, its staff members have presented their work at church conferences, conventions, synods, to schools of religion, and through publications of religious bodies. The interest of hundreds of church leaders in the racial problem has been enlisted. This, in turn, has led to much local church leadership in interracial matters, to more liberal church declarations on race problems, to local attacks upon race problems, and to the inclusion of race relations topics in church literature and the curricula of training school programs for

church leaders. It was, in the main, church women who refuted the traditional idea that lynching was necessary for the protection of southern womanhood.

Through the leadership of the Commission, the Woman's Missionary Council of the M. E. Church, South, set up in 1920 a Commission on Race Relations and provided for the organization of a subsidiary committee on each of its 6,000 auxiliaries. About the same time, the Federal Council of Churches created an interracial Commission on the Church and Race Relations, which in turn has organized numerous interracial committees in the East, the North, and the Middle West. In the early twenties, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, carried the story of the Commission to South Africa, with the result that able leaders there inaugurated a similar movement with excellent results.

3. THE COMMISSION HAS CONSTITUTED A CONSULTATION CENTER IN RACIAL PROBLEMS FOR THE SOUTH AND FOR THE NATION

Certainly the great over-all southern source to which individuals and organizations might turn for information on racial problems and for aid in organizing interracial organizations and study groups has been the Commission. This consultation service has, of course, been ably supplemented by the great Negro universities and colleges of the South and the divisions of Negro education in the State departments of education. Likewise, the Urban League and the NAACP have been sources of aid, the latter especially of legal aid, to Negro groups where problems of discrimination, injustice, etc., have been involved. Perhaps none of the agencies mentioned has shown as wide a scope of services as has the Commission.

4. THROUGH PERFORMANCE AND SPONSORSHIP, THE COMMISSION HAS MADE A WORTHWHILE CONTRIBUTION TO RESEARCH ON RACE PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTH AND TO THE CREATION OF MORE COMPREHENSIVE LITERATURE ON THE SUBJECT

Mention might be made of the publications treating the status of the Negro in American society,[1] which have been very valuable in giving a general picture of the Negro in the Nation. The subject of lynching has been well covered by the Commission in its research publications[2] and in more general popular documents.[3] Certainly these publications constitute the best collection of materials on lynching which are available. They have been widely used by study groups, students of race problems, and editors.

Woofter's early comprehensive study of *Negro Problems in Cities*[4] was inspired and financed by the Commission.

The compilations and analysis of data on the comparative status of Negro and white educational facilities, finances, and opportunities have been regularly issued by the Commission's staff,[5] and have no doubt done much toward lessening the gap between educational differentials in the South.

Problems of Agriculture and Labor. The recent outstanding work on sharecroppers by Raper and Reid[6] was financed largely by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and Atlanta University. At this point, mention should be made of earlier studies on farm tenancy sponsored by the Commission, summary of which was published in *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*, by Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, and W. W. Alexander, University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Somewhat later, a study was made of the Negro in the iron, steel, meat-packing, and railroad car industries. This study, sponsored by the Commission, was made by Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, and their findings are reported in *Black Workers and the New Unions*, published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1939.

The above publications are only a few of the research documents prepared either by staff members of the Commission or by non-staff persons chosen especially to do the studies.

The Commission has never posed as a research

[1] Such as *America's Tenth Man*, of which about 250,000 copies have been printed.

[2] Arthur Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933); *Mississippi and the Mob* (1924); *Lynchings and What They Mean* (1931); *The Mob Still Rides* (1936); Jessie Daniel Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching* (Atlanta Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., 1942).

[3] As, for example, *Toward Lynchless America* (1940).

[4] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1928).

[5] For example, *The South—Child Rich—Dollar Poor* (1942). Data on education are frequently published in *The Southern Frontier*.

[6] Arthur Raper and Ira deA. Reid, *Sharecroppers All* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940).

organization, but has operated first of all as an educational, and secondarily as an action, agency, giving such attention to pieces of research as would contribute to these ends or to the mitigation of critical problems affecting southern Negroes and southern whites.

Mention should be made at this point of the effective assembling of information on state race problems by some of the state interracial committees. The committees of Georgia,[7] Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia have done effective work in giving the people of their respective states sound information on interracial problems within these States.

5. THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION HAS CONTRIBUTED MUCH TO THE MITIGATION OF LYNCHING AND TO THE REDUCTION OF OTHER FORMS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH

The president of one of the great southern universities for Negroes is strong in his conviction

> that much of the advancement which has been made in race relations, including the drastic reduction in lynching, interracial violence, and ill feeling, has been due to the patient and persistent efforts which the Commission has made.

This expresses the opinion of many other persons questioned in connection with the study.

Conflict Prevented Through Contact. Numerous examples have been encountered where the work of staff members of the Commission or of State Councils of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching,[8] or local committees have been instrumental in preventing lynchings or other forms of violence. This has been accomplished largely through direct contact with law enforcement officers, or through getting influential citizens in the conflict area to get in touch with local law enforcement officials. Under such pressure, even when feeling runs high, local officials usually make an attempt to enforce the law. Of course, the speed with which a lynching may occur sometimes makes it impossible for the conflict situation to be known to the members of the State Council before it takes place.

Effective Leadership in Preventing Lynching. An important part of the Commission's program to reduce lynching has been the publication of statistics, cases, and other data on lynching.[9] These have produced some degree of embarrassment among public officials and have been instrumental in achieving improved enforcement of the law. One of the most encouraging aspects of the anti-lynching campaign has been the wholehearted cooperation of leading southern newspapers.

Lynching has been justified in the past on the ground that it was necessary for the protection of white women. The work of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching has helped to undermine and discredit this supposition. Through the Association, nearly 45,000 women and 1,318 peace officers pledged themselves to work for the eradication of lynching and to impress upon the South that lynching is unnecessary for the protection of southern women.

Since the period 1916–1920, when the Commission was organized (1919), lynchings decreased from 300 to 189 in 1920–1925; to 88 during the period 1925–1930; to 84 from 1930 to 1935; to 30 from 1935 to 1940; to 4 in 1941; and to 5 in 1942.[10]

Reduction of Lynching a Cooperative Achievement. No thesis is presented bearing the claim that the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation or the work of local and State interracial organizations has been entirely responsible for the great decrease in lynching. The New Deal, with its sympathetic attitude toward minorities, the growth of State highway patrols; better communication, such as radio; the far-reaching influence of the churches; the activities of Tuskegee Institute; the work of the NAACP and the Urban League, all have made their contribution to an effective reduction in lynching.[11] Above the efforts of any single agency operating in the South to reduce lynching, the work of the Commission seems to emerge as singularly significant.

Legal Aid and Court Action. From time to time the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has inspired court action or has cooperated in court action where there was violence, miscarriage of

[7] For example, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has devoted issues of the *Georgia Observer* to the following topics: "Georgia Problems" (1938); "Health Needs of the Negroes in Georgia" (1940); and "Economic and Social Conditions of Negroes in Georgia" (1940).

[8] This Association was set up by the Commission in 1930.

[9] *A Statement from Governor Hugh M. Dorsey as to the Negro in Georgia* (Atlanta, April 22, 1921).

[10] Jessie Daniel Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching*, p. 11.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 14–19.

justice, or where the people were aroused over a racial situation.[12] An important, appropriate illustration was the recent appeal of the case of Ira Taylor of Hancock County, Georgia, financed by the Commission to test the "peonage laws" of Georgia. After going through the state courts, the case was carried to the United States Supreme Court by two Georgia lawyers, one of whom served without compensation, and on January 12, 1942, the law was declared unconstitutional. Another illustration, some years back, was the celebrated "Williams Case," involving peonage on a plantation in Jasper County, Georgia, where eleven of the important witnesses were murdered in order to cover up evidence. The Commission pushed this case and obtained convictions for the principals involved. Other less spectacular instances of court action might be cited.

6. THE COMMISSION HAS INFLUENCED LEGISLATION AND MOVEMENTS DESIGNED TO ALLEVIATE SOUTHERN PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY THE PROBLEMS OF NEGROES, AND TO IMPROVE THE STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE SOUTH

In its early studies of lynching, the Commission found that lynching was closely tied in with submarginal areas and with substandard conditions of people. This pointed the way to the possibilities which might be inherent in preventing lynching and in improving race relations by improving social, economic, and educational conditions of the people. As a result of these observations, the vision of the Commission's approach to race problems was greatly enlarged.

Leadership in Legislation. The President and Director of the Commission were active in obtaining a grant to study the effect of the AAA program upon the Negro. The results of this study, presented to the public in a number of releases and reports, were embodied in *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*, which was drawn upon extensively in developing the program of the Farm Security Administration. Leaders of the Commission played an important part in shaping the legislation which established this agency. The Commission, with State and local interracial committees, was an effective influence in the passage of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, the development of a non-discriminatory federal policy on the employment of Negroes in war industries, and the broadening of the principles governing the mobilization of Negroes in the armed forces. Numerous instances are reported where state and local interracial groups have been influential in getting public funds for improved edicational programs, in breaking down teacher-salary differentials, and in getting better facilities for education.

7. THE COMMISSION IS CONTRIBUTING TO THE MITIGATION OF RACIAL PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF PRESENT WAR CONDITIONS

A definite step was taken in this direction in the late spring of 1942, when State interracial workers were assembled in Atlanta to discuss race problems arising out of the mobilization of manpower and industry in the war effort.

Definite Plans Developed. At this conference definite steps were taken toward getting at least one semipermanent Negro chaplain[13] and recreational director in each camp housing Negro military units of any size. Through these, the interracial committees would work with the military police and with civil authorities in handling local interracial problems. Steps were taken also toward organizing interracial committees in towns near camps in which Negro soldiers were quartered and in towns where defense industries were creating problems of population pressures, either of white upon Negro communities or of Negro upon white communities.

At the Atlanta conference, pamphlet material on racial good will and national unity was outlined. Plans were also made to exchange information on successful techniques in the handling of local biracial problems during the emergency and to

[12] The Commission has had only limited funds for this work and has confined itself to cases involving changes in the fundamental law or those particularly significant because of their effect on public opinion. There is a very great need for some form of legal aid for the masses of both white and colored people who are, as a rule, too poor and too ignorant to avail themselves of protection under the law. Into this general field the limited finances of the Commission have never permitted it to go.

Two very important documents on the legal status of Negroes have been financed by the Commission: J. H. Chadburn, *Lynching and the Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933); and Charles S. Mangum, Jr., *The Legal Status of the Negro* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940).

[13] The plan called for keeping at least one chaplain in a camp on a semipermanent basis as a means of giving some continuity to the religious, recreational, and social program.

publicize the progress of Negroes in the armed forces and in defense industries. Programs have been worked out for the use of local groups which are faced with problems of transportation, administration of justice, employment, and the spread of rumors which cause tensions during the war and post-war periods.[14] In certain problem areas "listening posts" have been established to record the pulse of the community on racial attitudes, and in others interracial groups have been organized.[15] In some camps, away from centers of population, recreational "day rooms" have been provided for Negro soldiers. Some of these have been sponsored by State and local interracial bodies. Local organizations, especially in the Norfolk, Virginia, and Jacksonville, Florida, areas, have been able to arrange for special transportation facilities for Negro soldiers and defense workers.

Work Unfinished. While this work of the Commission, designed to soften the impact of war and post-war conditions upon race relations, is not in its finished stages, it bids fair to reach considerable proportions and to be accompanied by some success. With many agencies concerned about such problems and with the scene of the problems shifting rapidly, the extent of the success of the work is difficult to estimate at this stage. It is sufficient to say that it is wise to perfect machinery and organizations now to deal with whatever racial problems may arise out of the war and post-war conditions.

II. THE CASE FOR THE CONTINUATION OF A SOUTHERN INTERRACIAL ORGANIZATION[16]

It is clear that the arguments for the continuation of a privately operated interracial commission not only must present a background appraisal of the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation to date (Part I of this report), but also must consider the work which the Commission performs, or may perform, against an appraisal of the work of other agencies now concerned with race problems and with the condition and status of minority elements in the population.

Private Initiative and Governmental Endeavor. One of the most difficult problems which might be tackled first is the question of whether there is need for a private agency, such as the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, in a social picture so dominated by government as the present one.

It is, of course, true that almost from the beginning of the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933) a great interest in the problem of minority groups has been shown by many leaders of the Federal government. Numerous commissions, agencies, and pieces of legislation have been created, and statements of policy have been issued which have had a bearing upon racial status, interracial relationships, improvement of economic conditions of minorities, and the utilization of minorities in the total war effort.

Toward achieving a greater security for American minorities and to the end of improving the relationship between races, mention might be made of the enactment into law of the Farm Security Administration; the passage of the Jones-Bankhead tenancy bill; the establishment of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices (established by Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941);[17] a more liberal policy on the part of the Army and Navy toward the acceptance and recruitment of Negroes; the employment of staff members with the Special Service Division of the War Department to work with Army staff officials in the area of race relations; and the setting up of a Division of Special Service to Minority Groups as part of the program of mobilizing human resources toward the prosecution of the total war effort.

Dependence Upon Government. There are those who believe that government can deal with all

[14] These study outlines are prepared under the title *What About It?* The one referred to here bears the subtitle, "National Unity and Civilian Morale."

[15] For instance, in the South Carolina counties bordering Georgia.

[16] For purposes of definition, the South, as used in this article, refers to the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Limited assistance is given to a few States outside this area.

[17] Two paragraphs of Executive Order 8802 indicate the present position of the Federal government toward the full participation of all races in the defense program, to wit:

"1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

"2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin."

aspects of the racial problem and who visualize that the pressure which Negroes and interested white prople exert upon government will be ample to force Federal governmental action at all times. There is no guarantee, it seems, that this is true. On the other hand, however, there is no immediate visible guarantee that the present interest of the Federal government in minorities will greatly decrease; on the contrary, it is likely to increase. However, a more conservative and reactionary national administration like the one at the end of the first World War might not only wreck what has been done to date, but might also fail to provide effective substitutes. The recent national elections (1942) indicate a trend in this direction. In short, we must place our confidence partially in faith when we say that the great American racial issues and problems will be taken care of by the Federal government. The reaction of government to pressure makes it difficult to legislate in favor of minorities when they do not represent more than 10 percent of the population, and where, in composition, they are below the majority in political and economic strength.

Developing Danger Signals. At the end of the first year of this Nation in the second World War, there still creeps out in this country evidence of a rather strong element of isolationism. This was given concrete expression in the recent national elections. There are some who believe that this could easily develop into a form of racialism involving not only Negroes but other minorities, especially Jews. Should this develop, there would be a critical need, if national security and international safety are to be preserved, for effective private agencies to develop a counter-attack to minimize the effect of such a movement.

Visualized at its best, a pattern of relations between two or more races held together by governmental pressure, by Federal statute, and by police powers would be far less satisfactory to the races concerned than one in which mutual respect, regard, and equality of opportunity were, in part at least, the products of an enlightened opinion and cooperative will, aside from whatever laws might be necessary to maintain such rights or opportunities. Patterns of race relations which are not, in part, the result of the cooperative will of the folk and which are held together by governmental pressures are likely to develop powerful counter results at any time.

Methods of Government and the Commission Complementary. Methods likely to be used by government in improving the patterns of racial relationship in this country will, doubtless, include subsidies, legislation, or governmental pressure of one type or another. There is little assurance that the government may undertake the task of educating groups in racial understanding and in the peaceful arbitration of differences. The exceedingly important task of organizing interracial groups to consider problems which affect both races is likely to continue to remain the problem of private endeavor for many years to come. In spite of all that government might do, there appears to be a definite place for the voluntary agency doing the type of work which the Commission on Intraracial Cooperation has been doing in the past or may do in the future.

Post-War Tendency to Decentralize. Following World War II, there is likely to be the usual movement to decentralize many powers of the Federal government delegated to it from necessity during the period of the war, and to abolish some of these powers and return others to the States and local communities. The prospect of decentralization of Federal power holds poor possibilities for greatly improved race relations via the route of the Federal government. Then, too, whatever the role of the Federal government in race relations, we must remember that it is a long way from Washington to racial conflict situations in central Georgia, western Mississippi, western Louisiana, or eastern Texas.

Whatever the implications for democracy, efforts of the Federal government to aid minorities through its various service programs have been most effective where the Federal government has carried these services directly to the people. Where the aid has been channeled through local and State governmental bodies, it has not been difficult for these units and local communities to divert such aid away from Negroes and other minorities. Thus, there is indicated a need for agencies to work in the changing of local attitudes and practices. Then, too, many of the problems in race relations are those involving local police; local health conditions and resources; local educational and welfare systems; local farm labor and industrial practices; and local attitudes—things local, which the Federal government can not touch, or can touch only remotely.

Numerous individuals have suggested that the governors of the various states be prevailed upon

to appoint State interracial commissions, which might function within the States. In view of the attitude which certain southern governors have recently shown toward racial issues, it seems clear that any State action which some of the States would undertake could not possibly be satisfactory and would likely suffer political infanticide, and that it is perhaps better that a private agency take the lead in the organization of such groups.

Still a Need for Private Initiative. The consensus seems to be that there does not exist in the Federal and State governments a program of racial welfare and interracial cooperation adequate to cope with the racial issues and problems of this country, and that the work which government performs in this field does not constitute an adequate substitute for what the Commission has been doing in the past or may do in the near future. In spite of all that the governmental units are likely to accomplish, there will still be a job for private agencies to do.

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Dixie Interrace Group Formed For Good Will

White and Negro Leaders Attend Session at Atlanta University.

Organization of a Southern Regional Council to promote interracial co-operation and good will in the United States was announced here yesterday by Dr. Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina, co-chairman, following a meeting of southern white and Negro leaders at Atlanta University.

Proponents said they hoped the organization will be a forerunner to a nation-wide movement, a formal statement of the group having called on President Roosevelt to set up a national council.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., is the other co-chairman. The two educators will serve as presiding officers until the organization is perfected.

New Declaration.

Purpose of the council, Dr. Odum explained, is to carry out what the conference adopted as "a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better order of our society."

Dr. Odum said the southern council is to be composed of representatives of both races and private and public groups.

A meeting of Negroes in Durham, N. C., in October and a conference of white leaders in Atlanta in April preceded the organization of the council.

In the organization statement, it was declared: "We propose to substitute the measures of the good society for the old biological struggle of physical survival . . . we must dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now."

31 Attend.

Sixteen white and 15 Negro committee members attended the initial meeting. Besides Dr. Odum and Dr. Johnson, they were:

William E. Cole, professor sociology at the University of Ten-

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William E. Cole, professor sociology at the University of Tennessee; E. A. McDowell, of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; J. McDowell Richards, of Atlanta; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, secretary, Christian social relations, Women's Social Christian Service, southeastern jurisdiction of the Methodist church; Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch; Homer P. Rainey, president of the University of Texas. Miss Josephine Wilkins, director of the citizens' fact-finding movement in Georgia; Francis R. Bridges, chairman of the Florida state parole board; Mrs. Henry H. Havens, chairman of race relations for the province of Sewanee in the Episcopal church; Goodrich C. White, president of Emory University; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist church; Philip Shulhafer, of Atlanta; Monsignor T. James McNamara, of Georgia; C. H. Gillman, of the CIO in Atlanta; Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, Atlanta; Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, president of Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga.; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, where the meeting was held; Dr. B. E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta; P. B. Young, editor-publisher, Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Virginia Union University, Richmond. Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.; Carter Wesley, editor-publisher, the Informer, Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel, Houston, Texas; Ernest Delpit, president and business manager, Carpenters' Local (AFL), New Orleans; Z. Alexander Looby, of Tennessee; Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.; Grace Townes Hamilton and Ira D'Ea Reid, both from Georgia, and A. W. Dent, of Louisiana.

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ORIGINS

It has been charged that SRC is the successor to the SCHW.

This falsehood is exposed by the well-documented record of SRC's development as an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Atlanta-Durham-Richmond conferences. A summary of this official history appeared in THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER of March 1944 under the title "The Southern Regional Council":

(copy marked passage)

FILE COPY

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The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

VOL. V MARCH, 1944 NUMBER 3

The Southern Regional Council

Its Organization

On October 4, 1940, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., instructed its Executive Committee "to take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the development of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South.

On January 6, 1944, after many months of work, and following the developments and instructions growing out of the conference of Southern Negroes, held in Durham, N. C. October 20, 1942, the conference of Southern whites held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 8, 1943, and the conference of Negroes and whites held in Richmond, Va., June 16, 1943, the Southern Regional Council was incorporated. At the meeting of the incorporators of the Southern Regional Council (Dr. Howard W. Odum, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Bishop A. J. Moore, and Mr. Ralph McGill), held in Atlanta, Georgia, February 11, 1944, charter members of the SRC were designated: all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and all active participants in one or more of the conferences leading to the formation of the Southern Regional Council.

On February 16, 1944, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta at a special meeting and took the following action:

> It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation:
>
> It was, upon motion duly made and seconded—*Resolved* that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.

On the same date the charter members of the Southern Regional Council met in Atlanta, adopted by-laws, elected officers, and formulated the initial policy of the organization, stating as their purpose the

(*Continued on Page* 2)

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Its Program and Methods

The Southern Regional Council will operate in all of the states of the South in an effort to improve the region's economic, civic, social and racial conditions.

It proposes to promote greater unity among people and agencies in all efforts for regional and racial adjustment; to attain, through research and action, progress and equal opportunity for all people; to reduce race tensions, misunderstanding, distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of national, regional and racial development. These are its long-time goals.

For its immediate objectives the SRC proposes to perfect its organization, to conserve and enlarge the scope of work now being done by the local and state interracial bodies; to take the preliminary steps necessary to bring about a realization of the long-time goals mentioned above, and to give immediate attention to war and postwar problems in the South.

The SRC plans to operate through several commissions in the fields of human relations, economic affairs, community welfare, public affairs, and cultural development.

The programs under these commissions will be sponsored with the aid of approximately 100 elected Fellows of the SRC, selected from the several states, and with the cooperation of local and regional religious, social, and economic groups.

One of the chief purposes of the SRC will be the development of new techniques and strategies for meeting constructively the problems of the region. To achieve this end the SRC will encourage the development of action groups at local, state and regional levels; recruit and develop leadership; develop necessary research through the universities and colleges of the region; seek to remold and articulate public opinion through the radio, press, speakers and publications; cooperate with and stimulate action in the region from Federal, state and local governments; conduct special experiments and programs in an effort to effect desirable changes in the South; render such specialized services as may be necessary in this connection; render such emergency services as may be necessary; hold technical conferences; promote fuller participation in democratic processes in the South; and utilize with greater effec-

(*Continued on Page* 4)

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

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Subscription rate . . . . . 25c a year

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, MARCH, 1944

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

This is a most opportune time for launching the Southern Regional Council. In a sense, the eyes of the nation are upon the South today. The war has focused a spotlight upon democracy, revealing as never before her strength and her weakness. Here in the South democracy has been leading a double life. It has not yet squared itself with the problem of race and color, and that problem may well be the greatest one of the next century. What we do here in the South, then, has the most intimate kind of connection with the fortunes of democracy and the future of race relations, not only in this nation but in the entire world.

We have dedicated ourselves to the building of a better South, and we must not falter. History does not make itself. It is always made by people and their ideas. It can just as easily be made by people with good ideas as by people with bad ideas, if the people with the good ideas are willing to work hard enough. Somebody has to do more hard thinking and constructive work on this problem of race relations than has ever been done before, and it is up to the white and Negro leaders of the South to do it.

But how shall we define our problem in more specific terms? The very least we can do in order to square our habits with our democratic ideals is to try honestly and courageously to take the inequalities and inequities out of the biracial civilization of the South. If we devote our very best statesmanship and untiring energy for the next twenty years to the realization of this goal, we shall have served our generation well. We should not pretend to believe that this alone will solve the race problem, because we know that this problem is not so easily solved. But we can believe that it covers the next stage in the unfolding process which may lead to the ultimate solution of the race problem.

We in the Southern Regional Council are establishing a blue-print for the shape of things to come. We are building for the future—not one year, not five years, but for all the centuries that may lie ahead. Who knows but that the work we are undertaking here and now represents a turning point in the history of the South? If we, through this Council and its cooperating agencies, can bequeath our children a more democratic, a more abundant South, we shall have done our part toward the fulfillment of the great American dream. But, if we falter and fail, our children must bear a yoke of social handicaps greater than we have ever known.

South Carolina Incident

On February 29 the South Carolina House of Representatives passed a resolution which has attracted a great deal of attention. Introduced by Mr. John Long of Union, a lawyer and one-time private secretary to U. S. Senator Cole Blease, the resolution said, in part:

"We indignantly and vehemently denounce the intentions, utterances and actions of any person or persons and of all organizations seeking the amalgamation of the white and Negro races by a comingling of the races upon any basis of equality, as being destructive to the identity and characteristics and integrity of both races, and as being un-American and hostile to the existence and preservation of the American union of states . . .

"We reaffirm our belief in and our allegiance to established white supremacy as now prevailing in the South, and we solemnly pledge our lives and our sacred honor to maintaining it, whatever the cost, in war and in peace."

"That insofar as racial relations are concerned, we firmly and unequivocally demand that henceforth the damned agitators of the North leave the South alone."

This being the open season for political buncombe, one need not be greatly surprised by such a resolution, and one can take it with the proverbial grain of salt. The time was when such things were allowed to pass unchallenged, but times are changing. The South Carolina resolution was promptly challenged by two groups of South Carolinians, one a group of Negro citizens and the other a group of white citizens. In a letter to Representative Long, the Negro Citizens' Committee of South Carolina said: "Your resolution . . . is astonishing to the Negroes of South Carolina, especially in times like these. . . . Negroes throughout South Carolina disclaim any idea of amalgamation of whites and Negroes. . . . They are asking for full justice in the courts, . . . for the right to exercise their franchise in primaries where candidates are chosen to serve in public offices, and the denial of such rights is un-American and undemocratic. . . . The fight for such rights, whether instituted by an individual or an organization, if such fight is through the courts, state and federal, cannot be blasted as one of agitation and hostile to the existence and preservation of the American union of states."

Twenty influential white South Carolinians also issued a statement. They felt that it was time "to let our colored citizens know that the better element of white people in South Carolina do not think or feel as the House of Representatives," and they called for "a drastic revision in our attitude toward our colored citizens." Their statement went on to point out the following disadvantages which the Negro suffers: (1) denial of equal opportunity; (2) retarded economic status; (3) fixed status as a servant and menial; (4) inferior educational facilities; (5) frequent denial of justice in the courts; (6) discrimination in civic improvements; (7) lack of participation in his own government. Furthermore, the statement pointed out some constructive steps which need to be taken: (1) serious study of the race problem by white groups; (2) inclusion of Negroes on juries and other public bodies administering the laws; (3) better educational opportunities; (4) better mutual understanding between white and Negro workers; (5) fair wages and better working hours for domestic workers; (6) use of the ballot box by all qualified voters.

"Social equality," said these white citizens, "is not a part of the Negro problem in South Carolina," since "social life is of individual making." As for "white supremacy," they express the belief that "The only white supremacy which is worthy of the name is that which exists because of virtue, not of power."

This statement by white South Carolinians might well serve as a model for the citizens of other states who are weary of the agitation of the race issue by our own home-grown variety of demagogues. Lee Morris, in the St. Petersburg *Independent*, puts the matter this way: "Let's remember that white supremacy is as ugly a phrase as Negro supremacy, and for the same reason. We have a nation of human beings. Let them live together separately, as races, if you wish; let them marry separately, as races; but never let one race deny freedom and justice and opportunity and humanity again to the other."

SRC—Its Organization

(*Continued from Page* 1)

following directive from the charter of the organization:

> . . . the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

An American Dilemma

Through a grant made by the Carnegie Corporation, Gunnar Myrdal, economic advisor to the Swedish government, and a member of the Swedish Senate, made a comprehensive study of the Negro problem and modern democracy in the United States. No mere review could encompass or interpret the wide range of this significant study designed to contribute to the general "advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding." (*An American Dilemma*, Gunnar Myrdal, New York. Harper and Brothers. 1944. 2 vols. $7.50.)

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA offers a basic challenge to the American people. Speaking of "America's Opportunity," Dr. Myrdal says:

● In the present phase of history this is what the world needs to believe. Mankind is sick of fear and disbelief, of pessimism and cynicism. It needs the youthful moralistic optimism of America. But empty declarations only deepen cynicism. Deeds are called for. If America in actual practice could show the world a progressive trend by which the Negro became finally integrated into modern democracy, all mankind would be given faith again—it would have reason to believe that peace, progress and order are feasible. And America would have a spiritual power many times stronger than all her financial and military reserves—the power of the trust and support of all good people on earth. *America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity.* pp.1021-1022.

The two volumes merit extensive study. Here are a few comments, expositions and challenges pertinent to that section of the United States of which Dr. Myrdal has written:

● The pro-slavery theory of the antebellum South is basic to certain ideas, attitudes, and policies prevalent in all fields of human relations even at the present time . . . churchmen, writers, and statesmen of the South came out against the principle of equality as formulated in the Declaration of Independence. This principle came to be ridiculed as a set of empty generalities and meaningless abstractions. Indeed, it was "exuberantly false, and aborescently fallacious." p. 86-87

● Southern conservatism is a unique phenomenon in Western civilization in being carried to an established pattern of illegality. . . . In the South we have, however, the unmatched political spectacle that the liberals are the party of law and order, while the conservatives are the habitual transgressors. The party which works for change has the established law on its side, or rather, wants to enforce it, but has not the political power; the party which stands for the *status quo* has the power but not the law. . . . In the South a veritable reversal of the usual order of democracy has established itself. pp. 440-441

● Thus the opportunistic disrespect for law, order and public morals has a complicated causation and a deep-rooted history in the South. The tradition is today still part of the way of life and as such is often patriotically cherished as distinctively Southern. It is certainly one of the most sinister historical heritages of the region. It spells danger for a democratic society and involves serious maladjustments. p. 451

● There is an amazing avoidance of issues in Southern politics. The South votes for men—Democratic men—but rarely ever for issues, unless the issue is defined in black and white. We have to remember that in a measure this is a characteristic of all American politics. But in the South, it is driven to its extreme. p. 453

● . . . Keeping the Negroes disfrancised in the face of the clear-cut constitutional Amendments allows Southern conservatism nothing more than a pretense of respect for the law. On this most crucial point it is doomed to insincerity. p. 446

● It would generally be inexplicable why the South, with all its traditions of inequality and illegality, is so definitely on the way toward social democracy and law observance, and why it is not headed the other way. The conservative Southerner is not so certain as he sometimes sounds. He is a split personality. Part of his heart belongs to the American Creed. And if one argues that this is mere hypocrisy, he is entirely missing the point. The Southern conservative white man's faith in American democracy, which he is certainly not living up to, and the Constitution, which he is circumventing are living forces of decisive dynamic significance. p. 462

● When attempting to map the political opinions of white Southern liberalism, it must first be recalled that the region is exceptional in Western nonfascist civilization since the Enlightenment in that it lacks nearly ever trace of radical thought. In the South all progressive thinking going farther than mild liberalism has been practically nonexistent for a century. p. 469.

● As far as the cultural and social adjustment of the Negroes is concerned, the Southern police system is undoing much of what Northern philanthropy and Southern state governments are trying to accomplish through education and by other means. p. 450

● The South, particularly, needs a stress on the preventive aims and the peace-working functions of the police. p. 545

● In principle, the average white Southerner is no longer prepared to defend racial inequality of justice. p. 556

● Probably the most effective means of bringing the Southern courts more rapidly to acquire a fixed pattern of carefulness and equity would be the setting up of legal aid agencies everywhere in the South which, manned by high class professional lawyers, would be instructed not to work for any new legislation, but to assist poor whites and Negroes to enforce their rights under existing laws in civil and criminal cases. p. 556

● Court decisions are increasingly exposing the Southern statutes backing the system of institutional segregation as unconstitutional. This system is thus gradually losing its legal sanctions and increasingly depending upon extra-legal or illegal sanctions. p. 629

● "Social equality" is still a terribly important matter in the region. But it is not as important as it was a generation ago. p. 662

● The Negro hates the Negro role in American society, and the Negro leader, who acts out this role in public life, becomes the symbol of what the Negro hates. p. 774

● The Interracial Commission has not fulfilled the promises it once gave. . . . The respectability the Commission has built up for interracial work in the South is a form of capital, but as such it is of no use at all if it is not invested, and even risked, in new ventures. p. 849

● The post-war crisis in the South will not be minor. p. 849

● The South is far from having achieved the Commission's aims, and the liberal forces of the region are weak. p. 845

● It seems justifiable to predict a growing tension between the two regions, one which will not be restricted to the Negro issue. There is not going to be civil war, of course. The South has been, and is, changing rapidly, and Southern liberalism has been coming to be a force though it was practically nowhere in political power and today is fearfully timid on the Negro issue. p. 1015

● In planning for future race relations in the South the factor of personal intimacy and friendliness between individual whites and Negroes upon the old patriarchal principle should be left out entirely as lacking in practical importance. p. 649

● The great majority of Southern conservative white people do not see the handwriting on the wall. They do not study the impending changes; they live again in the pathetic illusion that the matter is settled. They do not care to have any constructive policies to meet the trends. They think no adjustments are called for. The chances that the future development will be *planned* and *led* intelligently—and that, consequently, it will take the form of cautious, fore-sighted reforms instead of unexpected, tumultuous, haphazard breaks, with mounting discords and anxieties in its wake—are indeed small. pp. 519-20

It Does Happen Here

● The U. S. Navy announces the appointment of 14 Negroes as Ensigns and Warrant Officers. Negro staff officers in the Navy are expected to be commissioned from civilian life.

● It was called a "Race Equality Book." It did not matter that there was no discussion of race equality in it. Someone said it was that. We refer to *The Races of Mankind* by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. It is illustrated by Joseph Reinhardt. This is a ten-cent pamphlet, No. 85 in a series issued by the Public Affairs Committee. The USO banned it. The United States Army refused it for the use of our soldiers, who are of all races of mankind. . . . Most of the book contains hard, scientifically valid fact. Some times there is philosophy and social fact. Here is what is said about race prejudice:

> Race prejudice is, after all, a determination to keep a people down, and it misuses the label "inferior" to justify unfairness and injustice. Race prejudice makes people ruthless; it invites violence. It is the opposite of "good character" as it is defined in the Christian religion—or in the Confucian religion, or in the Buddhist religion, or the Hindu religion, for that matter.

● The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee reports that during the last six months of 1943 there was satisfactory compliance with 359 orders to cease discrimination against employees on account of their race, religion or alien origin. During this period 208 cases were dropped because of insufficient evidence, 256 were dropped for lack of merit, 127 were withdrawn by the complainant, and 36 were dismissed for lack of committee jurisdiction. Race was the basis for most of the discrimination, involving 716 cases. Cases arising out of religious discrimination numbered 127 during the period.

● The 93rd Air Squadron is the second unit of Negro fliers to see action in the European-African war theatres. The officers are Negroes.

● In an effort to offset the recent efforts of Negro school teachers to secure equalization of pay in South Carolina, the Charleston *News-Courier* proposes that one way of handling the matter would be to "classify by state legislation all professors and teachers in the public schools as public officers and elect them in the white primaries."

● The Twenty-fourth Regiment of the United States Army became the first Negro combat unit to go into action in the South Pacific. The War Department reports that the Regiment "gave a good account of itself in jungle warfare."

Opinion

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER wants expressions from its readers on how they feel about the approach it plans to make in connection with a social action program in the South. It invites correspondence on matters that are close to the hearts and minds of Southern and Northern people. Through this channel of opinion it may be possible to arrive at a common ground of thinking, from which we can move forward to a higher plane of action.

The following excerpts from a letter written by a retired minister indicate some of the challenges we face:

> It is one thing to believe and proclaim the absolute Right in race relations; it is quite another thing boldly to challenge racial conventions and defy bitter prejudice and to ride roughshod to our goal, regardless.
>
> I speak from long experience—something painful. In pulpit and press I have declared for a treatment of colored peoples based on recognition of the oneness of the race and the brotherhood of all men, urging the present glaring and dangerous injustice to the Negro, sometimes at the cost of persecution from the whites—and having to conclude that I'd have got farther toward the goal by slowing my pace—and crying, "O Lord, how long!"

SRC—Program and Methods

(*Continued from Page* 1)

tiveness the untapped resources of the region.

Full instructions for interracial bodies wishing to affiliate with the Southern Regional Council will be issued during April. Meanwhile, *any agency or organization willing to subscribe to the principles of the Council may apply for affiliated membership with all the rights and privileges granted such membership by the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council.*

The Southern Regional Council was not initiated to deter, retard, limit or defend the South. Its organization and promotion were contrived in sheer necessity. It welcomes the cooperation of all people, all agencies, everywhere, who are willing to make the sacrifices and take the initiative needed to make democracy a reality in the region.

The Southern Regional Council is opposed to the demagogic handling of the South's problems by Northerners or Southerners, be they white or black. It sees the problems of the South as a special phase of the problems of our democracy. It believes that a more intensive application of the principles of democracy within the region will yield a people better able to apply the principles of democracy extensively throughout the nation and the world. It believes that a quarter of a century's experience in race relations has provided the South with the opportunity to meet the problems of democracy and citizenship in a bigger, more social way than ever before. It dedicates its program to doing those things in the best way possible—here and now.

Books of the Month

Elsewhere in this issue we have presented excerpts from *An American Dilemma*. No one with a sincere interest in the problems of race and color can afford to be unfamiliar with these volumes, not so much for the facts they present as for the interpretation given these facts.

Characteristics of the American Negro (Otto Klineberg, Editor) is the last volume in the Carnegie Foundation series of studies on the American Negro. This volume contains analyses of some of the more argumentative aspects of race relations—intelligence, personality, race attitudes, intermarriage, and passing. (Harper and Brothers, $4.00.)

Strange Fruit is a novel by Lillian Smith, editor of *South Today*. We know of no work of fiction that has created such a stir in interracial circles since Carl VanVechten's *Nigger Heaven*. Many people do not like it; many more are buying it. Nevertheless, the reaction is interesting, for here is the first novel on the South which throws into bold relief, and in an interesting fashion, the five areas of Southern problems—race, religion, politics, sex and economics. Read it as Bacon advised three hundred years ago, "not to contradict and confute; not to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider." (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.75.)

13 Against The Odds by Julius Rosenwald Fund's President, Edwin R. Embree (Viking, $2.75), and *Rising Above Color* by Philip Henry Lotz (Association Press, $1.50), both deal with the careers of thirteen outstanding Negro personalities in the United States. If you like success stories of minority personalities you will find these two volumes interesting. Dr. Embree's character analyses are breezy, fresh, human, and up to date.

You might be interested in:

Ben Hecht's *A Guide For The Bedeviled* (Scribners, $2.50) because it is an exciting book on racial intolerance, particularly as it pertains to the problem of anti-Semitism.

Gerald W. Johnson's *American Heroes And Hero Worship* (Harper, $3.00) because one of the great ironies of Southern history is discussed in a chapter entitled "The Sons of Hagar."

Louis Fischer's *Empire* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $1.00) because he tells us why a large part of the world is tired of being "the white man's burden."

R. M. MacIver's *Towards An Abiding Peace* (MacMillan, $2.50) because it points out how the dreams of statesmen can be translated into the substance of earth.

Lucille B. Milner's "Our Jim Crow Army" in *The Nation* for March 13, 1944, because it tells the human stories of segregation and discrimination in our armed services.

S.R.C. BULLETIN

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

No. 1 For Members of the Southern Regional Council Nov. 10, 1944

ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of members of the SRC was postponed in the hope that we could arrange for two public evening sessions at which we could present speakers who could focus public attention on the problems of the South with special reference to the post-war period. When it became apparent that the desired speakers would not make any commitments until after the presidential election, it was necessary to go ahead and set a date for the annual meeting. By vote of the Executive Committee, the meeting will be held on Wednesday, December 6. There is still a possibility, now that the election is behind us, that a prominent liberal leader will consent to speak on the evening of December 5 or 6.

The meeting of SRC members will be held at Atlanta University at 10:30 A. M., December 6. The Board of Directors will meet immediately after the member meeting. This may be in the afternoon or evening of December 6, or even on the morning of December 7, depending on the time of adjournment of the member meeting.

The Executive Committee and the standing committees will be called for December 5. If you are a member of any of these committees, please look out for the announcement of committee schedules and make your plans to attend.

OUR NEW QUARTERS

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation reduced its staff during the last few years of its existence and gave up some of its rooms. When the Council took over the Commission quarters at 710 Standard Building, it was soon faced with the problem of space. It was impossible to get any additional room in Standard Building. In fact, the Southern Area Council of the Y. M. C. A., from whom we sub-rented, was pressing us to give up more space to their own expanding needs.

There was no choice but to look for new quarters. And what a job! Atlanta was full of government and private agencies looking for office space. When the situation seemed almost hopeless, Bishop Arthur J. Moore came to our rescue. The Wesley Memorial Building, owned by the North Georgia Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church, had a lot of space on its fourth floor which was being remodeled to house the Bishop's offices and other church activities. Through the kindness of the Bishop and the Building Committee, the Council was able to secure space in Wesley Memorial Building.

It was necessary to build partitions, to paint, put in floor covering, install light fixtures, etc., but after weeks of planning and construction we finally moved to our new quarters during the week of October 16.

We have twice our previous floor space for less rent, and we hope that our space problem is solved for several years.

Be sure to visit our new quarters when you are in Atlanta: Room 432 at 63 Auburn Avenue. Wesley Memorial Building is located at the corner of Auburn and Ivy. Enter on Auburn Avenue at the corner of the building farthest from Ivy and take the elevator to the fourth floor.

THE STAFF Have you tried lately to employ someone with very special qualifications? It isn't easy to find 'em, is it? Most of the bright young people of the sort we should like to have are either in the Service or in jobs which they are reluctant to leave.

On June 1 we obtained the services of Miss Margaret L. Fisher, formerly with the War Manpower Commission, to work in public relations. Miss Fisher resigned on November 1 to work with another agency. We are now on the trail of a publicity and editorial man, as well as two persons who can work actively in the field with state and local agencies and who can build up our financial support within the South. Here's hoping that we can present one or more new staff members at the annual meeting.

FINANCES It looks as if we shall just about break even on our 1944 budget. We are not particularly proud of this, because if we could have obtained the personnel we wanted, we should be glad to face a sizeable deficit.

Please bear in mind that a budget of about $38,000 is all right for an exploratory and planning year with a small staff, but if this Council is going to serve the South as it should, it must have a much broader financial base. We need at least $75,000 a year for the next three years.

MEMBERSHIP Although we have not had the facilities for putting on an intensive membership campaign, Council membership has grown to more than 400. More than one-third of these members have made contributions ranging from $1.00 to $25.00. The present dues of $1.00 a year are barely sufficient to pay the cost of carrying a member. Should these dues be raised? This question should receive your attention at the annual meeting.

COORDINATION CONFERENCE Your Executive Director will go to Washington on November 22 to attend a conference called by the American Council on Race Relations for the purpose of working out a division of labor and a better coordination of the work of the major agencies which are interested in race relations.

DEMOBILIZATION CONFERENCE The Executive Directors are glad to have had a part in the planning and execution of a conference on the theme of "Demobilization Challenges the Church" which was held

in Atlanta on November 1 and 2. The personnel at the conference included representatives of numerous religious and social agencies in several Southeastern states. After addresses by Dr. Russell H. Stafford, of Old South Church, Boston, and Dr. W. A. Smart of Emory University the conference divided into four work shop groups to discuss problems of the post war period: (1) Full employment, (2) Children and Youth, (3) The Churches' Ministry to the Family, (4) Group Tensions. The Council is distributing the findings of the work shop groups. We shall be glad to send copies on request.

FUTURE CONFERENCES — We hope, the budget permitting, to sponsor the following conferences early in 1945: (1) a conference of the leaders of women's groups in the South in the interest of constructive social action, (2) a conference of the heads of state interracial agencies for the purpose of coordinating the program and strategy of the SRC and the state organizations, (3) a conference of Fellows of the SRC.

PROPOSED PAMPHLETS — We want to issue a series of solid and authoritative pamphlets on various Southern problems. The list includes such subjects as The Southern People, Politics and Good Government, The Poll Tax, The Police and Race Relations, The Equalization of Educational Opportunities, Full Employment, Domestic Service, Freight Rates, Small Loans, and Sermons for Southerners.

Some of these pamphlets will be produced by our own staff, others by the best authorities we can get. We have already negotiated with certain experts and we have tentative commitments for the writing of several pamphlets.

STATE INTERRACIAL GROUPS — Because of the merging of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation with the SRC and the inability of the SRC at present to continue financial assistance to the state interracial groups, we have faced the problems of working out anew a satisfactory working relationship with these organizations. We have attended meetings of the state groups in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, and we feel that we have made some progress.

Since SRC differs from the Commission in structure and in its broad membership, the problem of working out some direct structural relationship with state groups is not easy. However, we have two definite plans which are being proposed to the state interracial organizations. In Plan I the state group would resolve itself into a state division of the SRC; that is, all SRC members living in that particular state would constitute the state division. In Plan II the state group would become an affiliate of SRC in a somewhat informal sense. One state organization has already expressed a readiness to adopt Plan I.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEES — From time to time there arise cases which SRC might well handle for the protection of the civil rights of citizens in the region. The central staff cannot undertake to investigate personally all such cases. Therefore we should like to proceed to the establishment of Civil Rights Committees in all our thirteen states. Each committee would be composed of five Council members and a legal advisor who may or may not be a member of the Council, and the duty of the Committees would be to advise the Executive Directors as to what action the Council should take in cases involving civil rights.

No. 1

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THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Its Origin and Purpose

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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"A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South."

Published in June, 1944

By

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

10 cents a copy *$1.00 a dozen* *$7.50 a hundred*

I

HOW THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL BEGAN

The Southern Regional Council, which began its existence as a formally organized body in February, 1944, is the product of many factors, but primarily it is the outgrowth of two parent movements. One of these was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The other was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond series of conferences.

1. *The Commission on Interracial Cooperation*

In 1919, during the dark days of racial conflict and Ku Kluxism which followed World War I, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was born. It represented a new idea in race relations—the idea that white people and Negroes should come together and strive to reach a "meeting of minds" on their mutual problems. This idea spread until there were scores of interracial committees operating in the South and elsewhere.

No one contends that the Commission did a perfect job, but no one who has observed the work of the Commission over a period of years can say flatly that it failed. It never claimed that its program would "solve" the race problem. Indeed, its leaders always made it clear that they were trying to take "the next steps" toward greater racial understanding and tolerance. This work has been of inestimable value to the South and to the nation. In its 25 years of operation, the Commission has made interracial conferences respectable almost everywhere in the South, has marshalled thousands of the church women of the South in opposition to lynching and other injustices, has sponsored significant researches on race relations, has issued two million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and has symbolized the faith of the Southern white people and Negro people in the processes of understanding and cooperation.

In 1939 the Commission leaders, feeling that the educational program which it started out to do had become thoroughly established, and recognizing the need for new blood and new ideas, began to explore the possibility of broadening the scope of the organization and improving its techniques. In October, 1940, the Commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on Southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South." Accordingly, an evaluative study of the Commission was made and a plan for expansion was drawn up. In the meantime, the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond conferences matured to a similar purpose, and the outcome was that on the day of the charter meeting of the Southern Regional Council, the Commission met and formally merged its program with, and transferred its assets to, the Southern Regional Council.[1]

The main efforts of the Council in its first few months of existence have been directed toward conserving and stimulating the state and local interracial committees throughout the South, because the Council believes that they must continue to play an important role in race relations and in implementing the program of the Council. The Commission will keep its legal entity for a time, but its program, revitalized and expanded, will be carried on as one phase of the work of the Southern Regional Council.

2. *The Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences*

The younger parent of the Southern Regional Council was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond series of conferences. The first chapter in the story of these conferences began with the meeting of a group of Southern Negro leaders at Durham in October, 1942. This conference was an outstanding event in the history of the South. It was a product of the rising tide of racial friction, and it was also in a sense a product of both the successes and the failures of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. These Negro leaders expressed their purpose as follows:

1. See Appendix E.

> We are proposing to set forth in certain "Articles of Cooperation" just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation. Instead of letting the demagogues guess what we want, we are proposing to make our wants and aspirations a matter of record, so clear that he who runs may read. We are hoping in this way to challenge the constructive cooperation of that element of the white South who express themselves as desirous of a New Deal for the Negroes of the South.

A Committee was appointed to draw up a "Charter" embodying the ideas agreed upon at the Conference, and on December 15, 1942, the Conference issued a document entitled "A Basis for Inter-Racial Cooperation and Development in the South . . . a statement by Southern Negroes."[2] This is a remarkable document. It deserves a place of honor in the annals of American democracy. It tells in plain and dignified language what the Negro wants—not what one or two Negroes want, not what white people *say* Negroes want, but what a large group of representative Negroes say for themselves. Never before had such a large and distinguished group of American Negro leaders come together and agreed upon something. The statement covers the following areas: Political and Civil Rights, Industry and Labor, Service Occupations, Education, Agriculture, Military Service, and Social Welfare and Health.

The second chapter in this movement was written on April 8, 1943, when a group of Southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement which had been issued by the Durham Conference. These white leaders said, among other things:

> Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate. All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism.
>
> It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and mutual respect.[3]

A third chapter was written on June 16, 1943, when a collaboration committee, composed of representatives from the Durham and Atlanta conferences, met in Richmond to work out further details. This meeting urged "the general adaptation of the Durham statement" and directed that a continuing committee be charged with "the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach."[4]

A fourth chapter in this movement was written at Atlanta on August 4, 1943, when a continuing committee of white and Negro delegates again met, this time to draw up specific plans for implementing the Durham statement. The conferees agreed upon "a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society," and the resolution which they passed said:

> We urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life and especially with a similar national group when established.[5]

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2. For the complete text of the Durham statement, see Appendix A.
3. For the complete text of the Atlanta Statement, see Appendix B.
4. For the complete text of the Richmond Statement, see Appendix C.
5. For the complete text of the Atlanta Resolution, see Appendix D.

As in any movement, there were in these conferences conflicts of personalities and of ideas, there were mistakes and limitations; but, considering the unusual variety of persons and interests represented, there was a remarkable spirit of unanimity. The important thing was that Southern Negro leaders had spoken out courageously, that white leaders had accepted the challenge, and that the two groups had covenanted to take the offensive for constructive social action in the South.

3. *Organization of the Council*

Following the Atlanta Resolution of August, 1943, there was much necessary committee work on procedure, finance, incorporation, etc. On January 6, 1944, the Southern Regional Council was chartered as a corporation by the State of Georgia "for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, . . . to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; . . ." [6]

Afterwards the Incorporators met and designated charter members: all persons who had participated in one of the preliminary conferences and all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation residing in the Council's area. Of approximately 270 persons thus designated, over 90% accepted charter membership. About 100 were present at the charter meeting in Atlanta on February 16-17, 1944, and they participated wholeheartedly in the meeting. For two days they discussed, they worked over by-laws, they elected officers, Board of Directors, executive directors, and executive committee. When they had finished, they had constructed a thoroughly democratic structure and government for their Council.

II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNCIL

The Southern Regional Council belongs to its members. It has a Board of Directors and an Executive Committee, but all actions of these groups are subject to review by the annual meeting of members. At the annual meetings, which will be held on the second Wednesday in October, every member in good standing is entitled to vote, either in person or by proxy. The membership can be increased indefinitely, if the members desire to do so. The conditions of membership are: (1) an affirmation of belief in the purposes of the Council, (2) residence in the Council area, and (3) payment of annual dues (at present one dollar). All new members must be confirmed by the members or by the Board of Directors.

The By-laws adopted at the charter meeting define the Council's area as the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Voting members must be residents of this area. Persons who live elsewhere and who wish to keep in touch with the work of the Council by receiving its literature regularly, may become Associates of the Council by paying a fee of one dollar a year.

The Board of Directors is at present composed of 64 persons of whom 58 are elected members and 6 are ex officio members. Every one of the thirteen states in the Council area is represented on the Board. The racial composition of the Board is 27 (42%) Negro members and 37 (58%) white members. The occupational distribution of Board members is as follows: education and related interests, 23; business, law, and medicine, 14; religion, 8; public office and civic work, 9; journalism, 4; labor, 4; miscellaneous, 2. In order to prevent the usual ills of ageing and ingrowing, the By-laws provide that no Board member may serve more than two consecutive terms of four years each.

The Council's By-laws provide for a National Advisory Committee, whose function will be the coordination of the work of the Southern Regional Council with the work of similar organizations in other parts

6. For the Charter of the Council, see Appendix F.

of the nation. There will also be one hundred Honorary Fellows of the Council, drawn from the ranks of young Southerners who show promise of progressive leadership, whose function will be to assist the Council as observers, correspondents, and special investigators.

III

PROGRAM AND METHODS

The Southern Regional Council represents the combined efforts of liberal and progressive people of both races to give democracy a chance in the South. Its long-time goal is the improvement of social, civic, economic, and racial conditions in the South. The Council is not exclusively a "race relations" organization, nor does it pretend to believe that it can "solve" the race problem, but it does believe that any sound movement for social progress must be based on the realization that the South cannot go far without democratizing its social order and giving all of its human resources a chance to develop their potentialities.

The Council's functions may be summarized as follows: (1) clearinghouse and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on Southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly paper, *The Southern Frontier*, and through pamphlets, press, radio, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private or official agencies; (5) constructive action at every possible point on the social, economic, political and racial problems of the South.

The immediate objectives of the Council are: (1) to develop its staff and facilities for effective work, (2) to conserve and revitalize the work of existing state and local interracial groups, (3) to promote a strategy conference of the major agencies working on social problems in the South, and (4) to initiate studies and conferences in the areas of police administration, post-war employment, and household service.

As for specific methods, the Council must rely upon the age-old techniques of propaganda, conference, petition, public appeal, personal influence, and the like. It is a voluntary organization, and it has no more power than the combined will, moral conviction, and integrity of its members. It does not believe in miracles, but it does believe that in spite of obstacles there is a range within which hard work and intelligent strategy can induce constructive social change.

IV

THE REGIONAL APPROACH

It is generally admitted, by Southerners and non-Southerners alike, that the South is "a state of mind," and the researches of distinguished scholars have shown beyond all doubt that there are social, economic, political, and cultural traits which set the South off as different from other American regions.

Every region has a certain amount of pride and self-consciousness, and in the South—a region which has long been the object of sympathy, contempt, ridicule, philanthropy, exploitation, and free advice—there is a particularly sensitive reaction to criticism and reform efforts which stem from the "outside." As a matter of fact, in such a situation "outside influences," however well intentioned, can and sometimes do retard progress by provoking defensive attitudes and providing alibis for inaction and demagoguery.

Critics of the SRC have tried to picture it as a "defensive" organization. It is dangerous, they say, because it is trying to solve, on a regional or sectional basis, problems that are really national. However, there is nothing inherently superior about an organization or reform movement

merely because it is "national," and nothing inherently inferior or dangerous about it merely because it is "regional." Many problems are national or even international in their scope, but it does not follow that they will be worked out everywhere at the same time and by the same methods. The test of the value of any movement or strategy is in what it achieves, and the Southern Regional Council believes that the surest and sanest way to achieve social progress in the South is to mobilize the efforts of liberal and progressive people within the region. The statement that "the South must work out its own salvation" is sound common sense and sound psychiatry. Certainly the South cannot achieve its fullest development and share equally with other regions in national affairs until it has taken the lead in working out its own problems.

The Southern Regional Council has posted no "keep out" signs and it has declared its willingness to cooperate with likeminded organizations—state, regional, and national. It has come neither to defend nor defame the South, but to help build a better South in a better nation. It dedicates itself to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

APPENDIX A

THE DURHAM CONFERENCE STATEMENT

On October 20, 1942, a group of Negro Southerners met in Durham, North Carolina, to discuss their problems and the changes which, in their opinion, would benefit not only Negroes themselves but the South and the nation. A committee was instructed to prepare a statement embodying the thinking of the Conference. In December, 1942, the following document was given to the public. It was entitled: "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South: a Statement by Southern Negroes."

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

(1) Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

(2) Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

(3) The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns.

We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races

or classes or creeds; however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.

(4) We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.

(5) We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

Political and Civil Rights

1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.
b. The abolition of the white primary.
c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise.

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice we believe can and should be discontinued now.

3. (a) Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

(b) It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Negro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

Industry and Labor

Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of

scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.

2. There should be the same pay for the same work.

3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers on a fair and equal basis.

4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts and other protective labor legislation.

5. It is the duty of local, state and Federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.

6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.

7. We regard the wage-and-job-freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income job brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.

8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

Service Occupations

Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified.

Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.

2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.

3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.

4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.*

5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories.

We believe that these provisions will help to insure more intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve both the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

Education

As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes and, indeed, to all under-privileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education is better schools, which involves expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities; this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the under-privileged child, of whatever race, the *same* opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

*In the present hysteria of many housewives who are losing poorly paid servants to better paying war industries, it seems desirable to emphasize that this proposal bears no relation to the fantastic and probably Axis inspired rumors of so-called "Eleanor Clubs."

Agriculture

The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33 per cent of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:
   a. Written contracts
   b. Longer lease terms
   c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
   d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.

2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.

3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.

4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

Military Service

We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

Social Welfare and Health

1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts even with improvement of their economic status. As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Negroes would include the following:
   a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients;
   b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practitioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals;

c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general as well as special group advantage. The Federal government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

* * * *

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength.

APPENDIX B

THE ATLANTA CONFERENCE STATEMENT

On April 8, 1943, a group of white Southerners met in Atlanta, Georgia, to consider the statement which had been issued by the Durham Conference. The results of their deliberations were made public in the following document.

In October, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves "to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework."

Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate.

We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future cooperative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop

and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand the facilities for safety, comfort and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as sewers, water, housing, street and sidewalk paving, playgrounds, public health and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern states. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

In the economic field, unquestionably procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents, and supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary.

All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which unless checked will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and the colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

We agree with the Durham Conference that it is "unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life." We agree also that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government."

It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect.

APPENDIX C

THE RICHMOND CONFERENCE STATEMENT

On June 16, 1943, a Collaboration Committee, composed of delegates from the Durham Conference and the Atlanta Conference, met in Richmond, Virginia. The following statement was issued by the Richmond Conference.

This is a day of great differences, strong feelings, and epochal conflicts throughout the world. Yet the world's greatest need and hope is to find common ground for universal action and balanced harmony among all peoples. Manifestly, such a goal must be reached through cooperative approximation to the largest measure of agreement in line with the largest number of values and the largest number of people.

We face, therefore, the double crisis of standing firm for the conservation and preservation of human rights; yet to seek these ends by the way of peace and planning rather than by conflict and revolution.

In America, and particularly in the South, we face the problem of readjustments to meet the demands of present and post-war conditions with reference to the Negro and the future development of a great region of the Nation. This, exclusive of the war, is the great crisis of the South and Nation.

This is the problem of two great peoples caught up in the midst of transition between the powerful heritage of the past and the mighty pull of the future. For here is the white South, a *great* people often doing little things and good people often doing *bad* things. And here is the Negro South, caught as always between the upper and nether millstones of conflicting forces and also paying the price of extraordinary transition from level to level of cultural achievement, and needing plenty of understanding and cooperation. And here is the white South inexorably conditioned by cultural complexes, suffering terribly, too, and needing sympathy and help as few peoples have ever needed in the annals of man. And, even more important, the two, white South and black South, are part and parcel of the Nation, whose people need scarcely less than the two regional peoples the sense of time and wisdom.

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status and the welfare of the country as a whole.

This is a rare challenge to the leadership of the South: to the white leadership to find new ways of cooperation and to justify increased confidence of the Negro leadership in the white South; to the Negro leadership, to sense the difficulties involved and to meet increasing demands, without slowing down their essential efforts.

As evidence of the promise of this leadership, two recent Southern conferences on race relations, one at Durham, under the auspices of Negro leadership, and one in Atlanta under the auspices of white leadership, have blazed new trails. As a follow-up of these and with the above problems and backgrounds in mind, we, a group of Southern whites and Negroes, representing both the Durham and Atlanta groups, meeting as a collaboration committee at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, and following the general trend of the Atlanta group, urge the general adaptation of the Durham statement entitled "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South," which has had extraordinary nation-wide endorsement.

The framers of this covenant, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, have included adequate and searching analysis of the

principal issues involved, duly interpreted in their proper perspective. The problems so featured include political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health.

In the area of political and civil rights: the essential problems featured were those of franchise and the ballot, jury service, personal security, services in public carriers, the elimination of violence, within and without the law, the elimination of lynching, and the employment of an increasingly larger number of Negroes in the public service.

In the area of work opportunities: the increased training for all skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and opportunity for employment; the readaptation of labor union policies both for the best interests of Negroes and labor unions; the problems of dual standards of pay; support of, but guarding against discrimination in, local, state, and federal procedures; special problems of service workers and standards of living.

In the area of education: equalized opportunities in all aspects but especially including institutions of higher learning, professional training, and equal salaries.

In the area of agriculture: adequate opportunity for the Negro farmer, including a sound system of tenancy, adequate state and federal assistance, increased opportunity for farm ownership, fair farm wages, and the wider employment of Negro farm and home agents.

In the area of military service: along with the obligation to serve, the opportunity for full participation and advancement in the war activities and a continuing better adjustment of unsatisfactory situations.

In the area of social welfare and health: adequate provisions for safeguarding the public health, for training physicians and nurses, and for their employment. Also, the erection of low-cost housing and other facilities for improving community life.

We recognize now the importance of affirmative action, without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities. To this end, we direct that the continuing committee, as appointed by the two groups now consolidated in this larger collaboration committee, be charged with the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach. We urge especially that efforts be begun to prepare the post-war world for a wise and successful reception of our returning soldiers and to prepare both our soldiers and the people for attitudes and procedures adequate to carry the great load of post-war needs. In all these, we urge the public to a new sense of the meaning of these needs as they accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy.

APPENDIX D

THE ATLANTA RESOLUTION

On August 4, 1943, a Continuation Committee, appointed by the Richmond Conference, met in Atlanta to consider ways and means of implementing the recommendations of the preceding Conferences. The Committee resolved itself into the nucleus of the Southern Regional Council and elected Dr. Howard W. Odum and Dr. Charles S. Johnson as Co-Chairmen. The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Committee.

We are gathered together here in solemn assembly, conscious of our heritage and opportunity. In the name and spirit of America and all her resources and institutions we covenant together in harmony and unanimity to make this day, or what this day should bring to pass, epochal in a new purpose, a new understanding, and a new fellowship.

In the name and spirit of America's science and education we seek to find and to tell the truth. In the name and spirit of America's democracy we seek the way of equal opportunity. In the name of America's patriotism, we strive for loyalty to the American dream, for leadership to guide, and for statesmanship adequate to carry the burden of the new America. In the name and spirit of America's Christianity, we search for the new faith of fellowship. In the name of humanity, we propose to substitute the measures of the good society for the old biological struggle for physical survival. In the name and spirit of all these and the living reality of a complex world, we dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

Four ways there are, and perhaps more, of approaching these laudable and attainable ends. First, we agree upon a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society. We recognize fully that in the present crisis this covenant is as important as the earlier compacts of the forefathers, and that the framework within which we covenant together must comprehend a concept and a charter which guarantees equality of opportunity for all peoples. This means more specifically as bearing upon the burden of our present counseling that the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has within the framework of the American democratic system of government.

Second, we dedicate ourselves unswervingly to the successful achievement of this task. Since in the order of all nature and creations and of the growth and development of the people and society there are always certain features peculiar to each society; since in the order of democracy there are certain elemental principles of self-government that are inherent in each folk and regional society; and since in both the physical and cultural heritage of the South there are certain cumulative and tragic handicaps that represent powerful factors in the situation, we appeal to the Nation, in covenant with the South, to exercise a wisdom and maturity through which methods, procedures, and rates of change may be worked out in the spirit of, and in conformity with, the principles of our American democracy.

Third, to the end that there will be actual realistic accomplishments rather than mere words and that there may be possible ways and means of actually insuring progress in all approaches to these goals of equal opportunity, we urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life and especially with a similar national group when established.

Fourth, since the crisis is not only southern but national, not only for whites but for Negroes and other races as well, and since the central purpose of the new council is cooperation and the building of active good will, we urge the formation of a National Committee on race and regional development, constituted of representatives of all races and of public and private groups. Such a committee, subscribing to the declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all available agencies and individuals in private and public life.

We recognize the sweep and power of the emotions in time of war and crisis and the rights and tendencies in the democratic way of life for thousands of individuals and groups to agitate, organize, and promote their own peculiar programs. This is and must be the essence of a democracy. But it is also the way of democracy to focus upon fundamentals and to give opportunity to responsible leadership through the orderly agencies of government and of private citizens. To this end no greater service can be rendered to the Nation than to covenant together in responsible organizations, to provide leadership and clearing house, and to avoid

conflicts, waste and overlapping, on the one hand, and, on the other, to minimize the harmful influence of irresponsible forces in this great hour of need for good will and for effective ways of doing what is needed. We feel that in these councils may be approximated needs more nearly than in any other ways that now appear.

The Nation is committed now to what is generally called, both in private business and in public life, post-war planning to the end that we may be ready for the demobilization and reintegration of our millions of returning soldiers into the best possible American way of life. Recognizing that the problems of the folk and of race constitute a more difficult problem than that of physical planning, by the same token we urge all the more the obligation to apply to this great area of our democracy the best the sciences, social sciences, the humanities, and religion can do in the realistic working out of next steps.

To this end, the present membership of the Continuation Committees of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences is hereby constituted the nucleus of the new Council; and the officers are authorized (1) to take immediate steps for the legal incorporation of the Council; (2) to appoint immediately the necessary staff personnel to implement this program, and (3) to enlarge the present membership in order to make it fully representative of all the interests encompassed by this program.

It is also respectfully urged that the President of the United States appoint a National Committee such as is suggested above.

APPENDIX E

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

On February 16, 1944, just before the opening of the Charter Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta and passed the following resolution merging the Commission with the Council.

It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation:

It was, upon motion duly made and seconded—*Resolved* that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.

APPENDIX F

CHARTER OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

STATE OF GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

I, John B. Wilson, Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify that

"SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC."

was on the 6th day of January, 1944, duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia by the Superior Court of Fulton County for a period of thirty-five years from said date, in accordance with the certified copy hereto attached, and that a certified copy of the charter of said corporation has been duly filed in the office of the Secretary of State and the fees therefor paid, as provided by law.

(SEAL)
STATE OF GEORGIA
1776

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 7th day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-four and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth.

JOHN B. WILSON
Secretary of State, Ex-Officio Corporation Commissioner of the State of Georgia.

STATE OF GEORGIA,
FULTON COUNTY.
TO THE SUPERIOR COURT OF SAID COUNTY:

The Petition of DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH McGILL, BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, and DR. HOWARD W. ODUM respectfully shows:

1.

That they desire for themselves, their associates and successors, to be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewal at the expiration thereof, and from time to time, as is now or may hereafter be provided by law.

2.

The principal office and place of business of said Corporation shall be located in the City of Atlanta, County of Fulton, State of Georgia. The Corporation desires the privilege of establishing branch offices elsewhere, either within or without the State of Georgia, as may be desired.

3.

Said Corporation shall not be organized or operated for pecuniary gain or profits to its members, and shall have no capital stock.

4.

The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

5.

The Corporation shall have the right to receive donations, endowments, devises and bequests, and shall enjoy all rights and powers, and be subject to all limitations, of the Corporation Act of the State of Georgia, approved

January 28, 1938, and all Amendments thereto, which may hereafter be adopted, excepting those rights, powers and limitations relating to capital stock, and other matters not pertinent to its organization.

6.

The membership of said Corporation shall be self-perpetuating, and shall be composed of the Incorporators, and such others as said Incorporators shall, at any time after the organization of said Corporation, designate, according to such Rules and By-Laws as may be adopted by said Corporation. The Incorporators, and such other members as may be elected at the first Incorporators Meeting, shall be designated as "Charter Members" of the Corporation.

7.

The rights of any member in the Corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, and his rights shall cease with his death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

8.

All corporate meetings, whether of the members or of the Board of Directors or of any other bodies established by the Corporation, may be held either within or without the State of Georgia.

9.

The Corporation may at any time, by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Corporation, amend, either in form or in substance, its By-Laws and Charter, or either of them, and for any reason, approved by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Corporation, sell and dispose of any or all of its assets, and dissolve and liquidate its affairs.

10.

The name and post office address of each of the Incorporators are as follows:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia,
Mr. Ralph McGill, 3399 Piedmont Road, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia,
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, 1976 North Decatur Road, Atlanta, Georgia,
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

11.

If and when said Corporation, for any reason whatever, shall liquidate or cease to exist as a body corporate, or to function as an eleemosynary organization, the title to all property, money and effects, of whatever kind or character, of such Corporation, after discharging its own obligations and liabilities, shall vest in some organization having ideals and a program similar to those of said Corporation, such organization to be designated by said Corporation before its dissolution.

WHEREFORE, petitioners pray to be incorporated under the name and style aforesaid, with all the powers, privileges and immunities herein set forth, and as are now, or may hereafter be, allowed a Corporation of similar character under the laws of Georgia.

(S) HAAS, LYONS & HURT
Attorneys for Petitioners,
601 Haas-Howell Building, Atlanta, Ga.

1944

APPENDIX G

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE COUNCIL

1944

OFFICERS

President

Howard W. Odum
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Vice Presidents

P. B. Young
Norfolk, Virginia

Homer P. Rainey
Austin, Texas

Carter Wesley
Houston, Texas

EXECUTIVE STAFF

Executive Director
Guy B. Johnson

Associate Executive Director
Ira DeA. Reid

Public Relations Director
Margaret L. Fisher

Secretary-Treasurer
Emily H. Clay

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Will W. Alexander
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Tryon, North Carolina

Charles W. Anderson, Jr.
Louisville, Kentucky

Horace M. Bond
Fort Valley, Georgia

Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Tallahassee, Florida

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Sedalia, North Carolina

Wilson M. Brown
Richmond, Virginia

Louis E. Burnham
Birmingham, Alabama

Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta, Georgia

William E. Cole
Knoxville, Tennessee

Virginius Dabney
Richmond, Virginia

Ernest Delpit
New Orleans, Louisiana

A. W. Dent
New Orleans, Louisiana

O. D. Duncan
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Clark Foreman
Black Mountain, North Carolina

C. H. Gillman
Atlanta, Georgia

H. D. Goode
Pensacola, Florida

Leonard Haas
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Atlanta, Georgia

Gordon B. Hancock
Richmond, Virginia

Mrs. Henry Havens
Jacksonville, Florida

R. B. Herbert
Columbia, South Carolina

Luther P. Jackson
Petersburg, Virginia

Louis I. Jaffe
Norfolk, Virginia

Charles S. Johnson
Nashville, Tennessee

Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Georgia

Ryland Knight
Atlanta, Georgia

J. R. E. Lee (deceased)
Tallahassee, Florida

Z. A. Looby
Nashville, Tennessee

E. A. McDowell
Louisville, Kentucky

T. James McNamara
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A Brief Survey of the Negro's Part in American History

This popular pamphlet, originally published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, is now issued by the Southern Regional Council.

Revised, 1944

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Aggregate, 275,000

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Catholic Committee of South Honors Guy B. Johnson

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was honored by the Catholic Committee of the South at its annual meeting September 24 at Charlotte, N. C. In recognition of his long devotion to Southern progress, Dr. Johnson was presented a scroll bearing the following citation:

"The Catholic Committee of the South honors itself in honoring Doctor Guy Benton Johnson, native of Texas, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, lover of the whole South and all of its citizens. It honors him not only for his great qualities of courage, fairness, zeal and humility which endear him to every person he meets, but because he stands as the epitome of all for which the Southern Regional Council is crusading, 'to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.' The Catholic Committee of the South congratulates the Southern Regional Council on its good fortune in having had Doctor Guy Benton Johnson as its Executive Director from its foundation until now."

The award is given each year to a man or woman whose work has greatly contributed to the advancement of the South. It was presented to Dr. Johnson at a public session in the Hotel Charlotte by the Most Reverend Joseph F. Rummel, archbishop of New Orleans and episcopal chairman of the Catholic Committee of the South.

Among the speakers at the Catholic Committee's annual conference were Dr. George S. Mitchell, present director of the Council, Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, former associate director, and Arthur Raper, long associated with the work of the Council.

SRC Receives Last of Legacy

A sum of $1,390 was received recently by the Southern Regional Council as final payment of a $10,000 legacy from the late Esther Morton Smith, who died five years ago. Miss Smith, a Pennsylvania Quaker who once visited every Southern governor in the interest of improved race relations, made the bequest to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was absorbed by the Council in 1944.

Dr. Will W. Alexander, formerly director of the Commission, knew Miss Smith as an active and generous supporter of the work of that organization.

"Esther Morton Smith was a Quaker of great devotion," writes Dr. Alexander. 'She devoted her wealth and fine talents to peace and better race relations. Soon after World War I, she and her cousin Sarah Hollowell came south to express to each Southern governor their 'concern' over lynching. Before going to the governors, they sought the advice of the CIC. This was the beginning of an interest in that organization which endured to the end of their lives."

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

NEW SOUTH

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, SEPTEMBER, 1947

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

THE Southern Regional Council was organized in February, 1944, to determine the facts about the many problems of the South and to mobilize the people of the South to solve those problems. It is a non-profit, non-denominational, non-political organization.

The Council is based firmly on the belief that the problems of the Southern Region may best be attacked by Southerners of both races who are willing to admit the South's shortcomings and join together in a cooperative effort to overcome them. There is no room for narrow sectionalism in such a program. The Council welcomes support and understanding from all sincere individuals and organizations, wherever they may be found.

The South as a whole lags far behind the rest of the nation in wealth, education, health, and political democracy. Yet the South has an abundance of land and people—enough to make it one of the most prosperous regions in the country. The Council is devoted to the task of closing up this gap between the actual and the potential South. If the roots of the social and economic evils that have burdened the South with poverty, ignorance, and prejudice can be exposed —and destroyed—not only will the South benefit, but the entire nation and the cause of democracy as well.

Of fundamental importance in achieving this goal is the enjoyment of full citizenship by all our people. The South cannot move far forward until all its people take part in the democratic process and share both the rights and responsibilities of productive members of society. Most Negroes and many impoverished white Southerners have not had this opportunity; the result has been an exploited and underdeveloped South. The Council has been a bi-racial organization from the start, and its staff is made up of people of both races. It has thus been able to draw on deep resources of interracial understanding in coping with the problems that are shared by white and Negro Southerners alike.

The Council is not exclusively a "race-relations" organization. It believes that it is a mistake to regard the problems of the South purely

in terms of race. Friction between the races can best be combated by bringing the entire population of the South abreast of modern standards in health, education, employment, farming, and culture. To work toward the goal of a higher standard of well-being for all the South's citizens is to work for equal opportunity for members of all races.

How Did the Southern Regional Council Start?

IN THE troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early 'twenties. Their influence became Southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The Commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the Commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its twenty-five years of operation, the Commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of Southern churchwomen in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued two million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the Southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

In 1939 the leaders of the Commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader attack on the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the Commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on Southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive Southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, North Carolina, on October 20, 1942, to set forth "just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation," and to enlist the aid of interested white Southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and Civil Rights, Industry and Labor, Service Occupations, Education, Agriculture, Military Service, and Social Welfare and Health.

Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April, 1943, a group of Southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement "so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum," and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June, 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. As a result of these efforts, the Southern Regional Council was chartered as a corporation by the State of Georgia in January, 1944. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council. A strong and democratic Council had been established "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region."

How Is the Southern Regional Council Organized?

THE Southern Regional Council belongs to its members. The members meet annually to elect officers and plan the program and policies of the Council for the coming year. At present there are over two thousand members. Any person may become a member if he believes in the purposes of the Council, if he resides in the Council area, and if his membership is confirmed by the members or Board of Directors. The Council area, as defined in the by-laws, includes the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Voting members must be residents of this area. Persons who live elsewhere may become associate (non-voting) members. Associates, as well as regular members, receive all publications and reports of the Council.

Financial support for the Council comes from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S., and the Protestant Episcopal Church Province of Sewanee. Individuals support the Council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

The membership of the Council includes all sorts and conditions of men, all faiths, all races. Its officers, executive committee, and board of directors are drawn from church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions. It is hoped that as membership grows the Council will draw most of its support from active members who join and pay their dues because they believe in the South and in the work the Council has set itself to do.

Members of the Board of Directors are elected by the members of the Council for a term of four years. The Board at present consists of 77 members, rep-

resenting both races and all of the thirteen states within the Council area. Officers are elected annually, and, with the exception of the administrative staff, serve without pay.

What Does the Southern Regional Council Do?

THE Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearing-house and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on Southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the *New South,* and through pamphlets, press, radio, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the Council staff and membership.

The Council unites in programs of study and action persons of widely differing backgrounds. It helps to bridge the gaps between rural and town people, Negroes and whites, men and women, residents of mill villages and of adjoining towns, and persons of different faiths and denominations.

Since its formation in 1944, the Council has maintained close touch with the State Interracial Committees, four of which—those in Kentucky, Mississippi, Florida, and South Carolina—have become full Divisions of the Council. Through them, the Council has been able to secure valuable information about all the thirteen States, and to implement a truly South-wide program. The Council offers state and local groups guidance in making social studies and undertaking sound community action. Surveys and informal studies not only yield useful data, but also help create the attitudes necessary for social change.

Also of great value in keeping intimate touch with local conditions throughout the South have been the Honorary Fellows of the Council. These Fellows, drawn from the ranks of young Southerners in all the Southern States who show promise of progressive leadership, perform important volunteer services as observers, correspondents, and special inquirers.

The *New South,* the Council's monthly publication, serves to bring the members and friends of the Council timely information about Southern problems and Southern progress. Leaders in Southern life have written articles for the *New South* on such subjects as suffrage, education, agriculture, health, law enforcement, and race relations. The quarterly numbers of the paper are usually devoted to detailed study of some phase of Southern development. In 1946 these special issues were: "Machines in the Cotton Fields," by Arthur Raper; "Wanted: A Healthy South," by Dorothy Dickins; "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," by Rupert B. Vance; and a full account of the annual meeting in November. In addition to the *New South,* the Council issues simple illustrated leaflets and pamphlets which present the facts gathered by careful study and research in Southern problems.

To mention a few of the other activities, the Council has helped individuals secure their legal rights; has made its files available to the press and public and private agencies; has aided Southern veterans, white and Negro, in readjusting to civilian life and obtaining the benefits to which they are entitled; and has made public the results of careful investigations of incidents involving mob violence. In short, the activities of the Council have been as many and varied as the available staff and resources would permit.

The immediate aims of the Council are designed to assure the civic rights of all the people of the South. A primary objective is law enforcement that will provide fair treatment to minority groups and will prevent the outbreak of violence. As one means to equitable law enforcement, the Council is urging the general use of Negro policemen in Southern communities. The need for extension of the vote on a broad democratic base is also receiving urgent attention. The Council is presently engaged in the task of presenting to the Southern people the facts about suffrage in the South, in order to counteract the misinformation that has been circulated about the Negro vote.

To accomplish these and similar objectives, the Council needs the help of every person who believes in the South and would like to help in the work for a better future. Southerners are known everywhere for their pride in their region. In the past, this pride has too often been wasted in resentment of "outside criticism" and in efforts to rationalize the Region's problems. Resentment and recrimination serve no useful purpose, for the problems *do* exist. The time has long since come when we must prove our loyalty to the South, not by words, but by constructive action. The extent of what may be accomplished is no greater and no less than the willingness of Southerners to work together in the building of a better South in a better nation.

In this belief, the Southern Regional Council devotes itself to doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

1947

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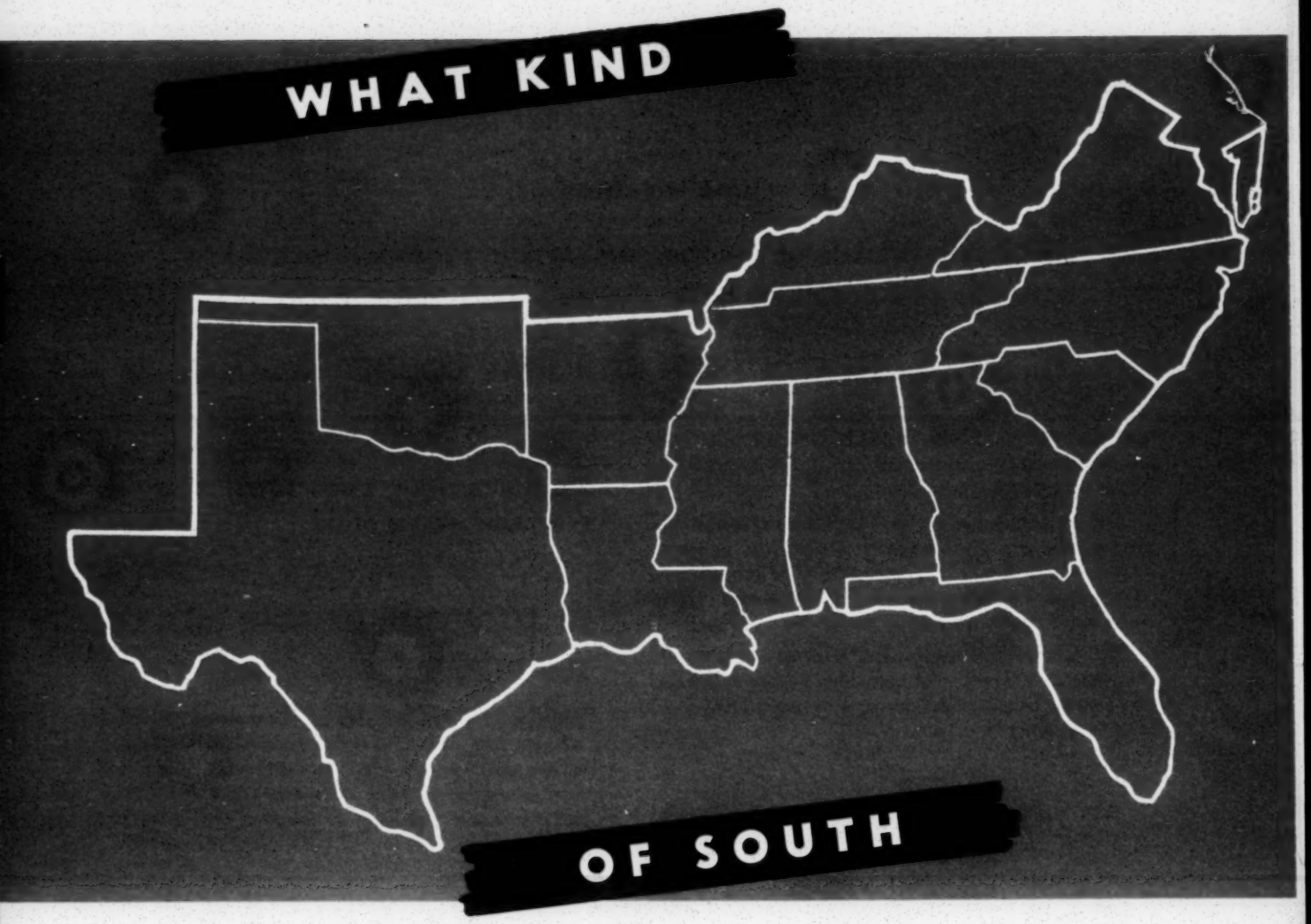


do YOU *want?*

A GROUP OF SOUTHERNERS

representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations got together in 1943 . . .

and decided . . .

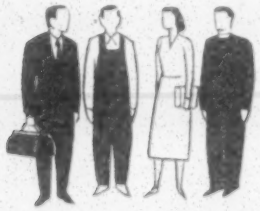
IT'S UP TO US, as Southerners, to join together, face up to the South's problems honestly, and work to solve them . . .

That's how the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was born

SRC belongs to its members. It is non-profit, non-denominational, non-political. It is Southern in its make-up and its work.

SRC is **not,** however, an "isolationist" movement to separate the South's problems from the Nation's. It welcomes support and understanding from all sincere people, wherever they are. But voting membership is limited to persons living in the South.

SRC members include people from all walks of life — white and Negro, city and country, men and women, church people, businessmen, educators, labor men, and plain everyday citizens.



SRC BELIEVES that the South can be prosperous and healthy, freed of poverty, prejudice, and fear . . .

It believes in the ideals of democracy for which this Nation was founded . . .

It believes — in the name of democracy, Christianity, and common decency — that the Negro must have equal opportunity in the schoolroom, on the job, and at the polls . . .

SRC BELIEVES THAT DEMOCRACY IS SAFE ONLY WHEN EVERYBODY CONTRIBUTES TO IT AND EVERYBODY SHARES IN IT.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS *THROUGH* - - -

★ **Its local groups.** SRC has State Divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern States, and smaller groups in communities over the South . . .

★ **Its Regional Office.** SRC's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, guides the work of the local groups, advises private and official agencies, issues timely statements and publications . . .

★ **A monthly bulletin.** NEW SOUTH keeps members and friends of SRC informed about Southern problems and progress . . .

★ **Special pamphlets.** These give the facts, based on careful study of the region, in simple, illustrated form . . .

★ **Public opinion.** SRC helps create a better climate of opinion through newspapers, radio, speakers . . .

★ **Cooperating groups.** SRC works with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and other groups to bring about wholesome improvements . . .

★ **Home Town Self-Surveys.** SRC helps local groups organize to collect the facts about their communities—and to **follow through** with corrective action.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS *FOR* - - -

★ **Better understanding between the races.** SRC helps lessen the violence that has plagued the South by providing a meeting ground where people of good will, white and colored, can come together, air their common problems, achieve honest solutions . . . When trouble brews, SRC members know whom to reach and what to do . . .

★ **Equal justice.** SRC watches the courts . . . points out injustices . . . works for fair police practices . . . has successfully urged the hiring of Negro policemen in towns and cities throughout the South . . .

★ **Equal public services.** SRC works to get a square break for ALL our people in —

HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL CARE

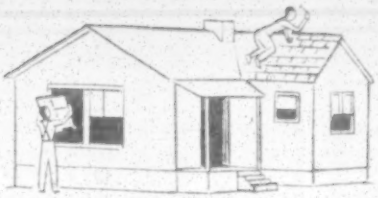
SCHOOLS

JOBS

FARMING OPPORTUNITIES

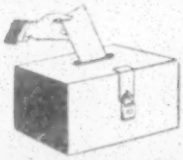
VETERANS SERVICES

HOUSING



★ **Full citizenship** for everyone in

VOTING



JURY SERVICE

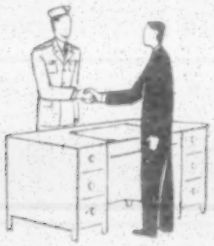
REPRESENTATION ON OFFICIAL BODIES

★ **State government for ALL the people.** SRC works for the day when our States will serve all citizens equally.

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - - -

Supplied the basic facts in successful campaigns to secure Negro policemen in Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville, Conway (S.C.), and other cities.

During 1945-1947 helped smooth the path for the returning veteran by a widespread field program. Nine World War II veterans — eight of them Negroes — made personal visits to veterans servicing officials in over a third of the counties in the South . . . acquainted them with the needs of Negro veterans . . . taught veterans the full range of services they could get . . . spent $75,000 on this project alone.



Sponsored the 1948 Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights at which four hundred community leaders, representing both races and every Southern State, devised ways to strengthen basic rights at the local level.

★

At strategic times during the past year, vigorously urged upon each Southern governor a positive program to assure the civil rights of the Southern people.

★

Persistently advocated the same course for newspapers, church bodies, and other influential groups in the region.

★

Got the facts into newspapers over the South about health, housing, education, voting, law-enforcement.

THROUGH STATE DIVISIONS AND AFFILIATES - - -

Aroused public opinion against the Ku Klux Klan and played an active part in getting local ordinances passed curbing the activities of such terroristic groups.

★

Persuaded numerous white churches throughout Georgia to be hosts to interracial meetings.

★

Served as technical consultant to the steering committee of the Jacksonville, Fla., Self-Survey, which has brought about more than seventy concrete improvements in the Negro community.

★

Played a leading part in bringing about the establishment of the State Training School for Negro Girls in Texas.

★

Was largely responsible for the creation of Negro community centers in Macon, Savannah, and other Georgia cities . . . Helped secure a modern, well-equipped Negro Boys' Club for Atlanta.

★

Aided the Florida Citizens Committee on Education in drawing up recommendations to the General Assembly which would provide equal education for ALL children.

★

Took the lead in getting Kentucky's Day Law amended to permit Negroes to receive medical and nursing education in institutions formerly open to white students only.

TO DO THESE THINGS

and more, the Southern Regional Council needs YOUR support. Here are three things you can do to help:

1 Join SRC and work actively with other members in your community

2 Contribute to SRC's operating funds

3 Get your friends to work with you and SRC

THE SOUTH'S PROBLEMS ARE *Our* PROBLEMS — YOURS and MINE
TOGETHER WE CAN BUILD A MORE PROSPEROUS, DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

★

What They Say About Southern Regional Council —

"An organization of responsible white and colored citizens . . ."
— Birmingham NEWS AND AGE-HERALD

"The sort of organization which makes . . . progress possible, and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."
— Richmond TIMES-DISPATCH

"The most widely respected interracial group in the South."
— Asheville TIMES

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."
— NEW YORK TIMES

"A voice from the informed and moderate South."
— CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."
— CHATTANOOGA TIMES

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."
— THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"One of the best sources for materials on the South today is the publications of the Southern Regional Council. . . . Its inexpensive publications provide information on every aspect of life in Southern United States."
— CURRENT EVENTS

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63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

☐ **A Member.** (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Dues $3.00.

☐ **A Member jointly with husband or wife.** (Both have full membership rights and jointly receive a copy of all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Joint dues $4.00.

(Note: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate [non-voting] Members.)

☐ **A subscriber** to monthly publication New South. Subscription $1.50.

☐ **A Contributor** to SRC's operation funds.

Dues for one year are enclosed ..... $_____

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STREET_____

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Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name_____

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TEAR OUT ALONG THIS LINE AND MAIL

~~1950~~ 1949

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for their pride in their region. In the past, this pride has too often been wasted in resentment of "outside criticism" and in efforts to rationalize the region's problems. Resentment and recrimination serve no useful purpose, for the problems *do* exist. The time has long since come when we must prove our loyalty to the South, not by words, but by constructive action. The extent of what may be accomplished is no greater and no less than the willingness of Southerners to work together in the building of a better South in a better nation.

In this belief, the Southern Regional Council devotes itself to doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

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Mrs. James S. Crate, Chairman
Houston, Texas

VIRGINIA Department of Interracial Cooperation of the
Va. Council of Churches (unaffiliated)
C. Emerson Smith, Director
Richmond, Virginia

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

☐ **A Member.** (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Dues $3.00.

☐ **A Member jointly with husband or wife.** (Both have full membership rights and jointly receive a copy of all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Joint dues $4.00.

(NOTE: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate [non-voting] Members.)

☐ **A Subscriber** to monthly publication *New South*. Subscription $1.50.

☐ **A Contributor** to SRC's operation funds.

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Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to the following:

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State .....

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State .....

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State .....

What one woman can do to Prevent Lynching

1. She can study the available facts about lynchings and be prepared to use the information at any time.
2. She can present her information to missionary societies and clubs, applying her remarks to the purposes and programs of each group.
3. She can secure signatures of the members of the organizations to which she speaks to a pledge or resolution against lynching.
4. She can ask each organization to appoint one member to serve with her in this work to combat lynching.
5. She can go to the Court House, accompanied by one or more members of her committee, and can discuss with the sheriff, judge, and other officers, the problem of lynching and its prevention. She can ask for the signatures of the officials to a special pledge or resolution against lynching.
6. She can visit the local newspaper and inform the editor of the work undertaken by the women, and can ask for the cooperation of the local press.
7. She and the members of her committee can talk to the ministers of the community. She can plan with them some specific projects of education through the churches, Sunday schools, and young people's organizations.
8. She and her committee can open the way for speakers before the local men's civic, commercial, and service clubs.
9. **She and her committee can work out in advance the steps to be taken in case a situation arises which might result in a lynching — that is, what officials or other persons are to be contacted and what agencies are to be notified. One person should call or telegraph the Governor; another, the State Director of Public Safety; and a large number should remind the local sheriff and other police officials that they are expected to act firmly and quickly.**
10. She can investigate lynchings and probable lynchings which do occur in her county, with a view to doing everything possible to bring the guilty parties to justice and thus help to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies.

(Over)

Some Facts About Lynching

HOW MANY SINCE 1889?

Fairly reliable lynching statistics have been available since 1889. The figures on the number of persons lynched are as follows, 1889-1946 inclusive:

Negroes	3060
Whites	799
Total	3859

LYNCHING HAS DECLINED

In the fifty-year period, 1889-1938, the number of Negroes lynched was 3033, or an average of 61 per year. The number of whites lynched was 797, or an average of 16 per year. In the past eight years, 1939-1946 inclusive, 27 Negroes and 2 whites have been lynched.

BUT IT IS STILL HERE

During the war lynching almost disappeared. In 1943 there were 3 lynchings; in 1944 only 2; in 1945 only 1. But in 1946 there were 6. All the victims were Negroes, and four of them were slain in the Walton County, Georgia, atrocity of July 25. Lynchers have changed their tactics. They operate quietly and, usually, in small groupe. It is becoming harder and harder to define "lynching."

ACCUSATIONS AGAINST VICTIMS

Contrary to popular notions, less than one-fourth of the persons lynched since 1889 were accused of assaults on women. The following figures on accusation will be of interest:

Rape and Attempted Rape	24%
Murder	37%
All others	39%

KEEP INFORMED

For further information, read such books as *The Tragedy of Lynching*, by Arthur Raper, and the pamplets distributed by The Southern Regional Council. Keep up with current efforts to strengthen state and federal laws to control lynching, and let your elected representatives know where you stand.

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Single copies free
200 copies, $1.00
500 copies, $2.00
1000 copies, $3.00

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Rev. 1-4-40

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1 National Committee for Peace
(Signature or name of addressee)

2 L. Kettelkamp
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(NAME OF SENDER)

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REGISTERED ARTICLE

No. 2938

INSURED PARCEL

No.

ATLANTA,

GEORGIA.

1013 Highland View N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.
June 11, 1951

National Committee for Peaceful Alternates,
30 North Dearborn,
Chicago, Ill

Gentlemen;-

I do not care to be associated with the National Committee for Peaceful Alternates.

Please take my name off of the mailing list and do not use my name in anyway whatsoever in connection with your organization.

Respectfully yours

Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES

June 9, 1951

30 North Dearborn
Chicago 2, Illinois

Prof. Robert J. Havighurst
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

ANdover 3-5903

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

The enclosed seven-page draft, based on conferences between Prof. Havighurst, Mrs. Hilda Solomon and myself following collation of all drafts on file, is submitted for your criticism and comment. It is being mailed by the speediest possible means to all National Executive Board members, and only to them. On the basis of your and their reaction, further discussion, and endorsement, a new official policy statement under the title "The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives: What It Is and What It Does" will be issued within this month.

As an alternative to the present organization and content of the statement, Prof. Havighurst mentions that, at the Executive Board's discretion, the statement might end with the words "in their organizing problems" closing the first paragraph on page 6. He also suggests that, in that case, the last full paragraph on that same page might immediately follow the words "in their organizing problems," so as to indicate something of the structure of the Committee.

He also entertained the idea that the statement might omit mention of the attack by the Un-American Affairs Committee.

On these specific questions, Prof. Havighurst states that he has no preference himself, but asks that Executive Board members comment explicitly on them.

Please indicate your reaction by checking one of the choices below and by signing your name.

This will be one of the most important documents to issue from the Committee to date. Your thinking and co-operation on it are urgently needed. We know you will appreciate the value of a very prompt reply. May we hope to hear from you by Thursday, June 14?

Sincerely,

Paul B. Johnson
Executive Director

__ I accept the draft of "The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives: What It Is and What It Does" as mimeographed.

__ I accept the draft as mimeographed, but make suggestions on the following sheets.

__ I accept the draft as mimeographed subject to the changes indicated in my comments on the attached sheets.

Signed _____

Date _____

HONORARY CHAIRMEN: EMILY GREENE BALCH, BISHOP W.J. WALLS. CO-CHAIRMEN: RABBI ABRAHAM CRONBACH, PROF. KERMIT EBY, DR. W. H. JERNAGIN, DEAN JOHN B. THOMPSON. VICE CHAIRMEN: DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, DR. MARK A. DAWBER, MRS. WELTHY HONSINGER FISHER, DR. D. V. JEMISON, PROF. LINUS PAULING, REV. FRANKLIN I. SHEEDER. EXECUTIVE BOARD: REV. J. BURT BOUWMAN, RABBI STANLEY BRAV, RABBI JONAH E. CAPLAN, HON. CLIFFORD DURR, RABBI OSCAR FLEISHAKER, DR. GEORGE FOWLER, REV. EDGAR JACKSON, REV. MASSIE KENNARD, HUGO LEAMING, REV. DONALD L. MATHEWS, DR. GEORGE MECKLENBERG, MISS RENEE SHAPIRO, REV. ROBERT STONE, MRS. M. E. TILLY, DR. WILLARD UPHAUS, REV. EDGAR M. WAHLBERG, DR. LORELL WEISS, REV. WAYNE WHITE, AUBREY WILLIAMS.

THE COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES

WHAT IT IS

WHAT IT DOES

The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives begins its third year with a peace program worked out by conferences of peace groups throughout the country. Starting as a small group two years ago in opposition to the Atlantic Pact, the Committee has attracted liberal people--educators, housewives, businessmen, lawyers, and many clergymen--who believe in negotiation rather than war, world disarmament rather than an arms race, the United Nations rather than military alliances. Since the Midcentury Conference for Peace at Chicago in May of 1950, the small organizing group has grown to include active state and local committees in Connecticut, Baltimore, New York City, New Jersey, Cleveland, Long Island, San Francisco, Detroit, Philadelphia, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Its members everywhere are united on three basic principles:

There can be no victor in an atomic war.

The peaceful co-existence of nations with different social and economic systems is not only possible but imperative.

No difference between nations can be so great that mutual annihilation is the only answer.

WHAT IT STANDS FOR

Impartially and sharply criticizing Russia and the United States when their policies create global tension and misunderstanding, the Committee concerns itself chiefly with the policy of our own American government, for the simple reason that it is the only government that we can realistically hope to influence.

We can and must create a foreign policy that the world can accept.

Mistrusted and feared by our Russian and Chinese rivals, present American policy is also mistrusted and feared by substantial groups in Britain, Canada,

France, Italy, Western Germany, Japan, India, and the Scandinavian peninsula. This basic failure of the Truman foreign policy threatens to destroy the world-wide moral community which we are dedicated to preserve. We must have a foreign policy which the world can understand and accept. There are just too many foreigners in this world for us to go it alone.

Any realistic American policy must be dictated by three imperative needs: our concern for America's security; the necessity of genuine world order; the deep wish of all peoples for peace.

No proposal which neglects any of these imperatives makes sense. Only a program based on the life-giving principles of our civilization--negotiation, compromise, law, and progressive change--can satisfy them all.

Neither of the Super Powers can conquer or dominate the world; this becomes increasingly clear. But the alternative for them is not frustration. Equally, neither Super Power can challenge the other's security zone--as both have done--without bringing humanity to the brink of war; but the alternatives are neither appeasement nor preventive war. There is a common meeting ground where security requirements harmonize with the will for peace. In the many distortions by the Soviet press, and in the tragically short-sighted thinking so common here, that meeting ground is obscured. Certainly the Soviet Union has done much which hinders the world from finding basic agreement, through its systematic, one-sided description of American society and governmental policy, through restrictions on travel and entry into the Soviet Union, and through its refusal to take part in organizations--especially UNESCO--devoted to international co-operation and cultural relations. And from the Soviet point of view, the United States has given cause for mistrust and fear. Russian visitors are denied admission to our country; and large sections of America's press are hostile and one-sided in presenting information about Russia. But the common meeting ground must be found and declared. We must rediscover diplomacy; and we must repair

that breakdown of communication, from which today's crisis chiefly results. We who stand for freedom and democracy cannot permit a catastrophe which will devastate our civilization and bring dictatorial reaction and bigotry in its wake.

America cannot monopolize world leadership, and must not abdicate it.

We doubt that the Twentieth Century will be called either the American Century or the Communist Century. God forbid that it should be called the Dark and Bloody Century, in which humanity destroyed itself through three world wars. God grant that the Twentieth Century may be called "The Century In Which World Order Emerged," and the world's peoples learned to live together in peace, plenty, and justice.

To take one critical area--where the underprivileged nations are asserting their rights--all informed persons know that this turbulent revolution would confront us if neither Russia nor Marxian communism had ever existed. We feel with most experts that the Asiatic revolution cannot be stopped. Wisdom requires that we support those national revolutions, and help them find a democratic direction. It is unworthy of our traditional generosity and national creativeness that we give Asia no alternatives save Communism or the Bao Dais, Rhees, and Chiangs. Asia's millions ask of us only understanding, generous aid, and a legitimate place in the world councils which shape their destiny. We deny that American ingenuity and good will are unequal to that challenge. Asia's anti-colonial ideals stem directly from our American heritage. Their claims, and our economy's long-term health, are in full harmony. Workable, expert plans to develop underdeveloped areas--in the words of a recent history-making UN report--now exist; American co-operation can help turn plans into achievements.

To end the present tragic war and to point the path to peace, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives makes these recommendations today:

--the war in Korea must be stopped, and Korea's future regulated by international agreement in concert with the Korean people;

--a full-scale program of economic aid to underdeveloped countries must be launched through the United Nations;

--mutual reduction of weapons of all types, through a general disarmament conference under the United Nations, must end the present arms race;

--the United States must inaugurate and pursue direct top-level negotiations of all outstanding differences with Russia and the new government of China, until agreement is reached;

--the United States must recognize the new government of China, and must not bar it from the United Nations;

--free communications and travel, and exchanges of students, teachers, artists, businessmen, and scientists must be established between East and West.

* * *

"Can I do anything for peace?" is not the question. The only realistic question is, "What shall I do for peace?" Our answer is summed up in these

LESSONS OF A YEAR

Every week's news is a basis for peace activity.

The American decision to re-arm Germany, the President's statement that American commanders might choose when to use the atomic bomb, the dismissal of General MacArthur, and the many government actions jeopardizing basic civil rights, all have furnished the occasion for conferences, telegrams to officials, delegations to representatives, and other vigorous activity from the national to the neighborhood levels. Again, when Senator Johnson proposed a Korean cease-fire, Peaceful Alternatives groups spontaneously rose to that dramatic opportunity.

Publications themselves are news; around Stringfellow Barr's Let's join the human race and around John Somervill's incisive analysis of War and peace in the great debate, for example, excellent discussions have been held.

Great oaks . . . .

It was only a handful of Chicago mothers and housewives who determined that Mother's Day, 1951, would be a major event in their neighborhood. But that handful got peace statements in local papers; they met that week with their congressmen; they asked every local clergyman to build his sermon around peace--and got nearly 100% co-operation; they have inspired formation of peace groups in several temples and churches. It was only a score of professors and students who began polling faculty opinion on recognition of communist China, but they helped manifest the peace sentiment of nearly 200 distinguished educational leaders over the country. And just a dozen leaders initiated the Midcentury Conference for Peace--but over 700 delegates from 31 states took part in that splendid meeting. These events reveal the greatest lesson of all:

The will to peace is there.

Many Americans see that the MacArthur policy means World War III--now. They rightly fear that the Truman policy means World War III--later. And before them the evidence mounts that the whole "cold war" policy is self-defeating. Collaboration with Franco and Chiang, strong-arm methods at Lake Success, curtailment of civil liberties here, havoc in Britain's--and America's!--economics, and above all the insane gamble on German re-armament, belie in advance every moral defense and justification for that policy.

There are other alternatives. Our Committee has consistently championed them. The highest responsibility of Americans today--of all of us, of every one of our nation's moral and intellectual leaders--is to point these alternatives out. We urge you to accept that challenge. We propose to help you

to give America leadership for peace. We propose, in short, to equal and surpass our record to date. We will give every willing person the fullest organizational assistance, literature, and personal help; we will give organizations--state, regional, and local--vitally needed clearing-house service, timely informational aids, the resources of our executive leaders; and we will take an active, constant, personal part in their organizing problems .

Peace advocates will be criticized.

The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives itself has sustained--and weathered--attacks, including wholly false allegations by the Un-American Affairs Committee, which we have already refuted. There are no Communists among our leadership, nor do they have any influence over our words or deeds; but we refuse to bar from membership or from our conferences anyone who gives evidence of a sincere desire to work for peace. Only one course is consistent with our self-respect and with genuine loyalty to America: to affirm the value of free discussion, and to insist that democracy can stand on its own two feet and meet all comers; to prove the vitality of traditional American liberalism; and thus, to raise high "a standard to which the righteous can repair." That advocacy of peace is no foreign prerogative, but an American right, is the bedrock of principle on which the success of this Committee stands.

Peace groups must have both local initiative and national leadership.

The Committee works and grows primarily through local neighborhood groups, co-ordinated in state and city councils. As new groups form every month, they affiliate with the National Committee, upon acceptance of their application by the National Board. The considerable and unavoidable expenses of national leadership are met through publications and through contributions by affiliated individuals and by local groups.

On the basis of thinking throughout the organization, the National Executive

Board decides specific application of accepted general policy. The Committee has been divided in the past and expects to be divided in the future on specific issues. We represent various approaches to the moral, religious, and political questions of the use of military force, as well as different interpretations of the origins of the Korean conflict. But we are all united on the all-important principle that peace can be won and maintained with justice through persistent recourse to peaceful alternatives, like those proposed in the Committee's program. We were and are unanimous in opposing militarism everywhere--in Germany or in our American homeland--and in working to revitalize the democratic American values which can make us an example and inspiration to the world.

Churches speak

(4)

North Carolina Catholic (Nazareth, N.C.) Friday, May 7, 1948

Georgia Priest Calls Segregation Aid To Reds; Speech Draws Praise

SAVANNAH, GA., - Racial segregation is an aid to the "communistic conflagration that is sweeping the earth" and the South's position in the matter is an "ostrich-like attitude," Msgr. T. James McNamara, rector of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, here, declared in an address before members of the local Kiwanis Club.

The Monsignor spoke in favor of President Harry S. Truman's civil rights program. He asserted that his purpose was to face facts and "my hope is that in facing them we may be inspired to give greater substance to the American dream of equality before the law. Mark you, I did not say 'social equality,' because in my estimation that is a red-herring used by those inimical to our country's best interest to divert attention from the substance of things."

When the Monsignor had concluded his talk, Charles J. Musante, club president, urged his fellow Kiwanians "to go home and think over the thoughtful and effective speech."

Monsignor McNamara said the United States would act more consonantly with its traditions if legislation such as the Stratton bill, to permit entry of DP's into the country, was enacted. "As I see it" the Monsignor said, "a person who has suffered exile in behalf of democracy, would have less an 'ism' to contribute to the welter of confusion which besets our national life today than the so-called native-American who hides his face and his identity and who is, as yet, to reach the maturity of the founding fathers of our glorious nation."

After citing the background of President Truman's civil rights program, the Monsignor said that reaction in Dixie was a "hue and cry that developed into a crescendo." He charged that the dominant note of the crescendo was the term segregation with all its "ugly connotations." reeking with contradictions. He said the South's legal pattern of segregation dramatizes a flair for making laws and then disregarding their content. He asked that if the South has segregation as its laws proclaim, how can it be explained that out of the 13,000,000 Negroes in the country, not more than 7,000,000 "are biologically Negro in the full sense of the term." He continued: "Do you wonder that the Negro irks under the burden of the legislative pattern of segregation when he finds the dignity of motherhood exploited to serve the passions of those who cry segregation?"

The rector of the Savannah Cathedral told his audience: "We can no longer profess one thing and act otherwise. If we believe the principles of the Declaration and the Bill of Rights to be truths, solidly established on which a governmental structure can be successfully reared, then it is highly imperative that our personal and public relationships reflect these principles."

The speaker recalled that in October, 1943, the Diocesan Council of Catholic Women advocated to the post-war planning committee of Savannah that Negroes be allowed to move "from the lanes and alleys of the city" to housing projects, and added that had such a plan been adopted it would have improved the city's position in police and health problems. He recalled that the council also proposed Negroes be appointed as policemen. This has been done in a limited way, he declared, and said the full benefit of the plan will not be realized until the authority of Negro policemen is extended beyond the restrictions of a particular segment of the city's population.

Monsignor McNamara expressed the belief that the Negro does not resent segregation, but objects to its legal pattern which "stigmatizes him and labels him a second-class citizen." The Negro wants more than anything the assurance of the unmolested vote, the Monsignor said, "knowing that then and then alone he can earnestly pursue happiness in the sense of our country's declaration of principle, which declares the pursuit of happiness to be the citizen's God-given right, irrespective of race, color, creed or national origin."

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COPY

M

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Washington 25.

July 28, 1947.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Room 432,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen,

It is the opinion of this office, based upon the evidence presented, that you are exempt from Federal income tax under the provisions of section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code and corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts, as it is shown that you are organized and operated exclusively for educational purposes.

Accordingly, you will not be required to file income tax returns unless you change the character of your organization, the purposes for which you were organized, or your method of operation. Any such changes should be reported immediately to the collector of internal revenue for your district in order that their effect upon your exempt status may be determined.

Furthermore, under substantially identical authority contained in sections 1426 and 1607 of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of the Social Security Act, the employment taxes imposed by such statutes are not applicable to remuneration for services performed in your employ so long as you meet the conditions prescribed above for retention of an exempt status for income tax purposes.

You will be required, however, to file annually, beginning with your current accounting period, an information return on Form 990 with the collector of internal revenue for your district so long as this exemption remains in effect. This form may be obtained from the collector and is required to be filed on or before the 15th day of the fifth month following the close of your annual accounting period.

Contributions made to you are deductible by the donors in arriving at their taxable net income in the manner and to the extent provided by section 23 (o) and (q) of the Internal Revenue Code, as amended, and corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts.

Bequests, legacies, devises or transfers, to or for your use are deductible in arriving at the value of the net estate of a decedent for estate tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by sections 812 (d) and 861 (a)(3) of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts. Gifts of property to you are deductible in computing net gifts for gift tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided in section 1004 (a) (2)(B) and 1004 (b) (2) and (3) of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts.

The collector of internal revenue for your district is being advised of this action.

By direction of the Commissioner,
Respectfully,

Deputy Commissioner.

T. Hoogey

The South of the Future

A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council December 12, 1951

EIGHT years ago, the Southern Regional Council was born out of the conscience and high resolve of a democratic nation at war. Today, in another period of international tension, we are faced with a renewed challenge to provide leadership and direction in a troubled region. It is essential that we assess clearly and wisely the role that the Southern Regional Council is to perform in this critical time.

We do not believe in the exclusive validity of any single approach or any single organization. There is not only room, but a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic, legislative, religious, and educational means. Moreover, such programs are needed on all levels — national, regional, state, and local. Every group, like every individual, should chart its course with due regard for the special contribution it is fitted to make.

THE ROLE APPROPRIATE to the Southern Regional Council is evident in its origin and make-up. The Council's main asset is and has always been the people of the South who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and who at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. From such people is the Council's membership drawn. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern

thought and conscience; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to agencies outside the region.

The Council seeks to be a practical organization, emphasizing working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. Indeed, that philosophy is basic to an organization which hopes to open closed minds and substitute reason for prejudice.

The Council, by its very nature, is not a "mass pressure" organization. The number of persons in the South who are able and willing to reject the taboos on interracial effort in their own communities is growing, but it has not yet reached mass proportions. Meanwhile, the Council's membership can function effectively as enlightened citizens acting through the civic life of their communities in behalf of our common principles. Their methods are the established ones of conference, fact-finding, and persuasion.

The Council takes no part in political activity. However, it can and does consult with public agencies and officials and makes its influence felt for truly representative government.

THE COUNCIL'S FUNCTIONS may be briefly summed up as follows:

To serve as a meeting ground for citizens of all races, occupations, and religious persuasions.

To present the facts about the region, and their implications, through newspapers, radio, magazines, pamphlets, and other public media.

To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots, and hate organizations.

To provide a program adaptable to local need in both the relatively backward and the relatively advanced areas of the South.

To translate appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the action program will be concerned.

To give special emphasis to the development of leadership among promising young Southerners of all races.

To convene, by interest group, key persons in the various fields of Southern life, so that steps to genuine integration may be representatively agreed upon.

To stimulate local initiative to work for local solutions in full democracy, so that legislation and judicial rulings may be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

The basic machinery necessary to enable the Council to work effectively at these tasks is: (1) trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life; and (2) staff in a central office of the Council to direct and service the field people.

THE DECLARED PURPOSE of the Southern Regional Council is "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." This objective has lost none of its timeliness since it was first adopted. Although the past eight years have brought notable progress in the South, the job remaining is a vast one, and the pressures of national and international events demand an even speedier advance. Many of our institutions continue to make unfair and unwarranted distinctions between citizens solely on the basis of race. Outmoded traditions, unjustified fears, and ancient prejudices continue to exact a heavy toll on the unity, productiveness, and integrity of our society.

It is the ultimate hope and aim of the Council that it may help in bringing solution to regional problems that transcend the question of race — problems economic, social, ethical, which affect impartially people of all races. But, for the present, the unique liability under which the South labors arises out of an unreasoning racial disharmony. The first task of informed and conscientious Southerners is to strive

to create here the atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discriminations based upon race will no longer persist. Only when that goal has been attained will the energies of enlightened men be fully released for the great task of realizing all our potential resources, natural and human.

THE SOUTH OF THE FUTURE, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

Equal opportunity, truly defined, includes all this and more. We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part toward its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied. For it is nothing less than the American ideal.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Regional Council

An organization of Southerners of both races working together in the interest of all the South's people. It is not a political, denominational, or profit-making organization.

HOW DID IT START?

In 1943 a group of leading Southerners got together and decided that a strong regional organization was needed to help work out the South's problems. The result was the Southern Regional Council.

HOW DOES IT WORK?

Through a regional office in Atlanta, through state divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern States, and through individual members in all parts of the region.

WHAT DOES IT DO?

★ Through careful study, gets the facts about our region's health, housing, education, law enforcement, and race relations. Makes the facts widely available through a monthly bulletin, pamphlets, newspapers, radio, and speakers.

★ Advises private and official agencies, through both the regional office and state committees.

★ Works at the community level with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations and others to get wholesome improvements.

WHAT HAS IT DONE?

★ Launched campaigns that have secured the employment of more than two hundred Negro policemen in Southern cities.

★ Carried out a widespread field program to get attention to the needs of Negro veterans in the South.

★ Has worked steadily to secure equal educational opportunity for the two races.

★ At strategic times during the past year, vigorously urged upon each Southern governor a positive program to assure the civil rights of the Southern people. Advocated the same course for newspapers, church bodies, and other influential groups.

★ Fostered self-surveys in a number of Southern towns which have resulted in many concrete community improvements.

★ Advised state legislatures on the desirability of measures that would make more opportunities available to Negro citizens.

★ Has assisted church women in a Southwide program for better law enforcement and equal justice in the courts.

★ Has successfully encouraged improved practices in the handling of racial news in Southern newspapers.

WHO SUPPORTS IT?

Up to now, the Southern Regional Council has had support from foundations, church groups of various faiths and denominations, and individual contributions. With the termination of some foundation support, the Council now seeks financial aid from new sources.

WHAT ARE ITS NEEDS?

In the coming months the Council hopes to increase its work at the community level, to give more strength and guidance to state and local committees. To carry out this objective and to expand the existing program in the fields of health, education, agriculture, and economic development, the budget committee estimates the Council's annual need at $88,000.

There is a deep and growing conviction among Southerners that they should support the South's own effort to care for its people's needs. The Southern Regional Council, as a body of Southern leaders, works responsibly at this job. The Council and the South ask for your help.

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT THE COUNCIL . . .

"The Southern Regional Council is an able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

—RALPH MCGILL

"The sort of organization which makes progress possible, and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."

—RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."

—NEW YORK TIMES

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."

—CHATTANOOGA TIMES

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

—CHRISTIAN CENTURY

1951

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63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

1952

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TO DO THESE THINGS

and more, the Southern Regional Council needs YOUR support Here are three things you can do to help:

1. Join SRC and work actively with other members in your community.

2. CONTRIBUTE TO SRC's operating funds.

3. GET YOUR FRIENDS to work with you and SRC.

What They Say About The Southern Regional Council

"The Southern Regional Council is an able and worthwhile organization working in the field of race relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency." - Ralph McGill

"The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is biracial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not indulge in tom-tom beating, parades or lengthy ~~pronouncementos~~ pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nations - or from the nations concern." - Hodding Carter

"The sort of organization which makes ... progress possible, and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."
- Richmond Times-Dispatch

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."
N.Y. Times

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* - Christian Science Monitor

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section"
- Chattanooga Times

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63 Auburn Avenue, NE - Atlanta, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check square)

☐ A Sustaining Member. (A main support of the Council)
Dues - $10.00

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(Note: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate (non-voting)members)

☐ A Contributor to SRC's operating funds

Dues for one year are enclosed . . . $_____

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K

ATL JNL-CONST

Foreman Brands Budenz 'Liar'

1-4-53

NEW YORK, Jan. 3 — (AP) — Dr. Clark Foreman Saturday called a "lie" testimony by Louis Budenz that the former once was a Communist Party member.

Foreman, once president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, replied to Budenz' testimony before a special house committee on tax-free institutions last Dec. 23.

In a statement issued here Saturday, Foreman said he asked permission Dec. 30 to appear before the committee because the testimony "is an absolute lie without any foundation in fact."

The statement added that he has not yet received a reply to the request.

"I have received no reply to my telegram and want to protest the use of congressional immunity for a self-confessed liar to slander innocent men without providing an opportunity for correction of the false accusations," Foreman's statement said.

K

Ira Reid

Ex-Atlanta U. Prof. Denies Red Party Tie

New York Times News Service
Special to The Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON, Dec. 30 — Two professors, Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University and Dr. Ira de A. Reid of Haverford (Pa.) College, denied under penalty of perjury today that they ever had been Communists.

They made the denials at their own request in response to testimony by Louis Budenz, former Communist leader, identifying them and 26 other leading intellectuals as Communists while he was active in the party prior to 1945.

The special House committee investigating tax-exempt foundations, which had Budenz as a witness on Dec. 23, called a special hearing for professors Gellhorn and Reid.

Budenz formerly served as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and was managing editor of the Daily Worker.

Reid, a professor of sociology formerly with Atlanta University, declared:

"I am not a Communist and I never have been a Communist, and therefore I regard that as a deliberate untruth as advanced by Mr. Budenz."

He also denied, under questioning, that he had "ever been under Communist discipline." He acknowledged that he had been a member of the executive board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, cited by the House committee on un-American activities. He emphasized, however, that he had "pulled out" when the conference no longer served the purpose of a "forthright, democratic, good organization" and joined the rival Southern Regional Council.

Dr. Ira Reid Denies Link With Commies

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Dr. Ira De A. Reid, professor of sociology at Haverford (Pennsylvania) College, is on record today as having denied under oath thec harge of Louis Budenz, onetime managing editor of the Communist Daily Worker, that he was a Communist.

He appeared, on his own initiative, before a hastily-called open meeting of the House Select Committee which investigated educational funds and swore that he has never been a committee.

The committee, which went out of existence when it submitted its report on New Year's Day, had concluded its scheduled public hearings but added the impromptu session at the urgent request of Dr. Reid and Dr. Walter Gellhorn, professor of administrative law at Columbia University, who also denied he was a Communist.

Both Dr. Gellhorn and Dr. Reid testified that they had never met Budenz, who teaches at Fordham University and renounced Communism years ago and has since appeared frequently at congressional hearings to make his accusations.

Dr. Reid, former chairman of Atlanta University's Sociology Department, not only denied ever being a Communist, but said he was never a Communist sympathizer. He told the committee he had quit various organizations when he detected a trend toward domination by Communists—organizations later listed as Communist fronts.

He said because he is colored, he has always been interested in such subjects as racial discrimination, and this, coupled with an intense interest in academic freedom, may have led him to join some organizations listed as subversive later by the Attorney General.

ATL WORLD
1-7-53

National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act

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February 12, 1953

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
1013 Highland View N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I have your letter of February 4, and am indeed sorry to learn that you wish to withdraw as an initiator of this Committee. Your resignation was brought to the attention of the Planning Committee, and your name will be removed from the letterhead, as you requested, within a few days.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Olive O. Van Horn

Olive O. Van Horn,
Secretary

From an
/Editorial from the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
May 12, 1953

ATTACK ON CLEMENT IS DIRTY POLITICS

* * * A member of the /City Executive Committee/board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once beloned to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

This newspaper is proud of thefact that it contributed largely to the demise ofthat organization. We were twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure ofit; therefore, we believe we have some authority to apeak.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of an led by personsof unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.

Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that personsof suspected communistic tendencies took over what remained of theorganization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them thefull light of publicity. Therefore, we feel free to say that this smear attack on Dr. Clement was false a d unworthy, and those conducting it reflect no credit on themselves, our city, state and region. * * *

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 86 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

6/26/53

Methodist Resolution Condemns Publication

By LAURA BARRE
Constitution Staff Writer

The North Georgia Methodist Conference passed a resolution Thursday condemning One Methodist Voice, a periodic publication edited by the Rev. Blake Craft, Clayton, and expressing confidence in the "Christian integrity and patriotic loyalty" of the ministers attacked in the publication.

The resolution followed a statement by the Rev. Mr. Craft that in order for him to receive an appointment, "to which I am justly entitled," Bishop Arthur J. Moore had required that he cease editing the controversial publication.

He charged that his right as a Methodist preacher to speak and to use his pen according to his conscience were on trial.

"POLITELY REFUSED"

Bishop Moore replied that he had suggested the Rev. Mr. Craft as a pastor for several churches and all the churches had "politely but firmly" refused to accept him. Finally, the bishop said, one church agreed to take him on condition that he cease publication of One Methodist Voice.

"I have been publishing the paper for three years," the Rev. Mr. Craft said, "exposing teachings of socialism, a world federalism and a treasonable pacifism within the Methodist church. I have pointed out how some of the leading officials have Communist front affiliations.

"Not one man has made any demand on me to ask me to retract anything I have said. I take that to mean they think what I say is true."

In their resolution, the ministers said "we have sought sincerely to practice Christian charity toward members of our fellowship. For more than two years, however, this spirit of charity has placed North Georgia Methodism in the position of seeming to approve, or, at least, to condone, the spirit and statements contained in One Methodist Voice. We now believe the time has passed when silence is Christian.

"We therefore declare that One Methodist Voice does not speak for, nor represent the spirit nor the mind of North Georgia Methodists.

"COMPLETE CONFIDENCE"

"We declare our complete confidence in the integrity of our brethren who have been attacked by One Methodist Voice, such as Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Bishop Bromley Oxman, Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Dr. Lester Rumble, Dr. Nat G. Long, Dr. E. G. Mackay and Mrs. M. E. Tilley.

"We declare our opposition to the use of the name "Methodist" by such independent organizations and publications as the Methodist Federation for Social Action (unofficial) and One Methodist Voice (unofficial)."

Sid Williams, a layman from Austell, moved to table the resolution condemning the publication, but his motion failed for want of a second.

FAVORED RESOLUTION

M. G. Dunaway, a layman from Rockmart, said the laymen favored the resolution as strongly as did the ministers.

The Rev. W. J. Culpepper, Warrenton, moved that the conference re-affirm its love for the Rev. Mr. Craft and request him to re-consider his relationship to the conference and to his brethren. The motion was passed.

"I will stop publishing my paper," Craft replied, "when the bishop appoints a committee to work with me to study what is going on in the church."

The bishop made no reply.

Rev. Blake Craft Gets A Deserved Rebuke

The North Georgia Methodist Conference is to be congratulated for turning thumbs down on that package of prejudice published by the Rev. Blake Craft under the title "One Methodist Voice."

Mr. Craft's protest that his freedom of press is being violated has no foundation in fact. No one is trying to keep him from circulating his views. The Methodist denomination is within its rights in denying him the right to proclaim those views from the press or from the pulpit in the name of Methodism. The church must do something to prevent careless, selfish use of the fine word "Methodist" by those individuals or organizations with special axes to grind.

It is significant that when the Rev. Mr. Craft proffered his services on his own terms, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, head of the conference, reported that the churches to which the pastor had been offered "politely but firmly" had declined him.

* * *

ESTABLISHED 1869
The Chattanooga Times

Chattanooga Times 6, 26, 53

North Georgia Conference Rebukes Publisher of 'One Methodist Voice'

ATLANTA, June 25 (AP)—The North Georgia Methodist Conference today overwhelmingly condemned a newspaper, "One Methodist Voice," published by the Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton.

Craft was given a year's sabbatical leave by the conference yesterday.

Bishop Arthur J. Moore of Atlanta said it had been impossible to find any Methodist church in Georgia which would accept Craft as its pastor.

The otherwise calm, orderly meeting was thrown into momentary confusion today when Craft asked for the floor.

He said that since he had been granted a leave some of his friends didn't understand the move and he wanted to explain.

Thereupon he read a copy of a telegram he had sent Moore in which he accused the bishop of refusing to give him an appointment.

Moore then rose to answer Craft's charges. He explained that the Methodist Conference cabinet, composed of bishops and district superintendents, had tried to work out an appointment for Craft.

He said the minister wrote to him early in June asking for a new assignment when appointments were announced at the current conference.

The bishop added that he had contacted chairmen of the board of stewards in several churches in Georgia asking that they receive Craft as minister but in each case was turned down.

Then the cabinet met with Craft and, in a "friendly discussion" asked him to name some churches which would receive him. Craft named one, but this church also refused to accept him. Moore continued, unless he would stop publishing "One Methodist Voice."

Craft told the cabinet he must follow his conscience and the members agreed but, said Moore, they didn't see how he could construe that to mean he should continue to criticize his brother ministers.

Moore said the cabinet had tried to work with Craft "but he has refused to co-operate."

When Moore finished, the convention gave him a standing ovation.

The Rev. J. C. Callaway of Athens, secretary of the cabinet, called on each member of the cabinet to stand and confirm the bishop's sentiment. They did.

The conference then adopted a resolution introduced by Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick, Athens pastor. It condemned "One Methodist Voice" and said:

"It does not speak for nor represent the spirit nor the mind of north Georgia Methodists" and declared "complete confidence in the Christian integrity and patriotic loyalty of our brethren who have been attacked by "One Methodist Voice."

The resolution said the paper had attacked such men as Bishop Moore; Bishop Bromley Oxnam of Washington; Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Methodist missionary; Dr. Lester Rumble, Augusta minister; Dr. Nat G. Long, Atlanta pastor; Dr. E. G. MacKay, district superintendent of the Decatur-Oxford district, and Mrs. M. E. Tilley, prominent Methodist worker of Atlanta.

The conference yesterday voted to raise retirement pay of ministers from $30 per service year to $35.

ATLANTA JOURNAL - June 25, 1953

Methodists Blast Pastor's Publication

Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton Denies Slander, Says Press Freedom Censored

By SARAH MYRICK

A stern resolution condemning One Methodist Voice, a periodic publication edited by the Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton was passed overwhelmingly at the North Georgia Conference Thursday morning.

The resolution came after an attack by the Rev. Mr. Craft that he had been denied his freedom of the press and the right of a Methodist minister to express freely his opinion on matters relating to his church.

The Rev. Mr. Craft Wednesday was granted a requested sabbatical leave. On the conference floor Thursday morning, he contended the bishop had not given him an appointment.

In reply, Bishop Moore explained to the conference that he could not get a church to accept the Rev. Mr. Craft unless he would cease to "slander his brethren."

* * *

THE RESOLUTION declared "that One Methodist Voice does not speak for nor represent the spirit nor the mind of North Georgia Methodists."

It declared "complete confidence" in the Christian integrity and patriotic loyalty of our brethren who have been attacked by One Methodist Voice."

Bishop Moore called the publication a "disturbing influence." He said, "We do not want our church to be the center of the disturbance."

"We told Brother Craft that we might persuade a church to accept him if he would desist from slandering his brethren.

* * *

"BROTHER CRAFT," he said, "replied that he must follow his conscience. I said, 'Brother Craft, that is right, follow your conscience. But I did not see how that can be construed to mean continuing to criticize your brethren.'

"He believes he is being persecuted. I stand in your presence and his to say that is not true. We have tried to co-operate with him and to give him an appointment, but he has refused to co-operate."

As the bishop concluded the conferen gave him a rising ovation.

Dr. George S. Mitchell Honored By Catholic Committee of the South

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was honored by the Catholic Committee of the South for "signal contribution to the welfare and progress of the South" on April 24 at a three-day meeting in Richmond, Va. The CCS award, which is given every two years, was presented by the Most Reverend John J. Russell, Bishop of Charleston, S. C. It followed a tribute by Paul D. Williams, a founder of the Catholic Committee of the South and for six years president of the Southern Regional Council.

TEXT OF SCROLL

Dr. Mitchell was given a scroll bearing the following citation:

The Catholic Committee of the South presents its 1953 award to Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell, native Virginian, economist, teacher, administrator, dedicated servant of his Southland, his nation, and his fellow man.

From the beginning of his rich career, he has manifested a deep and selfless devotion to the ideal of a society in which all men and women may find opportunity and justice, dignity and the warm hand of brotherhood.

As a brilliant student and Rhodes scholar, he laid up the store of knowledge which he has applied so fruitfully to the problems of our day.

As Assistant Director of the Farm Security Administration, he put into action programs expressing his deep concern for the needs and aspirations of plain people, and through his skill opened to them the ways to independence and security.

As Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, he has inspired all of us by the practical example of what the courageous leadership of one man can achieve in lifting the hopes and spirits of the Southern people.

Because of his wisdom and unselfish labor the South has moved closer to the bright future which we all cherish. In testimony of his many accomplishments, we extend to him health and benediction — ad multos annos.

TRIBUTE TO DR. MITCHELL BY PAUL D. WILLIAMS

It has been said that one man of courage is a majority. Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell comes by the virtue of courage gracefully, through a kindly inheritance. His mother was a brave, gracious, blithe spirit. His father, the late Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell, was built along heroic lines. He became, even during his lifetime, an institution in the city of Richmond, Virginia.

Formerly the President of the University of Delaware and President of the College of Charleston, the elder Dr. Mitchell chose to spend his last fruitful years as Professor of History at the University of Richmond. Dr. Mitchell's students still breathe his name in hushed reverence whenever they meet, because of his challenge, his original thinking, his ability to make them stir themselves to higher strivings than they thought possible. Freedom was in the blood of Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell and freedom was in his very breathing. He had no tolerance for what some people call a respectable mediocrity. He strove to have every man under his tutelage raise himself up to his highest possible level of achievement as a precious person — as, indeed, a man of God.

Dr. George Mitchell is a native of Richmond. He graduated from the University of Richmond with honors, being elected in his senior year to Phi Beta Kappa. From thence he went to Johns Hopkins University, where he received his Ph.D. in economics. Then he was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship, spending three years at Ox-

ford University in England. On his return to America, Dr. Mitchell taught at Columbia University until drafted into government service.

It was in his capacity as Assistant Director of the Farm Security Administration that Dr. Mitchell evidenced a keen concern for the plain people on the land and strove to remove from them the shackles of poverty and bring them to the independence that becomes a man who wants most of all to be free.

DEVOTION TO DUTY

Six years ago, Dr. Mitchell became executive director of the S. R. C. In this office, Dr. Mitchell's greatest asset has been his devotion to duty. General Robert E. Lee once said, "To me the most sublime word in the English dictionary is the word — duty."

The three things that shine forth in Dr. Mitchell's life, at least in my estimation, are his courage, his deep concern for the plain people of the South, and his devotion to duty.

Emerson has said, "Gold and silver are not gifts, they are only excuses for gifts. The only true gift is to give a portion of yourself." In all of his undertakings, Dr. Mitchell has humbly given a liberal portion of himself. That is why the Catholic Committee of the South, representing the Bishops, priests and laity of the Catholic Faith, signals out Dr. Mitchell for special recognition in this year of 1953. Since he has given so generously of himself for the advancement of the South, it is only fitting that we in the Catholic Committee of the South should in return give a portion of ourselves to him in the scroll that soon shall be presented by Bishop Russell of Charleston.

Let it be remembered that the Catholic Committee of the South award has been extended only after the most careful consideration. Among the past recipients have been such personages as the late Dr. George Washington Carver, Dr. Howard W. Odum, Mr. David E. Lilienthal, Mother Katherine Drexel, Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson.

Words are only words. They cannot possibly bespeak the deep, hidden meaning of the human spirit. What the scroll states is admittedly only feeble. What is left unsaid represents the imperishable meaning of friendship, admiration, and appreciation that all of us in the Catholic Committee of the South feel for a truly superlative gentleman, Dr. George Mitchell — an appreciation expressed perhaps most appropriately in the words of Keats, "Heard melodies are sweet, those unheard are sweeter."

In the homely but manly virtues of courage, deep regard for plain people, devotion to duty are to be found Dr. Mitchell's real stature, and in these virtues he arrives at his high estate of success.

For, after all, what is success? Wealth, fame — these are fleeting. They come and they go like the winds. But true success lies much deeper in the innermost spirit of man. Ruskin has the answer, and in his definition Dr. Mitchell is exemplified:

> "Mighty of mind, mighty of heart, magnanimous — to be this is to be great in life. To be this increasingly is to advance in life. For he only is advancing in life whose blood is growing warmer, whose mind quicker, and whose spirit is entering into living peace — that peace which surpasses all understanding."

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

NEW SOUTH

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Carter Wesley	*Vice-President*
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Subscription rate ..... $1.50 a year

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, JUNE, 1953

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ARTICLE I. NAME, ~~AND~~ AREA AND PURPOSE

Section 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated. The terms "Council" or "Corporation" used hereafter in these by-laws shall mean the "Southern Regional Council, Inc."

Section 2. Area. For the purposes of this corporation the Southern Region shall be defined as embracing the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. All members of the corporation shall be residents of this area. This area may be increased or reduced at any annual meeting of the members as hereinafter defined.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS

Section 1. Members

A. The members of the corporation shall be as follows:

1. Not more than 50 or less than 40 persons, hereafter called members, elected by the annual meeting at which these by-laws are adopted.
2. Two persons, hereafter called ex-officio members, from each affiliated State organization. These two persons from each affiliated State organization shall be the chairman of such affiliated organization and one additional member elected by the members of such organization.
3. The president, the vice-presidents, the counsel, the executive director, and the associate director shall also be ex-officio members.

B. A member, as distinct from an ex-officio member, shall hold office for four years (except as provided in Section 1-C of this Article) and until his successor shall have been duly chosen and qualified and until he shall have resigned or shall have been removed in the manner provided by Section 8 in this Article. No such member shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each (or, in accordance with Section 1-C of this Article, one short term and one full four-year term, consecutively). Chairmen of affiliated State organizations shall hold ex-officio membership in the corporation as long as they are chairmen of affiliated State organizations, and ex-officio members elected by their affiliated State organizations shall hold membership in the corporation for not more than two consecutive four-year terms, or portions thereof.

Section 6. Special Meetings. At any time in the interval between annual meetings, special meetings may be called by the president or any ten (10) members or ex-officio members.

Section 7. Quorum. Fifteen members and/or ex-officio members of the Council shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at every meeting of the members; but if at any meeting there be less than a quorum present, a majority of those present may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over fifteen (15) days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 8. Removal. At any meeting called with that purpose stated in the call, any member may, by a majority of the votes cast, be removed from office for cause, and another be appointed in the place of the person so removed to serve for the remainder of his term. Permanent change of residence or citizenship to a point beyond the area, as defined in or pursuant to Article I, Section 2, will automatically terminate the membership of one so changing residence or citizenship.

ARTICLE III. FELLOWS

The Council may award honorary fellowships, not exceeding one hundred (100) in number, to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership. Fellows shall be chosen in such manner as the Council may prescribe, provided they are well distributed as to race, sex, creed, occupation, and place of residence. The duties of fellows shall be to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents, and special representatives. Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Council may direct. The term of a fellowship shall be for two years, unless otherwise provided by the Council, and fellowships may be renewed or withdrawn at the discretion of the Council. Fellows need not be members of the corporation.

ARTICLE IV. AFFILIATES

Organized groups or agencies whose aims and methods are closely akin to the aims and methods of the Southern Regional Council may, at the dis-

discontinue the same at pleasure. Each such committee shall have such powers and perform such duties, not inconsistent with these by-laws, as may be assigned to it by the Council. If provision be made for any such committee, the members thereof shall be appointed by the Council. Vacancies in such committees shall be filled by the Council or by such committee or officer as the Council may authorize to fill such vacancies.

ARTICLE VI. OFFICERS

Section 1. Executive Officers. The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; an executive director; ~~an associate executive director~~ assistant directors; a secretary; and a treasurer. The president and the vice-presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director and the ~~associate executive director~~ assistant directors need not be members at the time of their election, but by virtue of their office shall become ex-officio members of the corporation, with all the privileges of such members. ~~The secretary and the treasurer need not be members, and the offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person.~~ The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive director and associate executive director, secretary-treasurer, and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Section 13 of this Article. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council, at any regular or special meeting.

Section 2. President. The president of the corporation shall serve as chairman of the Council. He shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the Council, and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 3. First Vice-President. At the request of the president, or in his absence or disability, the first vice-president shall perform all the duties of the president; and when so acting shall have the powers of the president; and shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 4 Additional Vice-Presidents. Each additional vice-president, if any, shall perform the duties of the office in each of his such and shall have

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS

Section 1. Members

A. The members of the corporation shall be as follows:

1. Not more than 50 or less than 40 persons, hereafter called members, elected by the annual meeting at which these by-laws are adopted.
2. Two persons, hereafter called ex-officio members, from each affiliated State organization. These two persons from each affiliated State organization shall be the chairman of such affiliated organization and one additional member elected by the members of such organization.
3. The president, the vice-presidents, the counsel, the executive director, and the associate director shall also be ex-officio members.

B. A member, as distinct from an ex-officio member, shall hold office for four years (except as provided in Section 1-C of this Article) and until his successor shall have been duly chosen and qualified and until he shall have resigned or shall have been removed in the manner provided by Section 8 in this Article. No such member shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each (or, in accordance with Section 1-C of this Article, one short term and one full four-year term, consecutively). Chairmen of affiliated State organizations shall hold ex-officio membership in the corporation as long as they are chairmen of affiliated State organizations, and ex-officio members elected by their affiliated State organizations shall hold membership in the corporation for not more than two consecutive four-year terms, or portions thereof.

C. The members elected at the meeting at which these by-laws are adopted shall be divided by lot in such a way that the terms of one-half shall expire at the time of the annual meeting in 1955, and the remainder at the annual meeting in 1957.

D. Successors to members (as distinct from ex-officio members) shall, upon expiration of terms or death, resignation, or removal, be elected by all members of the corporation, including ex-officio members, at the next meeting following occurrence of such vacancy, provided that in such elections the executive director and the associate executive director shall not be entitled to vote.

Section 2. Notice of Meetings and Membership Rights

A. Notice of the place, day, and hour of every regular and special meeting shall be given to each member and ex-officio membmer not less than ten (10) days before the meeting, by delivering the same to him personally, or sending the same to him by telegraph or telephone or by leaving the same at his last known post office address, according to the records of the corporation. It shall not be requisite to the validity of any meeting of the Council that notice thereof shall have been received by any member and ex-officio member who is present thereat or, if absent, waives notice thereof in writing filed with the records of the meeting either before or after the holding thereof. No notice of any adjourned meeting of the Council need be given.

B. The rights of any member in the corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, except in the case of proxies, as provided in Section 4 of this Article, and his rights shall cease with death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

Section 3. Voting. Each member or ex-officio member shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure. Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as may be provided by the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Proxies. Any member or ex-officio member entitled to vote at any meeting of members may vote either in person or by proxy. All proxies shall be given to members of this body only, and each one shall designate the name of the member who shall act as proxy. Every proxy shall be in writing, subscribed by the member, or his duly authorized attorney, and dated, but need not be sealed, witnessed, or acknowledged. Proxies shall be delivered to the secretary of the corporation before such meeting or to the inspectors at the meeting.

Section 5. Annual Meetings. The corporation shall hold annually a meeting for the election of officers and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock a. m. on the second Wednesday in November in each year, if not a legal holiday, or at such other place and such other time within sixty days as may be designated by the Executive Committee, provided notice of such meeting, including day, hour, and place, shall be given each member of the Council in writing at least thirty days in advance. Such annual meetings shall be general meetings; that is to say, open for the transaction of any business within the powers of the corporation without special notice of such business, unless otherwise provided in these by-laws.

present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 8. Removal. At any meeting called with that purpose stated in the call, any member may, by a majority of the votes cast, be removed from office for cause, and another be appointed in the place of the person so removed to serve for the remainder of his term. Permanent change of residence or citizenship to a point beyond the area, as defined in or pursuant to Article I, Section 2, will automatically terminate the membership of one so changing residence or citizenship.

ARTICLE III. FELLOWS

The Council may award honorary fellowships, not exceeding one hundred (100) in number, to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership. Fellows shall be chosen in such manner as the Council may prescribe, provided they are well distributed as to race, sex, creed, occupation, and place of residence. The duties of fellows shall be to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents, and special representatives. Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Council may direct. The term of a fellowship shall be for two years, unless otherwise provided by the Council, and fellowships may be renewed or withdrawn at the discretion of the Council. Fellows need not be members of the corporation.

ARTICLE IV. AFFILIATES

Organized groups or agencies whose aims and methods are closely akin to the aims and methods of the Southern Regional Council may, at the discretion of the Council, become affiliates of the Council, upon such conditions as the corporation may prescribe. The by-laws of such organized groups or agencies shall be approved by the Council or the Executive Committee of the Council in advance of affiliation. Alterations in the by-laws of such affiliated organizations shall become valid only after written approval of the proposed altered language by or on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. The Council shall prescribe a uniform accounting and auditing system for all affiliated organizations and shall require adherence to such system by all affiliated organizations. Affiliated organizations may disaffiliate. The Council may require disaffiliation for breach of the by-laws of an affiliated organization, or in the event that (after a hearing by the Council) the Council deems the aims and methods of such organization to be no longer closely akin to those of the Southern Regional Council. In the event of disaffiliation, any property of the affiliate purchased with the proceeds of Council aid to such affiliate shall be at the disposition of the Council.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

Section 1. Executive Committee. The Council shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than nine (9) members in addition to the president and vice-presidents, treasurer and counsel; the executive director and the associate executive director shall also be ex-officio members of the Committee, but without the right to vote. The Executive Committee shall serve during the pleasure of the Council and may be discharged and the Committee abolished at any time by the Council. Unless one of the members shall have been designated as chairman by the Council, the Executive Committee shall elect a chairman from its own number. During the intervals between the meetings of the Council the Executive Committee shall possess and may exercise all of the powers of the corporation, conferred by these by-laws or the charter of the corporation, in all cases in which specific directions shall not have been given by the Council. The Executive Committee shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions. All action by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Council at its meeting next succeeding such action, and shall be subject to revision and alterations by the Council; provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration. Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Council.

Section 2. Meetings of Executive Committee. The Executive ~~Council~~ Committee shall fix its own rules of procedure, and shall meet as provided by such rules or by resolution of the Council, and it shall also meet at the call of the chairman or of any three members of the Committee. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of not less than five (5) members of the Committee. If necessary, members of the Executive Committee may by written notice appoint a proxy from among the members of the Council to attend and vote on behalf of such members.

Section 3. National Advisory Committee. The Council may establish a National Advisory Committee, composed of persons who reside outside the area of the Southern Regional Council and who are sympathetic with the aims and policies of the Council, whose purpose shall be to advise the Council on matters pertaining to its work.

Section 5. Other Committees. The Council may by resolution provide for such other standing or special committees as it deems desirable and may

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Section 4 Additional Vice-Presidents. Each additional vice-president, if any, shall perform the duties of the office in order of his rank and shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 5. Executive Director. The executive director shall be charged with the execution of the program and policies of the Council as defined by the Council, and shall be responsible directly to the Council. He shall have general charge and supervision of the employed personnel of the Council, he may sign and execute, in the name of the corporation, all authorized deeds, mortgages, bonds, contracts, or other instruments, except in cases in which the signing and execution thereof shall have been expressly delegated to some other officer or agent of the corporation; and he shall perform such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee or by the Council.

Section 6. Associate Executive Director. The associate executive director shall work in cooperation with the executive director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. At the request of the executive director, or in case of his absence or disability, the associate executive director shall perform the duties of the executive director, and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee or by the Council.

Section 7. Secretary. The secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Council and of the Executive Committee, in books provided for the purpose; he shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws, or as required by law; he shall be custodian of the records and of the corporate seal or seals of the corporation; he shall see that the corporate seal is affixed to all documents, the execution of which, on behalf of the corporation, under its seal, is duly authorized, and when so affixed may attest the same; and, in general, he shall perform all duties incident to the office of a secretary of a corporation, and such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council or by the by-laws.

Section 8. Treasurer. The treasurer shall have charge of and be responsible for all funds, securities, receipts and disbursements of the corporation, and shall deposit, or cause to be deposited, in the name of the corporation, all monies or other valuable effects in such banks, trust companies, or other depositories as shall, from time to time, be selected by the Council; he shall render to the president and to the Council annually, and at other times whenever requested, an account of the financial condition of the corporation; and, in general, shall perform all duties incident to the office of a treasurer of a corporation, and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 9. Controller. The office of controller may be created by the Council, and the duties and authority of such officer shall be fixed by the Council.

Section 10. Counsel. The duties and authority of the counsel shall be fixed by the Council, and he shall be a member of the Council, by virtue of his office.

Adopted by the Membership Meeting of May 14, 1953, subject to implementation by the Executive Committee; made effective by the Executive Committee on April 6, 1954.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(WAlnut 7963)

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FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, APRIL 11, 1954

(The following statement was issued today by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council. A list of the Executive Committee members, as well as the members of the full Board of Directors, is attached.)

We are pleased to announce that the Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $240,000 to assist the Southern Regional Council's educational program in twelve Southern States for an 18-month period. The Fund for the Republic, which was established by the Ford Foundation in December 1952, is concerned with preserving and extending those individual rights which are the essence of our American heritage. The Southern Regional Council, since its founding in 1944, has expressed that concern as it exists among thoughtful people of both races in the South. As the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Council goes back, in experience and good will, to 1919. Its aim is the attainment of equal opportunity for all the people of the South.

Throughout these years the Council, like the Commission before it, has sought to unite the best of Southern thought and leadership, without racial distinctions. It has employed the familiar methods of fact-finding, conference, and persuasion, and has fostered the development of state divisions and affiliates through which its members might work in their respective states and communities. The central office in Atlanta coordinates and services the state groups and individual members throughout the region.

The grant from the Fund for the Republic, together with contributions from other sources, will make possible stronger and more independent state bodies. It is contemplated that each state organization affiliated with the Council shall have its own membership, governing board, and officers. The greater part of the newly available funds will be used to enable the state groups to employ

professional staff persons, white and Negro. Thus each Southern state will have a full-time human relations service, available to both public officials and private citizens, maintained and directed by local leadership. The states to be included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia

The grant of funds is in reality a challenge to the strengthened state bodies to win the local support necessary to become self-sustaining human relations agencies.

The Southern Regional Council proper will now consist of a widely representative board drawn from both races and every state in the region. The Atlanta office will continue to perform fact-finding, information, and coordinating functions.

We believe that this approach is well suited to the human relations needs of the South. It puts major reliance where it belongs--on local responsibility and initiative -- and it gives opportunity for the constructive forces in every Southern state to work effectively.

This pattern has characterized the activities of the Southern Regional Council from the beginning, and with heartening results. It has helped secure the right of Negro citizens to vote without hindrance. It has provided a network of Southern people with the will and the know-how to curb racial tension and violence. It has helped make possible the employment of Negro policemen and other municipal workers in scores of Southern cities. It has spread the example of the self-survey, through which a number of communities have achieved cooperation and progress across the lines of race. It has mobilized church women in a Southwide effort for impartial law enforcement and equal justice in the courts. It has stimulated local groups to study and seek correction of school inequalities. It has made widely known every Southern precedent for the dropping of racial barriers -- in professional associations, higher education,

transportation, public libraries, and the like.

The impending Supreme Court decision on public school segregation -- whatever it may be -- will call for all that is best and most responsible in Southern life. Fortunately, there is abundant and growing evidence today of Southern willingness to find positive, democratic solutions to the problems of the region. It is our hope and belief that the Southern Regional Council, through its expanded state services, will make an important contribution to this effort.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council expresses its gratitude to the Fund for the Republic for putting this new strength into the growth of human opportunity in the South.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President - Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.
Vice-Presidents - Carter Wesley, Houston, Texas
Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, Virginia
A. W. Dent, New Orleans, La.
Alfred Mynders, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Chairman Executive Committee - Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Ga.
Counsel - Leonard Haas, Atlanta, Ga.
Executive Director, George S. Mitchell

Mrs. C. M. Birnie, Atlanta, Ga.
Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, Montgomery, Ala.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
John A. Griffin, Atlanta, Ga.
Harry V. Richardson, Atlanta, Ga.
Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.

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Rev. Dan C. Whitsett, Sylacauga

Arkansas
Mrs. W. F. Bates, Little Rock
U. S. Bond, Madison

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Davisson Dunlap, Jacksonville

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L. D. Milton, Atlanta
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Paul D. Williams, Richmond
Thos. W. Young, Norfolk

Com. on Interracial
Cooperation—
Corres. re files

September 9, 1954

Dr. Will W. Alexander
New Hope Farm
Route 3
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Will:

I inform you of a matter which concerns twenty-five hard years of your lifetime.

Recently we reorganized the space occupied by the Council--knocking out partitions, putting in better lighting, and spreading gay paint around. That brought us to review each cubic foot of file material in the Council's custody. We thought perhaps it would be proper to hand over to the Library of A. U. the files of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with certain stipulations.

The matter was proposed to the Executive Committee, with President Clement present, and I supply you with the resulting exchange of letters.

Within the next few days the files of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation will, therefore, be carried over to the Library at A. U. and placed in the perpetual care of the library under the conditions stated.

Needless to say, you have our assistance -- as, of course, you will have A. U.'s -- in having access to the files at any time. And while you have never asked for a service of this kind, we do want you to understand that we will gladly dig up for you at any time anything that you feel sure is there and that you will describe to us.

Admiringly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

cc: Mr. Marion A. Wright
Katherine Stoney

Adopted Nov. 1954
Effective Jan. 1955

In the case of the following persons employed by me in my capacity as Chairman of the _____

_____,

I am satisfied that every such employee is a loyal American..

NAMES OF EMPLOYEES

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
Chairman

_____
Date

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

N

C
O
P
Y

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York September 26, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $150,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for the fiscal year October 1, 1955, to September 30, 1956, to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve southern states, and to strengthen the Central Office in Atlanta.

In our grant letter for the eighteen-month period April 1, 1954, to September 30, 1955, we stated that the grant had been made with the understanding that the Fund,

> "...will consider future grants, on a showing of program accomplishment and ability to raise funds from other sources, of not to exceed $150,000 for the period October 1, 1955 through September 30, 1956; and of not to exceed $110,000 for the period October 1, 1956, through September 30, 1957. This grant carries with it the stipulation that there will be no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the SRC after September 30, 1957."

The present grant is made on the same terms as our first grant. However, we would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you and through you George Mitchell and his staff for the excellent progress made during the first year and a half of operation under the Council's expanded program. We appreciate the many difficulties that have confronted the Council in the past months, particularly in its successful endeavors to reorganize and staff the various state affiliates.

When the time comes for another appraisal of the operations of the Council by this Fund, we will, of course, want to look very closely at the actual accomplishments of the state organizations. We hope that during the next twelve months all the state chapters will build a record of achievement of which this Fund and the Council can be proud.

We look forward to receiving from Mr. Mitchell the same type of excellent quarterly reports he has furnished us during the first eighteen months of our support, and such additional informal progress reports as he may wish to give us.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We would appreciate, however, the opportunity of reviewing a draft of any news release before it is made available to the public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax-exempt ruling under IRC #101 (6) and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

I am enclosing our check for $150,000.00 and would appreciate receiving your acknowledgment of this payment at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF/da

cc: George Mitchell

ys-9/29/55

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

As Chairman of the _____
(name of organization)
I hereby certify that said organization, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, has not, during the fiscal year 1 October 1954 - 30 September 1955, engaged in carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempted to influence legislation, or otherwise engaged in any form of political activity.

_____
State Chairman

_____ _____
date State

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(WAlnut 7963)

RELEASE MONDAY AM'S OCTOBER 17, 1955

The Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $150,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., for the fiscal year October 1, 1955, to September 30, 1956. The grant is "to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve Southern states and to strengthen the Council's central office in Atlanta."

The Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944 to further the attainment of equal opportunity for all people in the South. As the direct successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Council has a heritage of experience and good will extending back to 1919. The Fund for the Republic, an independent organization established in 1952 by the Ford Foundation, has as its purpose support of "The American principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution."

The Council, through the development of affiliated state organizations, seeks to unite the best Southern thought and leadership without racial distinctions. A previous grant of $240,000 from the Fund for the Republic enabled the Council to establish stronger and more independent affiliates in twelve Southern states. The states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Each of the twelve state organizations now has professional staff persons, who provide a full-time human relations service available to both public officials and private citizens. The twelve organizations are maintained and directed by local leadership. The program places the major reliance on local responsibility and initiative and gives opportunity for the constructive forces in each Southern state to work effectively.

The regional organization, consisting of a widely representative board drawn from both races in the South, continues to perform fact-finding and informational functions and serves as a coordinating agency for the state organizations. Its headquarters are in Atlanta.

The Council believes there is abundant and growing evidence today of Southern willingness to find positive, democratic solutions to the problems of the region. The Council hopes that, through its expanded program it can make an important contribution to such progress.

Any charges that the Southern Regional Council has Communist connections or is influenced by Communist ideas are poppycock. The Southern Regional Council is made up of reasonable, tolerant, and forward-looking citizens who wish to see the states in the South do a sober, responsible job of accomodating themselves to the changes in the world around us. As to investigations, they are perfectly welcome. We have nothing to hide. All that will result will be red faces for those who set on the investigators.

The Southern Regional Council is made up of some mighty people, who are members of its Board of Directors. Some of them are white and some are Negro. All of them are distinguished for their active and thoughtful careers within the South. What a tragedy for a state attorney general, sworn to uphold the law, to attack one of the few efforts which proceeds within the South to deal truthfully and in mutual respect with the problems which the region confronts! Watch the birdie. Who is proposing conduct subversive of the Constitution and courts of our land?

IN ANSWER TO ATTORNEY EUGENE COOK'S SPEECH OF OCTOBER 19.1965 .
FOR THE GEORGIA PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE

GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
63 AUBURN AVENUE

For the Attorney General to label the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation a "front" organization is not only ridiculous, but it is a libel on those Georgia leaders he labels as "dupes" and on Georgia officials as well.

True, the Georgia Committee is composed of "some of Georgia's most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders." And it is these same leaders who make up the board of directors and the executive committee of the group. It is these same leaders who plan and direct the policy and program of the Georgia Committee and are sincerely trying to help solve a difficult Southern problem.

The Georgia Committee has a history dating back to 1919. If, as the Attorney General claims, an investigation is being made of the Georgia Committee, why should it come at this time? The answer is obvious when one stops to consider the fact that there are some irresponsible people today who claim the Supreme Court of the United States is under the influence of Communists. Who could better claim the label of subversive -- those who seek to uphold the supreme law of the land or those who seek to circumvent it? The Attorney General is seeking to delay the solution and impugning the motives of those who seek to help work out a solution.

On a monument to the British soldiers who died on King's Mountain, S. C., is this inscription, "They came 3000 miles to keep the past on the throne." There are still those who fight to keep the past on the throne.

The Georgia Committee will welcome any investigation by <u>responsible</u> people. It has nothing to hide.

Guy H. Wells
Executive Director

C
O FOR AUTOMATIC RELEASE AT 2:20 P.M., EST, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1955
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Y

THE UGLY TRUTH ABOUT THE NAACP
An Address by
ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK
Before The
55th ANNUAL CONVENTION
Of The
PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF GEORGIA
HELD IN ATLANTA
* * * * *

PRESIDENT REDDING, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AND MY FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF GEORGIA:

It is always a source of genuine personal satisfaction for me to have the opportunity of appearing before this group. Of all the organizations to which I have the privilege of belonging, none has accorded me a greater degree of support and cooperation than the Peace Officers Association of Georgia.

This rapport, I feel, is due principally to the fact that we share common professional objectives and personal convictions. As servants of our fellow citizens, we are made acutely aware of the grave responsibility inherent in protecting the rights and liberties of the people through vigorous and impartial enforcement of the law. As individuals charged with this solemn duty, we are able to see more clearly than others the threat to those rights and liberties posed by those who would substitute government by men for government by law.

It is because of your demonstrated discernment in this regard that I have chosen this occasion as the proper forum for revealing, for the first time, the authenticated details of the most ominous of these threats to arise during our lifetime. I refer to the subversive designs behind the current crusade of the misnamed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its fellow-traveling fronts to force upon the South the Communist-inspired doctrine of racial integration and amalgamation.

It shall be my purpose in this speech to totally disrobe the NAACP and to present this sinister and subtle organization in all its nakedness.

The ugly truth about the NAACP and its origin, aims and manipulators is so shocking as to stagger the imagination, but it is borne out by incontrovertible facts which can be established as matters of official record. These facts have been uncovered, checked, assembled and correlated through many weeks of intensive investigation and cooperative effort by my Staff and the Staffs of Congressman James C. Davis of Georgia and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

I am prepared to prove everything I shall say. And I wish to state for the benefit of those who undoubtedly will attempt to smear me and discredit my findings and conclusions that I would welcome the opportunity to present the evidence I have in hand for determination before a trial jury in a court of law.

At the outset I wish to make it clear that the issue involved is one not of race but rather of subversion. None of the organizations which have exploited the race issue in this country has ever had the welfare of the negro people at heart. They have seized upon this issue as a convenient front for their more nefarious activities and as one with which they could dupe naive do-gooders, fuzzy-minded intellectuals, misguided clergymen and radical journalists to be their pawns.

The record shows that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was neither founded nor is presently directed by colored people. It was originated in New York City 46 years ago as the brain child of a Southern scallawag journalist and Russian-trained revolutionary named William E. Walling. Its principal personalities during its early years were descendants of the rabble-rousing abolitionists who fomented the strife which precipitated the War Between the States, a conflict which could have been avoided but for the activities of those abolitionists.

Of its five founders only one was a negro -- a Communist-sympathizing lawyer named W. E. B. DuBois whose record of participation in Communist, Communist-front and subversive organizations and activities taken from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives requires eight pages of single-spaced, typewritten copy to outline. Among his more recent activities of this nature was the donation of his services in the preparation of legal briefs defending since-executed Communist spies Julius and Ethyl Rosenberg and the imprisoned leaders of the Communist Party of the United States. In 1953 he was awarded the International Peace Prize by the "Communist front" World Peace Council in recognition of his participation in the sponsorship of the series of Communist-dominated World Peace Conferences held since 1949 in an attempt to undermine the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

DuBois was Director of Research for the NAACP until 1949 and now is referred to by its officers and members as the organization's "Honorary Chairman."

In addition to Walling and DuBois, the other NAACP founders -- all white -- were Dr. Henry Moskowitz; Socialist Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison; and Miss Mary Ovington White, also a descendant of an old-time abolitionist. The first president of the Association was a white Boston lawyer, Moorfield Storey, who was identified in his youth with the abolitionist movement and who served as secretary to the original race-baiter, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner.

From that day to this, South-hating white people with long records of affinity for, affiliation with and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling and subversive organizations, activities and causes have directed and subsidized the NAACP. Its present president, Arthur B. Spingarn of New York City, is a white man as are a large number of the current officers, directors and principal contributors.

The files of the House Un-American Activities Committee reveal records of affiliation with or participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling or subversive organizations or activities on the part of the following present officials of the NAACP -- the President, the Chairman of the Board, the "Honorary Chairman," 11 of the 28 Vice Presidents, the Treasurer, 28 of 47 Directors, the Chairman of the National Legal Committee, the Executive Secretary, the Special Counsel, the Assistant Special Counsel, the Southeast Regional Secretary, the West Coast Secretary, the Director of the Washington Bureau, the Director of Public Relations and two Field Secretaries.

The transcript of this evidence numbers 121 pages of single-spaced, typewritten copy and would require more than six hours to be read aloud. Time being a factor, it is impossible to present all of this material; but, to give you an idea of the backgrounds and ideologies of the policy-making officials and personnel of the NAACP, I shall cite chapter and verse on the activities of this organization's principal personalities.

(The designations which I shall use in describing the organizations and activities with which these individuals have been identified are those applied to them by the Attorney General of the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Special House Un-American Activities Committee.)

President Spingarn was a participant in the Conference on Africa held April 14, 1944, in New York City by the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs. In 1945 and 1946 he signed statements favoring the granting of Army commissions to Communists and opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes sponsored by the "viciously subversive" National Federation of Constitutional Liberties. He is listed as a sponsor of the "Communist front" Public Use of Arts Committee.

Board Chairman Channing H. Tobias was a member of the Executive Board and Co-Chairman of the New York Committee of the "Communist front" Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was charged in 1947 with "serving the Soviet Union and its subserveient Communist Party in the United States." He belonged, prior to 1949, to the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs and was a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the "Protestant Digest" -- a magazine which "has faithfully propagated the Communist Party Line." He sponsored the "subversive and Communist" People's Institute of Applied Religion and the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief and was a member of the Executive Board of the American League for Peace and Democracy, "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States." He has sponsored confer nces and activities of the "viciously subversive" National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and the "Communist front" New York State Conference on National Unity and the "subversive and Communist" American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the National Committee to Win the Peace.

Roy Wilkins -- successor to the late Walter White as NAACP Executive Secretary -- was quoted on June 17, 1936, by the New York Daily Worker, the official publication of the Communist Party in this country, as attaching "greatest significance" to the 1936 National Communist Party Convention and stating that the Communist Party's racial program had had "a very wholesome effect" in the United States. He was further quoted by the Daily Worker on July 15, 1949, as boasting that he had voted in New York City elections that year for since-convicted Negro Communist Benjamin J. Davis. He is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." He was a sponsor of the "subversive and Communist" Conference on Pan American Democracy and of a joint meeting in 1937 of the "subversive and Communist" American League Against War and Fascism and the "Communist front" American Friends of the Chinese People. He has spoken for the "subversive and Communist" International Labor Defense and the Workers' Alliance, the former of which is regarded as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" in this country.

Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall -- the negro lawyer responsible for the NAACP's court attacks upon segregation in the public schools -- as late as 1950 was a member of the Executive Board of the "Communist front" National Lawyers Guild which has been described as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions." Since its inception, the Guild "has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." And, as a member and policy-making official of this Communist Front, Marshall has served as Associate Editor of the "Lawyers Guild Review" and has criticized this nation's loyalty program. He also is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." And he was among a group of attorneys who, in 1947, protested the issuance of contempt citations against pro-Communist Hollywood writers who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, Clarence M. Mitchell, protested against being asked whether he was or ever had been a member of the Communist Party at a hearing on proposed legislation to outlaw the Communist Party held before the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 3, 1950. Although he stoutly denied being a Communist, he was quoted as saying that such a question was "unfair" because it "immediately precludes from appearing before this Committee many of the people who would be on trial under a bill of this kind." The transcript further quoted him as saying that: "Presumably there are people who may, for sincere and personal reasons, wish to be members of the Communist Party. They may want to come here and object to this bill, but, I suppose, if they had to answer that question, they very likely would not come."

Director of Public Relations Henry Lee Moon, the Association's propaganda chief, is listed as a member of the "subversive and Communist" Washington Book Shop and the likewise-designated National Negro Congress which is "the Communist-front movement in the United States among negroes." His book, "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote," was praised by the Daily Worker and he was listed in 1949 as a nominee to be commentator for the "subversive and Communist" Voice of Freedom Committee.

Of the NAACP's 28 Vice Presidents, the following 11 have records of Un-American activities:

John Haynes Holmes, 23 citations; A. Philip Randolph, 20 citations the late Mary McLeod Bethune (who still is listed as a vice president) and William Lloyd Imes, 16 citations each; Oscar Hammerstein, II, the composer, and Bishop W. J. Walls, seven citations each; Ira W. Jayne and L. Pearl Mitchell, two citations each; and Willard S. Townsend, T. G. Nutter and Grace B. Fenderson, one citation each.

Of the 47 members comprising the Association's Board of Directors, the following 28 have records of the Un-American activities:

Earl B. Dickerson, 25 citations; Algernon D. Black, 18 citations; Lewis Gannett, 15 citations; Roscoe Dunjee, 13 citations; S. Ralph Harlow and Chairman Channing H. Tobias, 10 citations each; William H. Hastie, nine citations; Hubert T. Delaney, eight citations; Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's morehouse College, six citations; Robert G. Weaver, five citations; Buell G. Gallagher, four citations; President Arthur B. Spingarn, Earl G. Harrison, James J. McClendon Ralph Bunche, Allen Knight Chalmers and W. Montague Cobb, three citations each; J. M. Tinsley, Wesley W. Law of Savannah, Ga., Norman Cousins , Z. Alexander Looby, Harry J. Greene and Alfred Baker Lewis, two citations each; and H. Claude Hudson, Carl R. Johnson, A Maceo Smith, James Hinton and Theodore M. Berry, one citation each.

Two other Vice Presidents and three other Directors are well-known apologists for left-wing causes. The two Vice Presidents are Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and Eric Johnston of the Motion Picture Industry. The three Directors are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, CIO President Walter Reuther and Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York.

Other officers of the NAACP with Un-American activity records are:

Lloyd Garrison, chairman, National Legal Committee, five citations; Treasurer Allan Knight Chalmers and Branch Department Director Gloster B. Current, three citations each; Southeast Regional Secretary Ruby Hurley, West Coast Regional Secretary Franklin H. Williams, Field Secretary Madison S. Jones and Assistant Special Counsel Robert L. Carter, two citations each; and Field Secretary Tarea Hall Pittman, one citation.

But of all the NAACP officials and policy-makers listed in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, none has a record as notorious as that of W. E. B. DuBois to whom I have previously referred as one of the founders and present "Honorary Chairman" of the Association. No less than 72 citations of Communist, Communist-front

and subversive activity are entered against his name -- the latest of which was the statement he issued upon the death of Joseph Stalin reading: "Let all negroes, Jews and foreign-born who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance, remember Joseph Stalin."

Yet this same W. E. B. DuBois was one of the "modern scientific authorities" whose writings were accepted by the United States Supreme Court as the basis for its decision of May 17, 1954, prohibiting segregation in the public schools. DuBois contributed to 82 different portions of the book, "An American Dilemma," which was cited in its entirety by the Supreme Court as an authority for its ruling.

And, speaking of that decision, let me emphasize in passing that 15 other contributors to "An American Dilemma" also have lengthy records of pro-Communist activity in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee. The same thing is true of two of the six individual authorities cited by the High Court -- Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier -- who between them have been members of or identified with 28 organizations declared to be Communist, Communist fronts or Communist dominated.

Another of the six individual authorities cited by the Supreme Court -- K. B. Clark -- was, at the time of the arguments before the Court, on the payroll of the NAACP as a so-called "social-science expert."

These records of individual officials and members of the NAACP are not the only source of proof of the subversive influences on and in that organization.

Elizabeth Dilling reported in her book, "The Red Network," that, during the seven years from 1923 to 1930, the NAACP received some $43,000 from the radical Garland Fund among whose directors were Communists William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. She also disclosed that the official report of the Fourth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States held in 1925 stated that "the Party had penetrated the NAACP."

Official records show that the NAACP has consistently affiliated itself with Communist and left-wing movements.

It was a member of the American Youth for a Free World which was organized in 1942 and, in 1948, was described by the California Un-American Activities Committee as "heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party." The House Un-American Activities Committee in its 1951 Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications described the AYFW as "a Communist clearing house."

In 1945, the NAACP sent its Branch Department Director, Gloster Current to London as an official delegate representing the Association at the founding of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. This Federation was cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948 as "part of the Communist International "solar system."

A report made at a meeting of the Communist Party of the United States on July 16, 1946, showed that the NAACP was one of a group of left-wing organizations invited by the National Committee of the Communist Party to a meeting held in Chicago to form a "third party." That report, as detailed on pages 150-51 of the 1947 Report of the House Un-American Activities Committee, lists the NAACP as an active participant in the conference at which the Progressive Citizens of America was formed.

And earlier this month, according to the United Press, the NAACP picketed a hearing on Communist propaganda conducted in Chicago by Senator Eastland for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

A pamphlet outlining the Program of the Communist Party of the United States, published in September 1954 by New Century Publishers of New York City, made specific reference on Page 22 to a link between the Communist Party and the NAACP. It stated:

"We call upon wage workers, working farmers, the Negro people, small business and professional people, upon the women and the youth, to join hands in a common fight...for the democratic demands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Former Negro Communist Foster Williams, Jr., testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee about this matter on June 17, 1954, in Seattle, Wash. He said:

"The Communist Party very sneakily manipulates the negro people for their own purposes..The NAACP has had this trouble."

The racial aims of the Communist Party of the United States and those of the NAACP are virtually identical. The Communist program, as reported in the May 26, 1928, issue of the Daily Worker, calls for :

"Full racial equality.

"Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of negroes.

"Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.

"Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children from attending general public schools or universities.

"Full and equal admittance of negroes to all waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels and theaters."

Those are the identical demands being made today, 27 years later, by the NAACP.

On the basis of the evidence now in hand -- a minute portion of which I have related to you this afternoon -- no other conclusion can be drawn but that the NAACP is being used as a front and tool by subversive elements in this country. Either knowingly or unwittingly, it has allowed itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states.

Through its activities, the NAACP is fomenting strife and discord between the white and negro races in the South and is disrupting relations between these races which heretofore have been -- and at present are -- harmonious and friendly in every respect. These activities, carried to their ultimate conclusion, can only result in conflict, bloodshed and internal revolution, delivering this nation into the hands of international Communism.

The NAACP is being aided and abetted in its agitation by three "front" organizations on the Southern scene -- the Southern Conference Education Fund; the Southern Regional Council; and the SRC's affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Southern Conference Education Fund and the Southern Regional Council are both dominated by individuals who, like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities. Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees has placed known Communists in both organizations and the Southern Conference Education Fund may soon be designated a subversive organization.

The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation is a perfect example of an organization formed for the purpose of exploiting the names, reputations and services of well-intentioned do-gooders. It is composed of some of Georgia's most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders who have been duped into doing the bidding of the more sinister elements manipulating the Southern Regional Council.

Investigations currently are being made of all three organizations -- the results of which will greatly embarass those good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups and to disavow their programs and leaders before they, their friends and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean.

The activities of the NAACP and its local fronts pose a serious threat to the peace, tranquility, government and way of life of our State. And for that reason it is my intention to present the evidence which already has been, and currently is being, compiled about the subversive nature of these activities to the 1956 session of the General Assembly of Georgia convening next January for appropriate action by the elected representatives of the people of this State.

In the meantime I pledge the full resources of my Office to the enforcement of all existing State laws and constitutional provisions relating to subversive activities and our traditional pattern of race relations. And, toward that end, I solicit -- and know I can count on -- the full support and cooperation of you, the peace officers of Georgia.

I thank you.

# # #

TRUE COPY
11/2/55

THE ATTACK ON

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

and

THE GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

A Brief Statement on the
History and Aims of
The Southern Regional Council
October, 1955

THE ATTACK ON FREE OPINION

Last March the Southern Regional Council declared:

"There is presently a concerted attempt by official leadership (in the deep South) to stamp out independent thought and stifle all dissent with respect to school segregation...."

In recent weeks, the attempt to intimidate and silence those who believe in an enlightened, law-abiding approach to race relations has gone into high gear. Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook took up the attack in a diatribe aimed mainly at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the course of his speech, Mr. Cook also attacked the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

The object of this side attack on two constructive Southern organizations was to frighten off the thousands of religious, civic, labor, and business leaders who have joined together to work positively at the South's most urgent problem. It is revealing that, although the work of these two organizations goes back 35 years, Mr. Cook has only now chosen to strike at them.

Every intelligent person will recognize this cynical attack for what it is. Mr. Cook hints darkly at "subversion," "sinister manipulation," and"leftwing associations." There is on the statute books of Georgia a strong law providing severe punishment for anyone guilty of subversive conduct or association. As the chief legal officer of the state, Mr. Cook should be expected to act through the process of law, safeguarding the rights and reputations of good citizens. But Mr. Cook knows his charges are false. Neither the Southern Regional

Council nor the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has ever been listed or accused of disloyalty by the U. S. Attorney General or any other official body. So Mr. Cook must resort to smear and innuendo in the public forum.

This, in brief form, is the story of the Southern Regional Council. Many Southerners may disagree with the Council's point of view. But no fair-minded person, in full possession of the facts will doubt that it is an honest and patriotic organization, responsible in both its methods and its aims.

HOW THE SRC BEGAN

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity. The Commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the Commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials. It provided a meeting ground where the best people of both races could work together to dispel prejudice, tensions, and violence. It made possible, through persuasion and education, much of the interracial progress of which Southerners today can be justly proud.

Early in the 1940s, leaders in the Southern interracial movement joined together to revitalize their efforts. As a result, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation merged in 1944 with the newly formed Southern Regional Council. The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a "call" issued by some of the South's finest leader-

ship, including:

C. H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

Since this auspicious beginning, the Council's membership has included distinguished Southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for six years -- from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

The Council's present and past board members number well over 150. The quality of its leadership may be measured by the list of members of the Executive Committee over the past 12 years, appearing on page 9.

HOW SRC WORKS

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. The members listed on page 10, are respected residents of their states and their communities. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an Executive Committee which meets at least every three months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

WHAT SRC HAS DONE

The Council works through the sound methods of education, fact-finding, and persuasion. It seeks no legislation, it carries on no court action, and it uses no "pressure group" tactics. It collects the facts about racial problems and progress in the South and makes these facts available to private citizens and public officials. NEW SOUTH, the Council's monthly publication, has built an unchallenged reputation for reliability and accuracy. Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

* Employment of Negro policemen in Southern communities.

* Newspaper handling of racial news.

* Community self-surveys, in which local people study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

* Conferences of leading white and Negro Southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest -- health, housing, education, etc.

* Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

* Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

* Orderly adjustment at the community level to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

AFFILIATED STATE ORGANIZATIONS

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern states. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the state involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the state groups become strong, self-sustaining bodies.

The affiliated organization in Georgia is the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Georgia Committee has a long and distinguished history, having operated continuously since 1919. Its directors and officers include some of Georgia's most respected clergymen, church women, and civic leaders. Its executive director is Dr. Guy H. Wells, President-Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville. A list of the Georgia Committee's board members appears on page 11. To suggest that people of such intelligence and character would lend themselves to an unworthy cause is insulting

to them and absurd on its face.

CHURCH SUPPORT

Church people have always been the moving force in the Southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the Southern conferences of The Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Province of Sewanee (Southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious Southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated state groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Council, received the 1953 Annual Award of the Catholic Committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

COMMUNISM AND RACE RELATIONS

Those who seek, for political or other reasons, to fan the fires of racial prejudice have set out to brand interracial progress as "communist-inspired." By this means they hope to confuse the public and discredit the growing number of individuals and organizations who believe in equal citizenship for all.

Not only is this phony "anti-communism" vicious; it offends the intelligence of every thinking person. The international communist movement has one, and only one, interest in our racial problems -- that is, to exploit them throughout the world. Some two-thirds of the people of the earth are dark-skinned, and the communists are trying desperately to win them with the claim that our kind of democracy is available only to white persons. If there were no racial discrimination or segregation in this country, the communist movement in Asia and Africa would lack its must effective weapon.

A perfect example of this fact is the reaction of Soviet Russian officialdom to the Supreme Court decision. For days, the government-controlled Russian press made no mention whatever of the decision. When at last they could ignore it no longer, they announced defensively that the decision meant nothing -- that it would never be implemented. This is precisely the argument that Attorney General Cook and his fellow demagogs make so noisily. Unwittingly perhaps, but undeniably, they do a great service to the cause of communism every time they raise their voices on behalf of "white supremacy."

Individuals and organizations that work responsibly and conscientiously for the growth of democracy in the South and the Nation are the opponents that the communists really fear. Yet it is precisely these individuals and organizations that Mr. Cook and his kind seek to defame and discredit. What could please the communists more than to get the credit for every effort to make our American ideal a working, living reality? What could please them more than a campaign to arouse suspicion and hatred of those citizens who work intelligently for a more just, democratic, and Christian society? How they must delight in the

irony of such Americans being stigmatized as servants and dupes of the communist cause!

No informed person believes that the communists want to see Negroes accorded equal rights and dignity or that they want to see our racial problems solved through the orderly processes of the law and constructive community action. The communists want to see us hopelessly bogged down in our prejudices and our fears. They want to see us defying the law of the land, whipping up racial hatred for political purposes. In this respect, they have a common purpose with Attorney General Cook and his kind.

TO KEEP OPINION FREE

The Southern Regional Council is a realistic organization. It was organized by Southerners and is run by Southerners who have lived with the problems of our region and know them well. Therefore, the Council recognizes the difficulties inherent in the changes now required of the South. But the people who make up the Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation believe that we can and will -- as, indeed, we must -- make the transition to a society in which citizenship is not qualified by race.

The issue here is not whether everyone can agree with this point of view -- obviously many do not. The issue is whether or not citizens can voice this and other legitimate opinions without suffering abuse at the hands of irresponsible officials.

The answer must be "yes" if we are not to have thought-control in the South. The power of state officials is great, and if misused it is dangerous to all. If any citizens can be penalized for legitimate opinions honestly held, then all citizens can be penalized at the pleasure of a few.

MEMBERS OF SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PAST AND PRESENT

Name	Identification*	Term of Office
Mr. Morris Abram	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1954-1955
Mr. Francis R. Bridges	Tallahassee, Fla.	1944-1944
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1952-to date
Mr. Paul R. Christopher	Labor official, Knoxville, Tenn.	1951-to date
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Pres., Atlanta University	1944-to date
Dr. A. W. Dent	Pres., Dillard Univ., New Orleans	1952-to date
Mr. John A. Griffin	Educator, Emory Univ., Ga.	1952-to date
Mr. Leonard Haas	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-to date
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	Exec. Sec., Atlanta Urban League	1951-1951
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	Educator, Richmond, Va.	1944-to date
Dr. Charles S. Johnson	Pres., Fisk Univ., Nashville,Tenn.	1944-1952
Dr. Guy B. Johnson	Educator, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1948-1951
Mr. C. H. Gillman	Labor Official, Atlanta, Ga.	1946-1950
Rt.Rev.Msgr.T. James McNamara	Savannah, Ga.	1944-1951
Mr. Alfred Mynders	Editor, Chattanooga Times	1952-1954
Rev. V.J. O'Connell, S.M.	New Orleans, La.	1952-1952
Dr. Howard W. Odum	Educator, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1944-1945
Mr. Edmund Preston	Richmond, Va.	1945-1945
Mr. Homer P. Rainey	Educator, Stephens College, Mo.	1944-1944
Rev. J. McDowell Richards	Pres., Columbia Theol. Sem.,Decatur	1954-1955
Dr. Harry V. Richardson	Pres., Gammon Theol. Sem., Atlanta	1952-to date
Capt. Frank W. Spencer	Businessman, Savannah, Ga.	1946-1946
Dr. Harold L. Trigg	Pres., St. Augustine's College, Raleigh	1947-1951
Mr. Carter Wesley	Newspaper publisher, Houston, Tex.	1944-to date
Mr. John H. Wheeler	Banker, Durham, N. C.	1949-1951
Miss Josephine Wilkins	Civic leader, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50-54-55
Mr. Paul D. Williams	Textbook publisher, Richmond, Va.	1945-1951
Mr. Marion A. Wright	Attorney, Linville Falls , N. C.	1950-to date
Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.	Newspaper publisher, Norfolk, Va.	1944-1949
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean	Dean of The Oratory, Rock Hill, S.C.	1953-to date
Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed	Mobile, Ala.	1953-1954

*NOTE: Organizations and institutions shown are for purposes of identification only and represent the identification of the listed individuals at the time of their service on SRC's Executive Committee.

Rev. 10/25/55

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Atwood, R. B.	Educator	Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.
Aycox, Mrs. Nanie B.%	"	Texas Southern Univ., Houston, Tex.
Barbare, Ralph	"	Winthrop Training School, Rock Hill, S.C.
Bates, Mrs. L.C.%	Civic Leader	1804 Bishop Street, Little Rock, Ark.
Bates, Mrs. W. F.	Church Leader	125 Atkins St., N. Little Rock, Ark.
Beckman, F. Woods#	Businessman	5908 Magazine Road, Knoxville, Tenn.
Birnie, Mrs. C.M.	Attorney	864 Hunter St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.
Bond, Ulysses S.	Businessman	Madison, Arkansas
Brazeal, B.R.%	Educator	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
Brooke, W. C.#	Clergyman	Box 208, Staunton, Va.
Burney, I. H.	Ins. Exec.	P. O. Box 660, Jacksonville, Fla.
Carter, Hodding	Editor	Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss.
Christopher, Paul R.	Labor Leader	216 Flatiron Building, Knoxville, Tenn.
Clary, G. E.#	Clergyman	63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
Clement, R. E.	Educator	Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Clingman, Rt. Rev. C.	Bishop	421 South Second St., Louisville, Ky.
Crate, Mrs. James S.#	Civic Leader	2410 Inwood Dr., Houston, Tex.
Crossman, Jerome	Businessman	3400 Republic Nat'l Bank Bldg., Dallas, Tex.
Darragh, Fred#	Businessman	1401 East 6th St., Little Rock, Ark.
Davidson, Herbert M.	Editor	Daytona Beach News Journal, Florida
Dent, A. W.*	Educator	Dillard Univ., New Orleans, La.
D'Orlando, Albert#	Clergyman	1806 Jefferson Ave., New Orleans, La.
Duncan, O. D.	Professor	Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Okla.
Ellison, J.M.%	Educator	Virginia Union Univ., Richmond, Va.
Evans, J. Claude#	Clergyman	P. O. Box 867, Columbia, S.C.
Finner, Paul F.#	Professor	930 West Park, Tallahassee, Fla.
Friedman, S. Thomas	Soc. Worker	1110 Bissonet, Houston, Tex.
Gomillion, C. G.%	Educator	Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Inst., Ala.
Griffin, John A.	Professor	Emory Univ., Emory Univ., Ga.
Hammer, Philip	Planning Consultant	70 Fairlie St., Atlanta, Ga.
Hancock, Gordon B.*	Professor	P. O. Box 6056, Richmond, Va.
Hunter, Duncan#	Clergyman	Alexander City, Ala.
Johnson, A. L.%	Educator	Prentiss N & I Inst., Prentiss, Miss.
Johnson, Charles S.	Educator	Fisk Univ., Nashville, Tenn
Johnson, Guy B.	Professor	Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill, N. C.
Lanier, R. O'Hara	Educator	Tex. Southern Univ., Houston, Tex.
Larkins, John R.%	Soc. Worker	Bd. of Charities & Soc. Welfare, Raleigh, N. C.
Lewis, Dr. Elsie%	Educator	Tenn. A & I, Nashville, Tenn.
Looby, Z. A.	Attorney	419 Fourth Avenue, N., Nashville, Tenn.
Mantinband, Charles#	Rabbi	808 Mamie St., Hattiesburg, Miss.
Mays, B. E.	Educator	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

McCann, John	Businessman	231 Baronne Street., New Orleans, La.
McDowell, E.A.	Professor	So. Bapt. Theol. Sem., Wake Forest, N.C.
Milner Clyde	Educator	Guilford College, N.C.
Milton, L.D.	Banker	Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta, Ga.
Mitchell, G.S.#	Exec.Dir.	SRC, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Moron, A. G.	Educator	Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
Paul, Mrs. Marion%	Civic Leader	2324 Washington St., Columbia, S.C.
Penick, Rt. Rev.E.A.	Bishop	802 Hillsboro St., Raleigh, N. C.
Perry, W. H.#	Educator	2320 West Chestnut St., Louisville, Ky.
Rayzor, Mrs. J. N.	Civic Leader	3207 Groveland Lane, Houston, Tex.
Reddix, J. L.	Educator	Jackson College, Jackson, Mississippi
Richardson, H.V.	Educator	Gammon Theol. Sem., Atlanta, Ga.
Rinehart, Hollis	Attorney	Ingraham Bldg., Miami, Fla.
Robinson, Mrs. E. U.	Church Leader	Gallatin, Tenn.
Rousseve, Numa J.%	Businessman	4636 Willow St., New Orleans, La.
Richards, J. M.	Educator	Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga.
Sanders, Irwin T.%	Professor	1350 Fontaine Rd., Lexington, Ky.
Shaw, Charles A.	Ins. Exec.	2206 Dowling St., Houston, Texas
Shean, Very Rev. M.V.	Clergyman	Box 895, Rock Hill, South Carolina
Smith, J. Edwin	Attorney	505 Scanlan Bldg., Houston, Tex.
Stroud, Mrs. Tommie	Civic Leader	2524 Old Oaks Drive, Waco, Texas
Sytz, Miss Florence	Professor	Tulane School of Social Work., New Orleans La.
Thomas, L. E.	Attorney	1035 N. W. Second Ave., Miami, Fla.
Tillman, Mrs. J. Fount	Church Leader	Lewisburg, Tenn.
Trenholm, H.C.%	Educator	Alabama State College, Montgomery, Ala.
Turnipseed, A. S.	Clergyman	251 Island Ct., Mobile, Ala.
Weiss, Morton	Businessman	182 Marietta St., Atlanta
Wellons, R.D.#	Educator	Pembroke College, Pembroke, N. C.
Wesley, Carter*	Publisher	Box 3086, Houston, Tex.
Wheeler, John H.	Banker	Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.
Wilkins, Miss Josephine	Civic Leader	c/o Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Ga.
Williams, Paul D.	Businessman	3320 Gloucester Rd., Richmond, Va.
Wright, M. A.*	Lawyer	Top Knot, Linville Falls, N. C.
Young, Thomas W.	Publisher	Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

SYMBOLS

* SRC Officer
\# Ex-Officio
% State representative

eab/

SRC AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Board of Directors

Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation

Dr. George E. Clary - Chairman
(Minister)
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta

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Columbia Theological Seminary
Decatur

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1197 Fountain Dr.
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Atlanta University
Atlanta (part-time)

Mr. Guy H. Wells - Exec. Dir.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
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(Housewife)
229 Bolling Rd. N. E.
Atlanta

Dr. James P. Brawley
(Educator & Minister)
240 Chestnut St.,S. W.
Atlanta

Dr. Rufus Clement
(Educator)
223 Chestnut St. S. W.
Atlanta

Mr. R. L. Cousins
(Pub. Sch. Admin.)
State Office Building
Atlanta

Mrs. Herman Heyman
(Housewife)
1271 Oxford Rd. N. E.
Atlanta

Mrs. F. P. Drake
(Housewife)
452 W. Parkwood Rd.
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1845 Adams St.
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(Minister)
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167 Walnut St., N.W.
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Chipley

Dr. E. C. Peters
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Paine College
Augusta

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Newnan

Dr. Monroe Swilley
(Minister)
2715 Peachtree Rd., N.E.
Atlanta

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
(SRC)
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta

Mrs. W. W. Weatherspool
(Housewife, UCW)
1475 Ezra Church Dr., N.W.
Atlanta

Mrs. R. L. Barber
(Housewife)
602 Third St.
Moultrie

Dr. W. H. Borders
(Minister)
1426 Mozley Dr., S. W.
Atlanta

Dr. T. H. Brewer
(Doctor)
1025½ First Ave.
Columbia

(Continued)

Mrs. Stewart Colley
(United Church Women)
Grantville

Mrs. J. W. Daniel
(Housewife)
Claxton

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Paine College
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LaGrange

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(Minister)
First Methodist Church
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1518 Twiggs St.
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1407 Auburn Ave., N. E.
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(Minister)
1111 Palmyra Rd.
Albany

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President
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Atlanta

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(Minister & Teacher)
LaGrange College
LaGrange

Mrs. Spann Milner
(United Church Women)
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(Minister)
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Gammon Theological Sem.
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Ponce de Leon &
Briarcliff
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(Minister)
Peachtree & 5th
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Walden Bldg.
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504 S. Thornton St.
Dalton

Rev. Samuel Williams
(Minister)
Mitchell at Haynes
Atlanta

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Pres. Paine College
Augusta

Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick
(Minister)
234 Dearing St.
Athens

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Macon

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(Minister)
2724 Oak Grove Rd.
Decatur

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Dr. McDowell Richards
Dr. B. R. Brazeal
Mr. Robert Cousins
Dr. Benjamin Mays

SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEE

Rev. James Welden - Chmn.
Dr. M. L. King
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Dr. Monroe Swilley

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Dr. Lester Rumble - Chmn.
Dr. Rembert Sisson

eab/
10/6/55

K

Jones - Owen - File
HCF

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Criticisms of S.R.C. - Journal-Amer

Bio. attached

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 5, 1955

DEC 6 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have been out of the office for several days and am just getting around to answering your letters of November 18 and 29.

First, I want to approve the employment of John Hope and the payment of $1,000 to the AMA as requested. Hope's salary and job description as stated in your letter are also approved.

Thank you for sending me material dealing with the JOURNAL-AMERICAN smear. I stand ready to join any other offended board members who would like to sue for libel. I am enclosing biographical material as requested.

I made statements to the PITTSBURGH COURIER and to the CHICAGO DEFENDER as follows:

> "I am not now nor have I ever been a Communist or a fellow-traveler. Anyone who alleges otherwise is simply expressing a blatant untruth. I have supported many organizations and movements which were attempting to carry out worthwhile projects. I expect to continue to do this."

With kind regards.

Cordially,

REC:1

Enclosure

448 Central Park West
New York 25, N.Y.
29 March 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I dropped by your office this morning hoping to discuss my case with you.

Mr. Fleming was kind enough to talk with me a few minutes. He gave me the impression that individuals associated with the SRC are inclined to give precedence to their anti-Communist bias over their concern for Constitutional liberties.

In the hope that there are exceptions among your acquaintances, I take the liberty of enclosing a fact sheet on my case which

states the questions involved.

I hope you may be willing to assist in spreading the alarm about what is involved in this prosecution.

Sincerely yours,

Junius Scales

RECEIVED MAR 10 1956

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY

October 7, 1959

RECEIVED OCT 9 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. and Mrs. James R. Stokely visited the library last week. We permitted them to consult the files of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation as you had requested. They asked that we have a copy of one article reproduced for their use. Our Office of the Registrar was kind enough to make this copy for them.

It was a pleasure to serve these scholars, and our staff is always ready to be of assistance.

Very sincerely yours,

William W. Bennett

William W. Bennett
Librarian

WWB:rwc

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MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE PRESIDENT
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-6764

March 9, 1964

Mrs. Annette H. Phinazee
Head, Special Services
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Phinazee:

I have been very slow in replying to your letter of January 20, but others on the staff have been thinking it over. Why don't you arrange, sometime when you are downtown, to come in and discuss this with us. We would like to cooperate.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

w/ holding
Dunbar + Fischel ltr
+ Enclosure re: State Historical
Society of Wisconsin

w/ Shell Holding
4/9/65

File:

MEMORANDUM July 31, 1964

To: VEJordan

From: LWDunbar

Vernon, we should make a decision about this. I am particularly concerned about the records which Miss Ames has, and what will happen to them after her death. This may require some discussion with Miss Ames, and perhaps Miss Wilkins or I should go up to see her.

This whole matter should be put before the Executive Committee, but not until we have prepared a staff recommendation. I would hope we could have one ready early next year.

Would you please work on this? I would like for you to chair a staff committee to prepare the question for consideration by the Executive Committee. You should, among other things, survey the records we have here, and discuss the matter with Atlanta University. In doing the latter, you could take up the University's interest in receiving the records.

Please ask Ruth Alexander, Montez Albright, and Paul Anthony to serve with you on the staff committee.

CC: Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

VT.
MT-files

July 31, 1964

Mr. Leslie H. Fishel, Jr.
Director
The State Historical Society of
Wisconsin
816 State Street
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Fishel:

Thank you very much for your inquiry of July 2, 1964. We appreciate a great deal your invitation to deposit the records of the Southern Regional Council with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

As you may not know, the Southern Regional Council is the successor organization to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. At the time the old Commission went out of existence and the Council was formed, 1944, the records of the Commission were deposited in the library at Atlanta University, and are still there and are occasionally used by scholars. A short time later, another decision was made regarding the rather interesting records dealing with the establishment of the Southern Regional Council. These were given into the personal custody of Miss Jessie Daniel Ames, a central figure in the founding. Miss Ames still has these records at her home in Tryon, North Carolina, and they too are occasionally consulted by others. No decision

has been made as to their eventual disposition.

The preservation of records is an important matter, and I am afraid one to which we have not given proper consideration. I suppose we are too busily engaged in the present and the future. But I think we undoubtedly should, at an early time and after appropriate consideration, make some definite plans. These decisions should be made by our Executive Committee, and I intend, in the next few months, to take the matter up with the Committee. I think there is a likelihood that the Committee will believe that the records should be offered to a southern institution which has had some historical association with the Council, perhaps Atlanta University. But I shall certainly present to the Committee your letter, and I am sure that the Committee will be as appreciative as I am of your interest.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

Rec'd 2/17/66 wj

file Sec Archives

MS - file with copy in SRC historical correspondence

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

February 15, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the letter you wrote to Harper's. I am sharing it with other interested officers here.

Incidentally, you may be interested to know that the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and The Rockefeller Foundation provided a total of $700,000 for general support and special programs of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation between 1922 and 1938, and the General Education Board contributed $51,500 to the Southern Regional Council for support of its interracial activities between 1944 and 1949.

I am glad the Foundation renewed these earlier interests of the several Rockefeller boards.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:jw

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

4-21-64

File
Correspondence
Commission files

Les,

Here are the minutes of the executive committee meeting re files of Commission on Interracial Cooperation sent to Atlanta University.

At this same meeting the Council voted to require a "loyalty oath" of all prospective employees!

not me

I can't recall what one of you was working with County

PW

I can't read this

from minutes of Executive Committee meeting July 30, 1954, Atlanta, Ga.
Mildred has correspondence of following Sept. in her files.

604

Article VI, Section 6, to read:

"Assistant Directors. The assistand directors shall work in cooperation with the executive director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. In the absence or disability of the executive director, one of the assistant directors will be designated by the executive director, or by the executive committee, to perform, temporarily, the duties of executive director.

The Executive Committee discussed in some detail proposed job descriptions for the positions of Assistant Directors and they approved the attached job descriptions for Assistant Director for Information and Research, Assistant Director for Program Planning, and two Assistant Directors for Program Development.

Office Space - Interracial Commission files

After an adjournment for lunch, discussion turned to a proposal to place the files of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, to which the Southern Regional Council is lawful successor, in the custody of the Atlanta University Library, with the stipulation of the right of access to the files by personnel of the Southern Regional Council at times convenient to the library of Atlanta University, and with the provision for review by the Southern Regional Council of proposals for extensive research in the files of the CIC. The Executive Committee agreed that a proposal of this kind might be made to Atlanta University.

The space occupied by the Council at 63 Auburn Ave. then came under consideration. Other possible locations for its now somewhat expended Atlanta office have been explored, but the rent appears prohibitive. No other entirely suitable accommodations seeming to be available, the staff proposed an expenditure of an estimated $1700 be made for remodeling the present space. It was stated that the Council had, on entering the original space at 63 Auburn Ave., made such changes as were suitable then to the Council. The appropriate officials of the Wesley Memorial Building have agreed that the Council might make the desired changes now.

The present rental, plus proportionate parts of the remodeling expenditure, stretched over a three year period, would produce a total expenditure per year less than that budgeted for that purpose in the request to the Fund for the Republic.

Upon motion the proposed renovation of the office, at about $1700. was approved by the Committee.

Procedure for Professional Hiring - After considerable discussion, the Committee, upon motion, appointed a Personnel Committee of the Executive Committee composed of the President of the Council, Marion Wright; the Executive Director, George Mitchell; and the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Rufus E. Clement, to engage and fix salaries of new personnel at the professional level.

file
SRC Archives
cc: ref
SRC Publications file
+
~~Gordon Hancock~~ ~~"Life Fellows"~~

April 13, 1966

Mrs. Joseph Phinazee
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Annette:

One of SRC's early founders, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, has furnished us with a copy of our first publication,"The Southern Vision." Mr. Anthony has asked me to pass along a copy of it for our historical files housed at Trevor Arnett, enclosed.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

File Archives

August 15, 1966

Mr. Henry E. Barber
A-204, University Village
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Barber:

I'm very happy to know your visit with Mrs. Ames went well. I, too, am sorry that we didn't have a chance to meet and we would be happy to have you drop by anytime you are in Atlanta.

In the meantime, if we can be of any further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Recd 8/12/66

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

(3)

A-204, University Village
Athens, Georgia
August 10, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you so much for arranging the interview with Mrs. Ames for me. I don't know when I have enjoyed an afternoon so much. She is a most pleasant and gracious person to talk with, and she made me feel so much at home. Words cannot express how much that interview meant to me. Not only was it a gratifying experience, but it also cleared up several questions for me.

Could I trouble you to send me Mrs. Ames' address in Tryon, North Carolina? I would like to write her thanking her for giving me so much of her time.

I was sorry that you were not at the interview, for I did look forward to meeting you as well as Mrs. Ames. I have finished most of my work in Atlanta for the time being, but perhaps when I am again in your city I can stop by your office and personally express my gratitude. You and your staff have been so helpful. Thank you so much. Until that time, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
Henry E. Barber
Henry E. Barber

File Archives - ~~gen~~

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA 542-3030
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

MT

A-204, University Village ~~542-145~~
Athens, Georgia
July 28, 1966

548-7295
Residence

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Out Auto Cabaret
12:30 or 1:00
today
8/9/66
Left word
to call
you.
mj

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I received your very gracious letter yesterday and of course am quite pleased with its message. I am looking forward to writing this paper very much and am indeed grateful to you for allowing me to use the Association's papers.

The news that Mrs. Ames will be in Atlanta beginning August 8 came as an unexpected, but very pleasant surprise. Of course I would like to meet her and talk with her about the Association. As you say, it would be an invaluable experience for me. If you will arrange an appointment for me to visit Mrs. Ames, I will be muchly indebted to you. Anytime during that week of August 8th will be fine with me.

Once again, thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,
Henry E. Barber
Henry E. Barber

File
SRC Archives

July 26, 1966

Mr. Henry E. Barber
The University of Georgia
A-204 University Village
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Barber:

We are pleased to give you our permission to make use of the files of the Southern Regional Council's predecessor, The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. In fact, we are delighted to know that you are interested in doing this study. I could not agree more that there is a magnificent, untold story here.

Incidentally, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, who for many years was associated with the Association of Southern Women.... and the Interracial Cooperation, will be visiting in Atlanta beginning the second week of August (Monday, August 8th). I'm sure we can arrange for you to talk with her during that time, and suspect that such a conversation would be invaluable to you. It also may be that Mrs. Ames will have papers and records which she will be willing to share with you.

Anytime you're in Atlanta, please drop by for a visit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mrs. Joseph Phinazee

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

(3)

A-204 University Village
Athens, Georgia
July 24, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am a graduate student at the University of Georgia working under Dr, Charles E. Wynes in recent American history. I am currently working toward a Master's Degree.

During the spring quarter of last year I was introduced to the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in one of my courses and became very interested in this group. I began reading about the Association in books and articles, but found that sources on it were limited. This convinced me that something more should be written about the Association relating its history and its contributions to the eradication of the crime of lynching.

I understand that the papers and correspondence of the A. S. W. P. L. have been deposited in the Trevor Arnett Library of Atlanta University by the Southern Regional Council. With your permission as director of the Council, I would like very much to use these papers and write a history of this woman's group as my Master's thesis. I feel that such a study will be a significant contribution to American history and assure you that it will be done with the utmost respect and admiration for Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, the Association's director, and her fellow workers.

I will be very happy to answer any questions you might have concerning this proposed study. Also, my directing professor Dr. Wynes is most willing to discuss it with you. He may be contacted through the history department of the University of Georgia.

I will be eagerly awaiting your reply and hoping that it carries your permission to use the A. S. W. P. L. papers. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Henry E. Barber

Henry E. Barber

File
Archives

September 12, 1966

Mr. Dan T. Carter
Department of History
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Mr. Carter:

We are pleased to grant our permission for you to make such use as you may wish of the files on the Southern Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation at the Atlanta University Library.

Incidentally, there is very substantial and, I think quite interesting, correspondence about the Scottsboro Case in these records, and I suspect you would find it of considerable value.

If we can be of any further assistance to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(2)

Department of History
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

Dr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Anthony:

Some time ago, I communicated with Mr. Miles M. Jackson, Jr., Chief Librarian of Atlanta University, about using the filesof the Southern Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation. I am presently working on the Scottsboro Case for my doctoral dissertation here at the University of North Carolina. I am not even sure that I will be using the material in the files of the Southern Commission, but Mr. Jackson suggested that I would have to receive written permission from you in case I decided to do so.

I told him that I didn't think that would present any difficulties: I have been a member of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations for a number of years. And besides, I don't think your organization has been very restrictive about the use of the Southern Commission papers.

If you should need me to fill out any other forms, I would be glad to do so. Or if you should need any other information about my research project, I would be glad to furnish a research outline which I submitted to my examination committee.

Very truly yours,

Dan T. Carter

Dan T. Carter

Free Archives

October 12, 1966

Mr. George P. Antone
Box 2276 Station B
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Antone:

We are pleased to give you permission to examine the papers of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

When you are in Atlanta on this purpose, we will be happy to be any other assistance to you and to direct you to other studies on this general subject that you might find of help.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(1)

Box 2276 Sta B
Vanderbilt Univ.
Nashville, Tenn.
Oct. 10, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

My purpose in writing is to obtain permission to examine the papers of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. I am in the process of preparing a dissertation on the race relations work of Willis Duke Weatherford, a Y.M.C.A. worker involved in the formation of the Commission. If permission is granted I hope to trace his work with the Commission beyond its inception.

Yours truly,

George P. Antone

George P. Antone

Check with PH to see if this man should go on our mailing lists

file SRC Archives

MEMORANDUM October 26, 1966

To: Bernice Cook

From: MMJ

Bernice,

We're starting all over again with Prof. Holli. Please let's get to him every piece we've produced for as far back as you can go -- including a complete set of New South (for as far back as possible). Included in this mailing should also be a copy of every Executive Director's reports as we have on hand.

Paul has suggested that we ship periodically (that is, as soon as you have enough stuff together that can go parcel post), and not wait to collect one big bundle of stuff.

Thanks, MMJ

We should begin on this today.

(Two labels are herewith attached -- let me know when you're ready to make more shipments and I'll make more labels.)

Mailed 10/26/66 (Second Shipment)

(Sent 1 box via R.E.A. two small boxes parcel post, special handling sent to Prof. Halli

Materials

— A Status of Negro Employment & Training Opportunities in Four Southern Cities (minor) Houston, Atlanta, Chattanooga & Miami

— A Virginia View of Race & Reason — B. Muse
— We the Undersigned
— Virginia Voices of Past Speak on Today's Problems
— Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs

— The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed

Segregation versus the Space

— The New Agenda for the White Southerner In His New South — Charles S. Johnson

— Wanted: An Educated South
— The Negro In Our Economy
— Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools

Some General Observations In the Negro Community Of Little Rock Arkansas — (minor) 5/58

Discrimination & the Christian Conscience Statement of the Bishops of the U.S. — 1958

Social Dynamics in Demographic Trends & the Housing of Minority Groups — Robt. Thompson

The Case for Integration —

Executive Support of Civil Rights
Albany — (mimeo) Howard Zinn
Action Patterns in School Desegregation
"Crisis in the Public Schools — James A Mackay
McCarthyism Under the Magnolias
Intimidation, Reprisal + Violence
What Kind of South Do You Want?
Southern Offensive — Guy B. Johnson
Services to Negro Veterans in Louisiana —
Des. S. Mitchell
The Agony of the Southern Minister
Ralph McGill
Southern Regional Council
(How Did It Start? How Does It Work? etc)

Reports of the Executive Director — 1944
1963, 1964, + 1965 —

'To Secure These Rights'
Wanted: The Southern Future for the Nation
Next Steps in the South
A Southern View of the South — Harold Fleming

Private Business + Public Education in the South —
Helen Hill Miller

Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, N.C.
The Negro + Employment Opportunities in the South: — Miami, 5/1962 — (mimeo)
The Negro Voter in the South — 7/57 (mimeo)
Summary of Laurens Co. Interviews + Findings About Negro Participation in Politics
8/31/56 + 5/27/59 Dean Brogeal

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Looks Back on Long Difficult Decade - 6/64

Southern Justice: An Indictment
Action Patterns on School Desegr. - (hardback)

Know Your Rights
Summer Projects - '66
Report on Mississippi - 1/63

Employment Study - Chattanooga -
Houston
Atlanta

Georgia's Divided Education - 9/60
A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal
The Magic Fellowship of Southerners -
Jas. Dobbs

Americans Are Law-Abiding Citizens
Three Views →
Wm. Faulkner
Benjamin Mays
Cecil Sims

The Truth About Desegr. in Washington Schools
The Freedom Ride - 5/61
The City Government & Minority Groups
Federal Programs to Promote Employment
& Development in Rural Communities M.H. Mizell

Memphis Study - (mimeo) B. Muse
Report on School Desegr. (mimeo) 1960-61
Plans for Progress
A Study of Negro Farmers in S.C.

A Hundred Years Later —
Southerner Gives Moderate Views
Some Race Related Deaths in the United States

Books: — Jenkins of Prelude — B. Muse
Who Speaks for the South? — Jos. Dabbs
Mississippi: The Closed Society — Jas. Silver

The Student Protest Movement:
A Recapitulation, 9/61 — (mimeo)

The Louisville Story — 12/59 (mimeo)
What the Supreme Court Said
Albany — (pamphlet) — Howard Zinn
The Easy Chair — Harvey Ashmore
Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs

Pre-Publication Copy of Article To Be Published In An Early Issue of The Notre Dame Lawyer — (mimeo)

Civil Disobedience — Leslie W. Dunbar
Civil Rights Crisis: — 6/25/63 — (mimeo
9/ /63 —

A Psychiatric Study of the Desegregation of Southern Schools — Robt. Coles

The Economic Status of Negroes — Vernon Henderson
Encounter With the Future
Southern Teaching Program — 1965
The Federal Executives & Civil Rights — 1/61
(mimeo)

Cop. map — Southern Cities —
Little Rock Five Years Later (Redbook)

Fowler Comm. on Race Relations. Recommended
Approach for Local Bi-Racial Committee

General Statement of Policies Under Title VI, etc

Birmingham Faces A Hard Decision
Regions — New Business ways in the South
The Price We Pay
The Presbyterian Outlook: On Lunch-counter
Sit-ins — 3/21/60

A Survey of Veterans Services for Negro Veterans
in Mississippi
The Federal Dollar + Non-discrimination
Neighborhood Stablization — Moreland Smith
Of Human Rights — Text of Remarks by
LeRoy Collins — 1/30/65

Albany, Ga — Police State
Message to Parents
The Voting Rights Act of 1965 #4
The Southern Regional Council — Origins +
Aims — (printed + mimeo)

Housing for Negroes in Atlanta, Ga. 6/59
(mimeo)
Token Desegregation + Beyond — K. Morland
Student newspaper reprint — 1962
Organizing to Save Our Public Schools

Racial Discrimination in the Southern Fed. Courts
Charlotte Study — Pat Watters
A Hundred Years Later
Report on Hospitals (Atl. Med. Assn)
Dual Justice in the Courts
Atlanta Study
The Un-Equal Badge
A Study of Negro Farmers in S. C. 12/62
The Migrant Farmer
Black Belt Schools —
The Continuing Crisis —
The Southern Regional Council (gold printed)
Cooperatives, Credit Unions & Poor People
School Deseg. — Old Problems Under A.L. Union
Mississippi: The Closed Society — Jas. Silver
(printed)
Racial Crisis & the Press
S.R.C. Reports the Changing South —
The Unveiling of the South — L. W. Dunbar
Wanted: A Healthy South
Changing Patterns in the South — 7/55
This I Believe — Haywood N. Hill
If the Schools Are Closed
Donald Green et al
Lunch-counter Deseg. in Corpus Christi
5/10/60
Sanctuaries for Tradition: — 2/61
Mary Ellen Goodman
When A City Closes Its Schools —

The Negro and the Ballot — Margaret Price

Equal Protection of the Laws in N. Carolina

The Federal Executives + Civil Rights

A City Slum — Poor People + Problems
— A. L. Ulmer

Louisville Study — B. Muse

Brunswick Study —

Available News Releases —

3/24/62 — 2/12/64 — 7/19/64
12/30/63 — 6/11/64 — 11/15/64
11/21/65 — 12/12/65 — 2/18/66
3/10/66 — 5/13/66 — 5/20/66

Reports Available:—

5, 16, 21, 22, 23-B, 23B
24 A, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30
31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 41, 45, 46
+ 47

New South is —

1955 — March, April, May, June
1956 — January, Feb., March, April, May
June, Sept., Nov.
1957 — Feb., March, April, May, Nov. + Dec.
1958 — Jan., Feb., March, April, May,
1958, June, July-Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov. + Dec.
1959, Jan., March, April, May, June, July-Aug.
Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec.

New South's (cont'd.)

1960 — January, Feb., March, April, June
July-Aug., Sept., Oct., Dec.

1961 — January, April, July-Aug. '61
Sept., Oct., Dec.

1962 — January, April, Oct., Nov.-Dec.

1963 — January, — April, May, June, Sept.
Dec.

1964, January, April, May, June, July-Aug.,
Sept., Oct., Nov.

1965 — January, Feb., April, June, July-Aug.
Sept., Oct.,
Winter — 66 (issued 1965)
Spring, 1966 + Summer 1966

Voter Figures for States (mimeographed)

PA

March 16, 1966

Professor Melvin G. Holli
Urban Historical Collection
Department of History
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Dear Professor Holli:

We are now putting together a large collection of our current and out-of-date publications, and will send them to you shortly. We are also attempting to see if we have available a complete set of New Souths. This, too, will be sent to you. We will keep you informed of the progress of our dealings with the Trevor Arnett Library.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
Department of History
(Box 4348) Chicago, Illinois 60680
Telephone: 663-3141

March 10, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This note is a brief addition to my letter of March 9, 1966.

We would very much like to establish a Southern Regional Council collection in Chicago as I mentioned in my earlier correspondence.

In addition, the University would very much like to obtain a full back run of The New South if you have copies which you could send us.

Sincerely,

Melvin G. Holli

Professor Melvin G. Holli
Urban Historical Collection

MGH/bb

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
Department of History
(Box 4348) Chicago, Illinois 60680
Telephone: 663-3141

March 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
3 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of March 7, in response to my inquiry about establishing a collection for Southern Regional Council, Inc. at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.

We should very much like to obtain copies of all your printed and mimeographed material including reports, minutes, proceedings of meetings, brochures, directives, position papers, flyers, and broadsides. These will be housed in the University's Urban Historical Collection and provide scholars, researchers, and students in the Chicago area with a fuller picture of the fine work of the Southern Regional Council.

We would be interested in acquiring microfilm copies of your material in the Trevor Arnett Library if you decide to film it.

Sincerely,

Melvin G. Holli

Professor Melvin G. Holli
Urban Historical Collection

MGH/tc

Put in "Archives" on desk TPA

March 7, 1966

Professor Melvin G. Holli
College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
Department of History
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Dear Professor Holli:

Thank you for your interest in the material of the Southern Regional Council. We will be happy to work out something which will at least partially meet your interests.

The Trevor Arnett Library of Atlanta University is the official repository of SRC records and materials. During this year, if we can find the funds, we hope to work out a substantially better system than we have had in the past for our records. I hope this will include the use of microfilm and a much better system here at the Council for forwarding materials to the University Library. It is entirely possible should we do this that we can provide you with copies of the microfilm. Certainly we can provide you with a large selection of our publica-

tions and other material of interest. Please let me know what you think of such an arrangement.

Again we are grateful for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Miles M. Jackson, Jr.
Chief Librarian
Trevor Arnett Library

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
Department of History
(Box 4348) Chicago, Illinois 60680
Telephone: 663-3141

Rec'd 3/4/66

March 2, 1966

President
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The University of Illinois at Chicago Circle has recently begun a major search for manuscript materials in Negro and urban history. Thus far we have received commitments for the papers of several organizations including the Chicago Urban League. Such collections will make it possible for scholars to research and write about the full scope of activity of the civil rights movement.

We should very much like to establish here a Southern Regional Conference collection covering all phases of the Conference's work to improve conditions for the Negro. Hopefully, such a collection might consist of retired correspondence files, scrapbooks, memoirs, minutes, reports, studies and other printed or manuscript materials.

The University of Illinois has made a profound commitment in the direction of Negro and urban studies. We offer courses in Negro History and one of our staff members, Professor Gilbert Osofsky, is about to publish two significant books, one a history of Harlem and the other a textbook to be used for courses in Negro History. We are also encouraging research and have a scholar who is about to publish a book on the Chicago Urban League.

I am certain that these three very important studies represent but the first installment of a new and vigorous scholarly interest in the Negro in America. However, we need basic source materials such as the papers and records of the Southern Regional Conference to bring this program to full fruition.

We hope that you will be favorably disposed toward considering the University of Illinois as a permanent archive for your records. I would be pleased to discuss any of the details of our document preservation program with you at your convenience.

If the Southern Regional Conference is so disposed the University of Illinois could send staff members to your Atlanta office to arrange for the transfer of such records to Chicago.

Sincerely,

Melvin G. Holli

Professor Melvin G. Holli
Urban Historical Collection

MGH/bb

December 3, 1965

Mr. Miles M. Jackson, Jr.
Chief Librarian
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Thank you for your letter of November 16. The timing is very good. Recently, our Executive Committee voted to make the Atlanta University Library the official dispository of SRC records, and instructed the staff to begin discussions with you on this. We would hope to review the entire situation, any need for microfilming, the possibility of adding some taped interviews, the cost of all these materials, etc. Shortly after the first of the year we would like to meet with you and anyone on your staff whom you would suggest to discuss this.

It is my hope that we can devote enough resources to this to properly establish these records, and we are deeply grateful for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Archives
Visited

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY

November 16, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I have intended to write you for some time now to extend my congratulations on your recent appointment as Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. The University Library of Atlanta University has had through the years a very pleasant cooperative relationship with the Council and we look forward to strengthening this relationship in the future.

Several years ago, the Council sent files for several interracial organizations to be deposited in our Library and we have considered them very unique collections of data on interracial affairs in the South. From time to time, we have let researchers make use of these materials. Recently, it has been brought to my attention by Dr. Annette Phinazee, who is our Special Services Librarian, that we have nothing in writing from the Council regarding stipulations, if any, for interested researchers. In other words, it is her impression and mine that permission must first be received from your office before we allow researchers to make use of the materials. Is this correct? It is also our understanding that these files were not actually donated to us, but deposited here for safe keeping. Am I correct on this? We are willing to follow whatever the Council stipulates.

It is my hope that we can interest you in continuing to deposit with us files from the Council. I say this because space is always a problem, but we do have sufficient space in the area where the other files you sent us are kept. We assure you that any materials sent us will be protected and treated just as all of our research materials.

With every good wish to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Miles M. Jackson Jr.

Miles M. Jackson, Jr.
Chief Librarian

MMJ:ap

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

File
SRC Archives

November 23, 1966

Mr. Melvin G. Holli
Urban Historical Collection
College of Liberal Arts and Science
Department of History
University of Illinois
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Dear Mr. Holli:

We are pleased you found the SRC materials of some value. It is most unlikely that we can send you a complete collection of New South magazines, 1946 through 1956. However, we are now checking to determine what remains on hand. We will send you as complete a set as possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

November 23, 1966

M E M O

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please check to see what you can do about coming up with a set of NEW SOUTH, 1946 - 1956. I know it would be very incomplete, but would like to send such copies as we have to the University of Illinois.

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
Department of History
(Box 4348) Chicago, Illinois 60680
Telephone: 663-3141

(5)

November 16, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you very much for your deposit of Southern Regional Council Materials at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

We were especially pleased to receive back copies of the "New South" dating from 1956 to 1966. They are a welcome addition to our growing collection of civil rights and Negro history materials, and will constitute an important source material for our students and professorial staff.

Would it be possible for the S.R.C. to also deposit back copies of Vol. 1 thru 10 (1946-56) of either the "New South" or its predecessor?

Sincerely,

Melvin G. Holli

Melvin G. Holli
Urban Historical Collection

MGH/ds

File
Coll. Unit.

December 4, 1967

Mrs. Joseph Phinazee
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mrs. Phinazee:

We have received the enclosed inquiry relative to the files of the Interracial Commission. Is it possible for the information to be copied?

We could pay a modest cost for a student to collect this material if that should be necessary.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

December 4, 1967

Mrs. Charles W. Pemberton
2306 Rosedale Avenue
Houston, Texas 77004

Dear Mrs. Pemberton:

The files on the Interracial Commission are now in the possession of the Atlanta University Library. I am writing as requested to determine whether the material you request is readily available.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

November 29, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On one of Ed Stanfield's visits here during last summer I talked with him concerning some information I need that may be in the files of the Southern Regional Council and he suggested that I write the Office concerning the same.

During the fall of 1943-44- or 1945 as a reporter for The Dallas Express, The Informer and Associated Negro Press I went to a small West Texas Town near the border of New Mexico and in the vicinity of Lubock, Texas to investigate and get a story on a Negro (stranger in the Town) who went berserk and killed three white people on the streets one day. The only transportation in or out of the city (mass transportation) was one bus. Negroes in the Town became frightened and began leaving town as signs appeared in crude letters Nigger Don't Let the Sun Go Down. I spent two days and one night in the town. The Sheriff, who was the Judge and the School Superintendent hid the Negro in the basement of the Court House and late one afternoon came out and told the Town people he was dead and had the Negro brought out under the guise of a corpse put on a wagon and carried out of town- and he was quickly transferred alive to another jail. Charles Bynum sent the News Story to the Interracial Commission in Atlanta and this Sherriff was given an Award by the Commission.

I would like to receive a Xerox copy of the News Story or Award letters or any information in the files on the story. My files were destroyed in a fire ten years ago. The files of the Dallas Express and The Informer Chain were not being kept at that time and back copies are not available . If the Interracial Commission files are not in the possession of the Council could you give me a lead. Could you quote me a fee for the services rendered?

I am a Founder(one of the founders) and a Charter Member of the Houston Council on Human Relations.

Yours truly,

Doris H. Pemberton

Mrs. Charles W. Pemberton
230 Rosedale Avenue
Houston, Texas 77004

2306 ROSEDALE AVENUE
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77004
JACKSON 8-2304 AREA 713

file - Sec - Archives

December 8, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of December 4, telling of your visit to Pecan Springs and from the Texas Water Conservation at the Atlantic Memorial Library.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Charles W. Anderson

file
see archives

PA

Reese Cleghorn
(Fyi)

March 20, 1969

Mr. Steven P. Lawson
3065 Grand Concourse
Bronx, New York 10468

Dear Mr. Lawson:

While our unpublished papers relative to voting during the period 1944-65 are far more disorganized than we would like, you are more than welcome to use any of our materials.

The authors of the book, Climbing Jacobs Ladder, Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn, are on the staff here. John Lewis, who was chairman of SNCC during the days that that organization was most involved in voter registration, is also on our staff. I believe you would profit from talking with these gentlemen.

Incidentally, Harold C. Fleming, President, Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., was on the Council staff beginning in 1946 and served as its director until the late 60's. On his staff at the Potomac Institute is Mrs. Margaret Price who

did much of our earlier research in this area. You might want also to talk with these two people.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

3065 Grand Concourse
Bronx, New York 10468
March 18, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Dear Sir:

I am a graduate student at Columbia University working on my doctoral dissertation concerning the expansion of Negro voting rights, 1944-1965. Prof. William E. Leuchtenburg of the Department of History is sponsoring this project. Since the Southern Regional Council played an important role in this struggle, especially fighting the poll tax and coordinating voter registration drives, I will be exploring its efforts. In order to do so in an historical and scholarly manner it would be enormously valuable if I could examine the Council's unpublished papers. Thus, I would like to know if the Council might provide me the opportunity to carry out such research at your office.

I am grateful for any assistance you can offer, and I look forward to your reply. Thank you.

Yours truly,

Steven F. Lawson

Steven F. Lawson

~~JL~~
MJ-file

3065 Grand Concourse
Bronx, New York 10468
March 27, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I am extremely grateful that you have given me permission to do research in your unpublished papers on voting rights, 1944-1965. At present, I do not know when I will be able to come down to Atlanta and begin the research. When I make my final plans I will let you know a few weeks in advance of when I will be arriving. I also would like to thank you for informing me about the presence of Pat Watters, Reese Cleghorn, and John Lewis in the Council. I would very much like to interview them, especially Mr. Lewis about his activities with SNCC.

Once again, thank you for this important opportunity. I will look forward to seeing you in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Steven F. Lawson

Steven F. Lawson

file

AMERICAN · HISTORICAL · ASSOCIATION

ORGANIZED · 1884 INCORPORATED · BY · THE · CONGRESS · 1889

GENERAL OFFICES • 400 A STREET SOUTHEAST • WASHINGTON, D. C., 20003

April 21, 1969

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Anthony:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 14 granting me permission to do research in the papers of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and related materials. It was good of you to grant this permission, and though my plans have been changed for coming to Atlanta this month, I shall be using these materials in the months immediately ahead (as I have written to the Trevor Arnett Library).

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Robert Zangrando

Robert L. Zangrando
Assistant Executive Secretary

RLZ:ld

April 14, 1969

Mr. Robert L. Zangrando
Assistant Executive Secretary
American Historical Association
400 "A" Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Zangrando:

Please forgive me this long delay in responding to your request of March 18. We will be more than happy to grant permission for you to have access to the papers on the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and others related to us.

If we here at the Council can be of any other assistance to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mrs. Gaynelle Barksdale
Trevor Arnett Library

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GENERAL OFFICES • 400 A STREET SOUTHEAST • WASHINGTON, D. C., 20003

March 18, 1969

Dr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Anthony:

I am writing to request permission to do research in the papers of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, housed at the Trevor Arnett Library at Atlanta University.

I am presently under contract to the Louisiana State University Press for a book-length study on the efforts of the NAACP to secure federal legislation against lynching and mob violence, during the period from 1909 into the mid-1950's. I have been awarded an ACLS Grant-in-Aid to complete the project, and I should begin writing in about two months. I am currently scheduled to be in Atlanta in mid-April, and I should like to have permission to use the papers during that visit.

For your convenience I am enclosing a recent professional resume. If you need any additional information, please feel free to call upon me.

Sincerely,

Robert Zangrando

Robert L. Zangrando
Assistant Executive Secretary

RLZ:ld
Enclosure
cc: Mr. Miles Jackson, Jr.
Dr. Annette Phinaze

AMERICAN · HISTORICAL · ASSOCIATION

ORGANIZED · 1884 INCORPORATED · BY · THE · CONGRESS · 1889

GENERAL OFFICES • 400 A STREET SOUTHEAST • WASHINGTON, D. C., 20003

August, 1968

Professional Resumé, Dr. Robert L. Zangrando

Position:

Assistant Executive Secretary, American Historical Association, 1965-
Director, AHA Service Center for Teachers of History, 1965-

Principal research fields:

United States since the Civil War
Negro in America

Former activities:

Rutgers University, Camden Campus: Assistant Professor, 1963-65
Acting Chairman, History, 1964-65
State of New Jersey, Office of Economic Opportunity: Program Coordinator for the small communities and rural areas of the State, Spring & Summer, 1965
Mississippi Summer Project, 1964: Coordinator, Jackson Freedom Schools

Educational background:

B.A. Union College, Schenectady, N.Y., 1958
Phi Beta Kappa, 1958
M.A. University of Pennsylvania, 1960
Ph.D. University of Pennsylvania, 1963

Publications:

Civil Rights and the American Negro: A Documentary History, ed. by Albert P. Blaustein and Robert L. Zangrando (New York: Washington Square Press paperback, 1968; scheduled for publication in hard cover by Trident Press, October, 1968)
"The Direction of the March," Negro History Bulletin, XXVII (December, 1963)
"American Colleges and Interracial Reform," Symposium, IV (Winter, 1965)
"Civil Rights: America's Burden and Glory," The Canadian Forum, XLIV (January, 1965)
"The NAACP and a Federal Antilynching Bill, 1934-1940," Journal of Negro History, L (April, 1965)
"Courting Clio in the Classroom," News and Notes in the Social Sciences (May, 1967) [published by the Coordinator for Social Studies at Indiana University]
"The Teacher, the Historical Process, and the AHA," The History Teacher, I (January, 1968)
Written Testimony on "A Bill for the Establishment of a Commission on Negro History and Culture (H.R. 12962)," Hearing Before a Select Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 90 Cong., 2 Sess. (March 18, 1968) [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968]
"Dr. Kenneth B. Clark vs. Black Power," Negro Digest, XVII (July, 1968)
"The Identification of Criteria for the Effective Use of Films in Teaching

-more-

Publications (con'd.):

History in the Classroom, in a Variety of Teaching Situations, Grades 7-12," Final Report submitted to the United States Office of Education, July, 1968 (Contract No. OEC-1-7-070018-3517 [Project life: April, 1967 through April, 1968]) (Pp. iv, 118).

Book reviews: in American Historical Review, Journal of American History, Journal of Southern History, Phi Delta Kappan, Phylon, and Social Studies

Additional Professional Activities:

member, Executive Board, Social Education

member, Board of Directors, CONPASS (Consortium of Professional Associations for the Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs)

editor, Service Center for Teachers of History pamphlet series (August, 1965 to August, 1968) [74 separate titles in the series]

editor, AHA Newsletter (appears five times during the academic year)

co-editor, List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1967)

scholarly papers presented at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; sessions chaired at the annual meetings of the National Council for the Social Studies and the Organization of American Historians

Educational Television: 17-week course on "The Negro in the Twentieth Century," WFIL-TV (ABC affiliate) in Philadelphia, Pennsylnavia, September, 1964, through January, 1965

Reader for Advanced Placement examinations, 1967 and 1968

Visiting lecturer, NDEA history institutes: University of Virginia (1967); Dartmouth College, Colorado State University, Loretto Heights College (1968)

Member, six-man working committee, two members each from NCSS, Phi Delta Kappa, and AHA, to prepare an anthology of readings taken from textbooks throughout the world and designed to be used in 11th-grade U.S. history courses

Elected: Honorary Corresponding Member of the Historical Association (of England)

Works in Progress:

"Teaching the History of the Negro in America," in Elsie Lewis, ed., Proceedings of the Howard University Centennial Conference on the Negro in America (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, scheduled for publication in late summer of 1968)

Book on the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to secure passage of a federal law against lynching and mob violence, World War I to the 1950's (contract signed, March, 1968, with the Louisiana State University Press).

"The 'Organized Negro': the NAACP and Civil Rights," paper to be given on October 21, 1968, as part of ten-part lecture series on "The Negro in American History"; University of Texas at Austin (papers to be published by the University of Texas Press)

"Shaping the Twentieth-Century Civil Rights Movement," paper to be given on November 8, 1968, as part of the two-day Conference on Afro-American History; University of Illinois (papers to be published by the University of Illinois Press)

University of Southern Mississippi
Southern Station, Box 53
Hattiesburg, Mississippi
39401

Library

file

December 19, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The University of Southern Mississippi Library is trying to collect and preserve for history the records and documents pertaining to the Civil Rights movement. It is interested in collecting all sides of the issue, and sincerely hopes that you will allow your records to join the collection.

I am a black student at USM, and the library has asked me to contact you when I am in Atlanta on December 31 to January 3 to answer what questions you may have, and to explain in fuller detail just what the program is about.

Please write me at Box 217, Schlater, Mississippi 38952, or call me at Area Code 601 658-4818 (collect), and let me know at what time it would be most convenient to see you.

Enclosed is a plan of the USM Library. Until the proposed new Archives building is built, the records will be safely stored in the Twentieth Century Social History room.

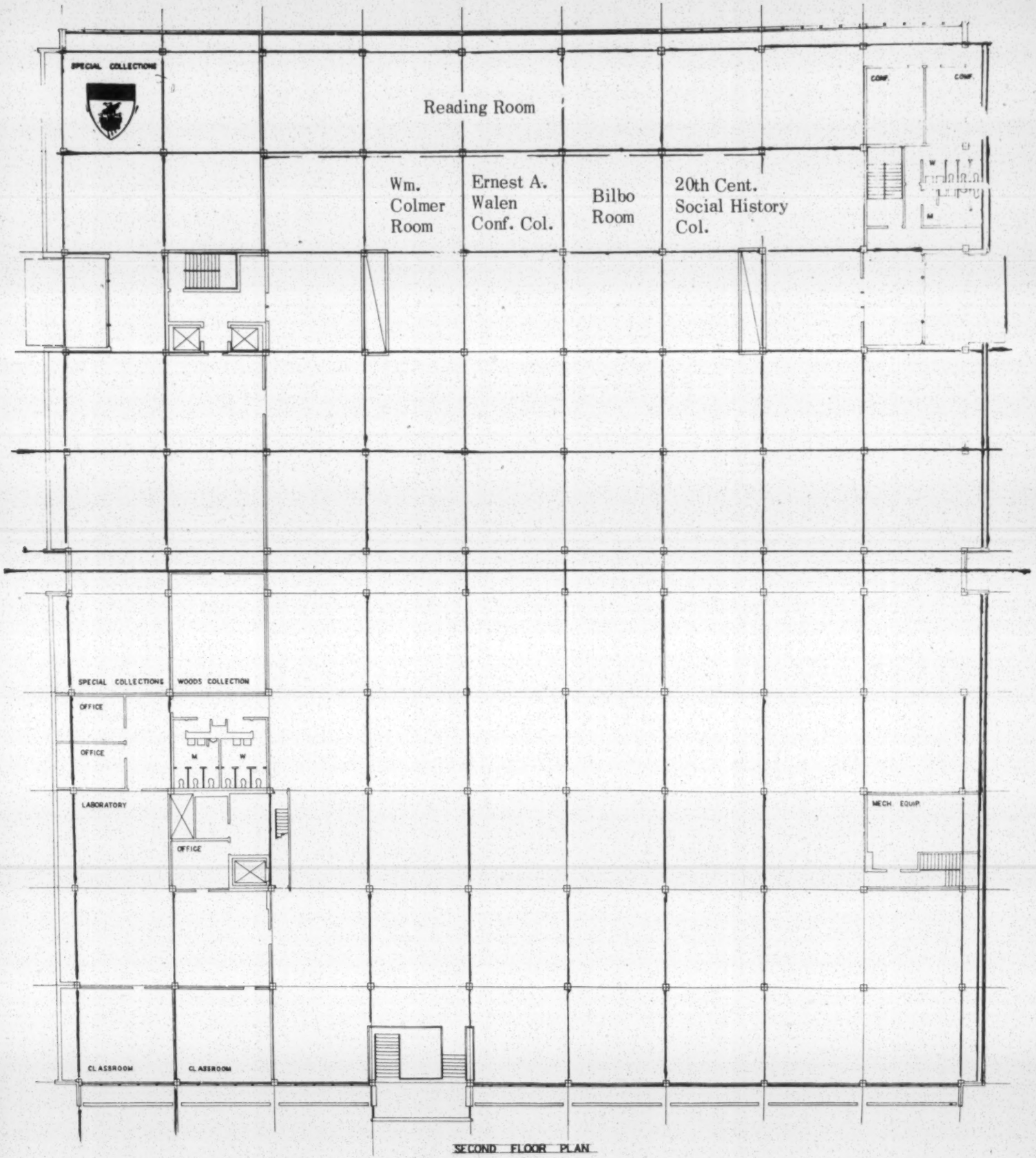
Your consideration in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Everett H. Forte

Everett H. Forte

ehf
Enclosure



SECOND FLOOR PLAN

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

collecting, advancing and disseminating knowledge of the history of America, with accent on Wisconsin and the Middle West.

3. The president, vice-presidents, the counsel, the treasurer, the executive director, and assistant directors shall also be ex-officio members.

The offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person, but if filled separately, the secretary need not be a member of the corporation.

Section 3. Purposes. The purposes of the Southern Regional Council are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council and to cooperate with affiliated state organizations in the Southern Region for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, regional, and national agencies on all levels in the attainment of desired objectives. The Council shall not engage in carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation nor engage in any form of political activities.

Section 4. Nominating Committee

There shall be a Nominating Committee of not less than five members. Three members shall be elected by the Council from its membership at its annual meeting, and one of these shall be an "ex-officio" member of the Council from an affiliated state organization. Two members shall be appointed by the joint action of the President and the Executive Committee.

The Nominating Committee shall meet not less than thirty(30) days before the annual meeting for the purpose of nominating (1) members of the Council, (2) officers of the Council, (3) members of the Executive Committee, and (4) three members of the succeeding Nominating Committee.

Section 6. Assistant Directors. The assistant directors shall work in cooperation with the executive director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. In the absence or disability of the executive director, one of the assistant directors will be designated by the executive director, or by the executive committee, to perform, temporarily, the duties of the executive director.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Card index SRC defense =

1. Origins –
   a. VS SCHW success
   b. etc & people
2. Board & Exec Ctee members
   a. PD menus all yrs
   b. Successive lists
   c. Exec Ctee all yrs
   d. Officers all yrs
2A Details of SV, Foreman, Lewis, Burnham
3. Misc false charges –
   ① GSM above etc
   ② Incorporators — Not [illegible] (NJ Hon[illegible])
   ③ "Political"
      Bylaws state + reg
      charter
      tax exempt
   ④ CP Line
      ⓐ Sup of [illegible]
      ⓑ Catholics support
      ⓒ CP [illegible]
      ⓓ CP program for race
   ⑤ YWCA mtg

Details on loyalty oath
SRC statements re communism
(PDW, R + LE, etc.)

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Minutes

Personnel Partcip

O'Hara - Sub com ctee to select exec ctee 2-17-44. (V. I - p. 21)

McNamara -

Exec Ctee - 3/22/44, 4/28/44, 12/5/44

Bd - 4/28/44, 1/31/45, 11/13/45, 11-14-45, 11-13-46

one mtg 45 Annual mtg - 12/6/44, 11-14-45,

one mtg 47 Exec 5/25/45, 6/27/45, 9/18/45, 11/13/45

54 2/27/46, 5/22/46, 10/9/46, 11/26/46

2/26/47, 5/28/47

Foreman Charter Mtg 2/16/44

Bd 4/28/44 (I-37)

Bd 1/31/45 (I-73), 11/13/45 (I-127)

Annual 11/14/45

{ Bd 11/14/45

Bd. 11/12/46 - Annual Mtg 11/13/46

Burnham Charter mtg 2/16/44

Annual mtg 12/6/44 (I-68)

Wurs - Bd 11/12/46

New South - See Vol. I - pp 143-144

South (I 213)

Loyalty p. 629

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Defense File

A. Origins - D-A-R - Confx + CIC
Charter Meeting
Letters - Odum, McNamara, White, Richards

B. Incorporators + Charter + Bylaws

C. Board - Published Lists

*D. Board - Members all years
Exec Ctee - all years

*E. Board at Oct '55 - Biog. data

F. SCHW -
① Harv Law Rev. article
② Const Edit
③ Other ?

G CIC history + transition to SRC
① Hist pphs
② Burrow's thesis chapter

W - Memos
① Anti-Cook
② Anti-Craft
③ Craft suspension (News reprint)

XYZ - Unclassified as yet
① Msgr McNamara speech
② Episcopalian statement - SRC
③ Oxnam brief

* Not prepared + m

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Defense File - 2

H. Catholic support
① CCS awards to GSM + CBJ
* ② Summary of Catho. representation
* ③ Contributions

I. Policy -
① CBJ article in Common Ground
② Policy Statement 1951

Get -

✓ Ltr Tax Exemp.
- Bylaws - State ~~Reg.~~ Memo # 4
Details so - Wm Foreman, Burnham
Bio data - Bd. GSM, PDW, etc.
YWCA meeting
✓ "Loyalty Oath" form
SRC statements on commun.
CP line data
Laudatory quotes
Review Harris et al
Church support + statement
✓ Bylaws Regional
54 Ltr of Grant to SRC

K. Accused board members.

(1) Ltr resignation Aubrey Lewis

(2) Tru Reid denial - Newspaper stories 1-7-53 + 12-29-53

(3) Clerk Foreman denial
Newspaper story 1-4-53

(4) Mrs Tilly -
Resigs from Nat'l Ctte for Peaceful Alternatives + Nat Ctte to Repeal the McCarran Act.

(5) Clement statement

L. Communism

(1) loyalty certificate

(2) Cox Ctte questionnaire

M. Political

(1) Non political state certificate

(2) Tax Exemp Ltr 1947

N. Fund for Repub

+ (1) Ltrs of grant to SRC

(2) SRC News Releases

(3) Annual Rept of

MEMORANDUM FOR ATLANTA CONTINUING COMMITTEE:

We are gathered together here in solemn assembly, conscious of our heritage and opportunity. In the name and spirit of America and of all her resources and institutions we covenant together in harmony and unanimity to make this day, or what this day should bring to pass, epochal in a new purpose, and new understanding, and a new fellowship.

In the name and spirit of America's science and education we seek to find and to tell the truth. In the name and spirit of America's democracy we seek the way of equal opportunity. In the name of America's patriotism, we strive for loyalty to the American dream, for leadership to guide, and for statemanship adequate to carry the burden of the new America. In the name and spirit of America's Christianity, we search for the new faith of fellowship. In the name of humanity, we propose to substitute the measures of the good society for the old biological struggle for physical survival. In the name and spirit of all these and the living reality of a complex world, we dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

Four ways there are, and perhaps more, of approaching these laudable and attainable ends. First, we agree upon a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society. We recognize fully that in the present crisis this covenant is as important as the earlier compacts of the forefathers, and that the framework within which we covenant together must comprehend a concept and a charter which guarantees equality of opportunity for all people. This means more specifically as bearing upon the burden of our present counseling that the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has within the framework of the American democratic system of government.

Second, we dedicate ourselves unswervingly to the successful achievement of this task. Since in the order of all nature and creation and of the growth and development of the people and society, there are always certain features peculiar to each society; since in the order of democracy there are certain elemental principles of self-government that are inherent in each folk and regional society; and since in both the physical and cultural heritage of the South there are certain cumulative and tragic handicaps that represent powerful factors in the situation, we appeal to the Nation, in covenant with the South, to exercise a wisdom and maturity through which methods, procedures, and rates of change may be worked out in the spirit of, and in conformity with, the principles of our American democracy.

Third, to the end that there will be actual realistic accomplishments rather than mere words and that there may be possible ways and means of actually insuring progress in all approaches to these goals of equal opportunity, we urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life and especially with a similar national group when established.

Fourth, since the crisis is not only southern but national, not only for whites but for Negroes and other races as well, and since the central purpose of the new council is cooperation and the building of active good will, we urge the formation of a National Committee on race and regional development, constituted of representatives of all races and of public and private groups. Such a committee, subscribing to the declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all available agencies and individuals in private and public life.

We recognize the sweep and power of the emotions in time of war and crisis and the rights and tendencies in the democratic way of life for thousands of individuals and groups to agitate, organize, and promote their own peculiar programs. This

is and must be the essence of a democracy. But it is also the way of democracy to focus upon fundamentals and to give opportunity to responsible leadership through the orderly agencies of governmenment and of private citizens. To this end no greater service can be rendered to the Nation than to covenant together in responsible organizations, to provide leadership and clearing house, and to avoid conflicts, waste and overlapping, on the one hand, and, on the other, to minimize the harmful influence of irresponsible forces in this great hour of need for good will and for effective ways of doing what is needed. We feel that in these councils may be approximated needs more nearly than in any other ways that now appear.

The Nation is committed now to what is generally called, both in private business and in public life, post-war planning to the end that we may be ready for the demobilization and reintegration of our millions of returning soldiers into the best possible American way of life. Recognizing that the problems of the folk and of race constitute a more difficult problem than that of physical planning, by the same token we urge all the more the obligation to apply to this great area of our democracy the best the sciences, social sciences, the humanities, and religion can do in the realistic working out of next steps.

To this end, the present membership of the Continuation Committees of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences is hereby constituted the nucleus of the new Council; and the officers are authorized (1) to take immediate steps for the legal incorporation of the Council; (2) to appoint immediately the necessary staff personnel to implement this program, and (3) to enlarge the present membership in order to make it fully representative of all the interests encompassed by this program.

It is also respectfully urged that the President of the United States appoint a National Committee such as is suggested above.

MEMBERSHIP OF CONTINUING COMMITTEE
DIVIDED INTO

SUB-COMMITTEES

Agriculture

*F. D. Patterson, Chairman, Alabama
Giles A. Hubert, Ohio
*H. M. Bond, Georgia

Agriculture

*William E. Cole, Chairman, Tennessee
*Howard W. Odum, North Carolina
T. F. Adams, Virginia

Education

*Rufus E. Clement, Chairman, Georgia
Horace Mann Bond, Georgia
*B. E. Mays, Georgia
Forrester B. Washington, Georgia

Education

*E. A. McDowell, Chairman, Kentucky
*J. McDowell Richards, Georgia
*Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Georgia
*Virginius Dabney, Virginia
*Homer Price Rainey, Texas

Military Services and Post-War Problems of Demobilization

Mordecai Johnson, Chairman, Washington, D.C.
*P. B. Young, Virginia
*Gordon B. Hancock, Virginia
*Luther B. Jackson, Virginia

Military and Post-War Planning

Ralph McGill, Chairman, Georgia
Wilson M. Brown, Virginia
*Miss Josephine Wilkins, Georgia

Political and Civil Rights

*Carter Wesley, Chairman, Texas
*Ernest Delpit, Louisiana
*A. W. Dent, Louisiana
*Z. Alexander Looby, Tennessee

Political and Civil Rights

*Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Chairman, Fla.
William H. Marmion, Alabama
R. B. Herbert, South Carolina
Edmund M. Preston, Virginia
*Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Georgia

Social Welfare and Health

Forrester B. Washington, Chairman, Ga.
*Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, N. C.
*Mrs. Grace Townes Hamilton, Georgia
B. E. Mays, Georgia

Social Welfare and Health

*Mrs. Henry H. Havens, Chairman, Fla.
*Goodrich C. White, Georgia
*Arthur J. Moore, Georgia

Work Opportunities

*Ira DeA. Reid, Chairman, Georgia
Louis E. Burnham, Alabama
Ernest Delpit, Louisiana
Mrs. Grace Townes Hamilton, Georgia
*Charles S. Johnson, Tennessee

Work Opportunities

*Philip Shulhafer, Chairman, Georgia
*T. James McNamara, Georgia
*C. H. Gillman, Georgia

* Those present

COMMITTEE OF WHITE SOUTHERNERS ON COLLABORATION
WITH NEGRO COMMITTEE

EX OFFICIO:

Officers

Ralph McGill, Atlanta, Georgia, Chairman
Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman, Louisville, Kentucky, Vice-Chairman
Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta, Georgia, Secretary

The Committee which invited Southerners to the conference April 8 who also signed the statement:

C. H. Gillman
M. Ashby Jones
Ryland Knight
David Marx
Arthur J. Moore
Stuart R. Oglesby
Gerald P. O'Hara
J. McDowell Richards
John Moore Walker
Goodrich C. White

- - - -

Theodore F. Adams, Richmond, Virginia
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta, Georgia
Rabbi Stanley Brav, Vicksburg, Mississippi
Francis R. Bridges, Tallahassee, Florida
William E. Cole, Knoxville, Tennessee
Virginius Dabney, Richmond, Virginia
Mrs. Andrew Dale, Nashville, Tennessee
Rt. Rev. E. P. Dandridge, Nashville, Tennessee
Mrs. George E. Davis, Orangeburg, South Carolina
J. C. Dixon, Macon, Georgia
Mark Ethridge, Louisville, Kentucky
R. L. Foreman, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Nathaniel Gist Gee, Greenwood, South Carolina
William G. Gehri, Memphis, Tennessee
James G. Hanes, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Mrs. Henry Havens, Jacksonville, Florida
Waights G. Henry, Sr., Anniston, Alabama
R. B. Herbert, Columbia, South Carolina
A. D. Huddleston, Alcoa, Tennessee
J. B. Ivey, Charlotte, North Carolina
Theodore H. Jack, Lynchburg, Virginia
Miss Annie Tait Jenkins, Atlanta, Georgia
Bishop Paul Kern, Nashville, Tennessee
Lloyd R. Killam, Atlanta, Georgia
Miss Kathleen Mallory, Birmingham, Alabama
E. A. McDowell, Louisville, Kentucky
Loye W. Miller, Knoxville, Tennessee
Mrs. J. W. Mills, Beaumont, Texas
Alfred Mynders, Chattanooga, Tennessee
N. C. Newbold, Raleigh, North Carolina
Mrs. Donald Oberdorfer, Atlanta, Georgia
Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Philip Shulhafer, Atlanta, Georgia
Bishop A. Frank Smith, Houston, Texas
Judge J. Morgan Stevens, Jackson, Mississippi
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta, Georgia
H. L. Watson, Greenwood, South Carolina

ALTERNATES AT LARGE

Mrs. Roscoe T. Anthony, Palm Beach, Florida
F. F. Brown, Knoxville, Tennessee
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file

STAFF MEMO

To: Leslie W. Dunbar

From: Vernon Jordan, Paul Anthony, Ruth Alexander, Montez Albright

Re: the old SRC records, including the ones now stored at AU and more recent old records now stored at SRC

We recommend that a resolution be submitted at the next meeting of the Executive Committee, outlining the following procedure:

1. That the Executive Committee take action immediately to officially designate Atlanta University as the recipient of the old SRC records now stored there and such records now stored at SRC as would be found useful to a complete history of SRC. The above action should be contingent upon the willingness of Atlanta University to become the official recipient of these records with all that this implies in cataloging and making them readily available to scholars, historians, etc.

2. That Pat Watters, or another appropriate person, immediately proceed to North Carolina for the purpose of tape recording Mrs. Ames account of the formation of the SRC and any other reminiscences about the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, etc., and that this person discuss with Mrs. Ames the disposition of any other recored in her possession.

   Further, that this same procedure be followed with other early founders and members of SRC, e. g., Dr. Hancock, Josephine Wilkins, Rufus Clements, Ralph McGill, Bishop Moore and any others now available.

   These tape recording would be considered a part of the total SRC records mentioned above for Atlanta University.

3. That some appropriate person from SRC or from the Atlanta University Library go to Chapel Hill to look at the material on SRC given to the University of North Carolina. Such examination would include any papers given by Mrs. Ames, Howard Odum, Guy Johnson, Rupert Vance and others. This person would then initiate discussion with the University of North Carolina on how copies of any materials of special interest might be gotten to Atlanta University for inclusion with the other records.

See SRC Archives

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

"THE SOUTHERN VISION" (SRC's first official publication) Sent to us by Dr. Gordon B. Hancock.

REGARDING

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

SRC Publications file (note: copy sent to Annette Phinazee at Trevor Arnett Library)

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(over)

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George S. Mitchell

John H. Wheeler

Frank McCallister

GENERAL RULES

COMMITTEE ON WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES
ATLANTA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
October - 1930

Membership

Upon recommendation by the Board of Directors, members may be elected to the Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities at any semi-annual meeting.

Meetings

The full committee shall hold semi-annual meetings, one in the fall and one in the spring.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Members:- There shall be a Board of Directors of nine white women and nine Negro women, elected annually at the fall meeting.

Term of Office:- The term of membership of the Board of Directors shall be three years except for those elected in 1930; one-third of whom shall be for one year; one-third for two years; thereafter the term for all shall be for three years. The Board of Directors shall decide the term for all its members elected in 1930.

Power:- The Board of Directors shall have plenary power to transact all business between semi-annual meetings; to create standing and special committees necessary to carry out the program of work and education; to elect from its membership officers who shall be the officers of the whole committee.

FINANCE

Dues:- All members shall be asked to pay annual dues of $1.00

All money from dues and other contributions made directly to the Committee shall be used to meet the expenses entailed in carrying out the program of work of the Committee on Women's Interracial Activities.

The Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities may not be pledged to contribute financial support from its treasury. Special committees may be appointed to raise money for specific projects endorsed by the Board of Directors. Members may serve as means of contact between those who are willing to support worthy causes and the promoters of such causes.

GENERAL CULTIVATION

The Board of Directors shall use every means in its power to cultivate public opinion and individual attitudes. It shall create a regular standing committee on General Cultivation with a Speakers Bureau as part of the committee. Organizations and church societies whenever possible will be represented on this committee, the personnel either chosen directly by the Chairman of the Committee or appointed by the organization or society thus represented.

These rules may be changed at any semi-annual meeting upon recommendation of the Board of Directors.

MINUTES

Board of Directors
Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities

The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities held its regular monthly meeting Nov. 11, 1930, at 409 Palmer Bldg.

The work of each sub-committee of the Atlanta Committee was discussed and reports on sub-committee activities made:

(1) Training School for Colored Girls - Chairmen: Mrs. Louis J. Elsas
Mrs. J. H. Wheeler

This committee is cooperating with the Atlanta Federation of Colored Women's Clubs in raising, through the Negro clubs, Atlanta's quota of $250 toward a building fund for the Training School for Colored Girls. The state must raise $2,500 by Jan. 1, 1931, for the Training School in order to receive a gift of equal amount ($2,500) from an anonymous donor. The Negro women of the state have already purchased a 10 acre lot for the School near Macon. Once work is begun on the plant an effort will be made to turn the Training School over to the State for public support.

(2) Committee on Education - Chairmen: Mrs. E. Marvin Underwood
Mrs. M. T. Norris

At present this committee has three projects: a survey of rural school conditions (white and colored) of Fulton County; the securing of a higher salary scale for Negro teachers of Fulton County when the 1931 school budget is made; and securing a portable school building in a congested Negro area of Atlanta where there are insufficient schoolroom facilities for the colored children.

(3) Committee on General Cultivation - Chairmen: Mrs. W. Frank Smith
Mrs. John Hope

The organizing of the Speakers' Bureau is occupying the attention of this committee at present. Speakers are being enlisted who can present the aims and methods of interracial cooperation from the points of view of the religious, educational, patriotic, judicial, and welfare organizations convening in the city. Places will be secured for these speakers on programs of the organizations. A complete calendar of meetings of city, district, state, southwide, or national scope to be held in Atlanta in 1931 will be compiled by this committee.

(4) Committee on Institutions - Chairmen: Mrs. J. Houston Johnston
Mrs. A. D. Howard

The reorganization of the teaching program of the Fulton County Reformatory for Negro boys is a project of the Committee on Institutions.

(5) Committee on Housing Conditions - Chairmen: Mrs. W. A. Albright
Mrs. Ida B. Hill

This committee is gathering complete information about housing ordinances of other cities prohibiting the renting of property not reaching certain minimum standards. With this information in hand the committee will approach the proper city officials in regard to an Atlanta housing ordinance. Th committee is familiarizing itself with housing conditions in the Negro residential areas of Atlanta.

(2) Minutes - Bd. of Directors
At. Com. Wom. Inter.Act. Nov. 11, '30

(6) Committee on Hospitals and Health - Chairmen: Mrs. B. L. Bugg
Mrs. Ludie Andrews

An investigation of the denominational hospitals of the city with the idea of securing Negro wards in them, is an immediate project of the Committee on Hospitals and Health. Cooperating with the Red Cross, the committee is also aiding in procuring a ward for colored children at the Battle Hill tuberculosis sanatorium.

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It was moved and carried that the following terms of office of the members of the Board of Directors be adopted: (Gen. Rules, Bd. of Directors, par. 2)

Term to expire 1931	Terms to expire 1932	Term expire 1933
Mrs. W.A. Albright	Mrs. Ludie Andrews	Mrs. S.F. Boykin
Mrs. John J. Egan	Mrs. H.H.Hirsch	Mrs. B.L. Bugg
Mrs. Ida B. Hill	Mrs. John Hope	Mrs. L.J.Elsas
Mrs. W.M. Pattman	Mrs. A.D. Howard	Mrs. K.Harreld
Mrs. E. M. Underwood	Mrs. J. H. Johnston	Mrs. J.H.McGrew
Mrs. J.H. Wheeler	Mrs. W.Frank Smith	Mrs. M.T.Norris

Officers elected for one year on nominations from floor:

Chairman - Mrs. H.H. Hirsch
Vice-chairman - Mrs. Kemper Harreld
Recording secretary - Mrs. M.T. Norris
Executive secretary - Mrs. W. Frank Smith
Treasurer (ex.of.) - Miss Elizabeth Head

Because of conflicts in the schedules of some of the Board members, it was moved and carried that the regular meetings of the Board of Directors be held the second Thursday of each month at 10 o'clock in the office of the Interracial Commission.

Minutes approved and condensed for distribution by:

Mrs. H. H. Hirsch
Mrs. Kemper Harreld
Mrs. M. T. Norris
Miss Elizabeth Head

RACIAL ATTITUDES TEST

Race Relations Seminar, Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities
March 10, 1931

DIRECTIONS

Read the statement following the Roman numeral carefully. Then read the possible solutions to the situation, numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. In the left hand margin renumber the solutions according to their value, truthfulness, and correct application to the problem. Number the best solution (1), the second best (2), and so on until all the solutions have been numbered according to their worth. Follow the same procedure for each of the five principal statements.

I. In a community of twenty thousand inhabitants there are fifteen thousand whites and five thousand Negroes, a ratio of 3 whites to one Negro. Bonds are being floated for new public school buildings, the bond issue for $90,000. Both white and colored children are now attending school in old, weatherbeaten frame houses lacking in beauty, freedom from fire hazards, and any of the modern conveniences found in up-to-date school buildings. Conditions in the Negro schools are worse than those in the white school, as, has been the case in many communities, the oldest white school buildings had been turned over to the Negroes after they became too bad for the white children to be educated in.

( ) 1. One-third of the bond issue $30,000 should be used in buildings and equipment for the Negro children. The citizens of the community should allow this amount to the Negroes for philanthropic reasons, expecting no return from the money invested in this way, but considering the proportion of Negroes in the community - one-third of the total population - one third of the money for schools should be spent for Negro children.

( ) 2. Nothing should go to the Negro school children. These children cannot appreciate beautiful school surroundings: brick buildings, landscaped grounds, and modern equipment, such as would be bought with money raised by floating the bonds.

( ) 3. The $90,000 should be spent in proportion to the need, disregarding color of the school child entirely. Since some of the buildings now used for the white children can be remodeled and be quite as satisfactory as new buildings on the same sites, and none of the Negro schools can be made over but all will have to be razed and new ones erected, in order to supply the same facilities to both white and colored children slightly more than one-third of the proposed bond issue would be required for the Negro schools. However, this would be a good investment of the money, and the way in which the best returns would result.

II. There is a bill before the State Legislature to create and maintain a Training School for Colored Girls.

( ) 1. The State now owns and operates a Training School for white girls which has proved quite successful in caring for girls between the ages of eight and twenty-one picked up on the streets, accused of petty crimes, guilty of vice or living in houses or associating with

persons of immoral fame. In the Training School these girls are taught vocational trades that they might be prepared to make a decent living, upon their release; they are given moral training and religious education. If this procedure has proved successful for white girls, the same type of institution would be the best way of handling Negro girls guilty of crimes similar to those for which white girls are sent to the Training School.

( ) 2. Negro girls are inherently, innately, immoral. To attempt to teach them to live upright, moral, lives would be a waste of the State's funds. As the girls would be dismissed at the age of twenty-One, or before that age be dismissed on probation, they would immediately return to their old vices.

III. The larger Negro universities are adding special schools for training for Negro leadership in the fields of law, medicine, education, etc.

( ) 1. There is a dead-level plane above which the Negro cannot pass in education of the specialized type. The Negro doctor can never become as efficient as a white doctor, the Negro lawyer can never think through a case as clearly as a white lawyer would do in the same instance, and Negro college professors will always be inferior to white college trained men. Therefore, we should train additional white leaders for the Negroes and educate the Negroes to follow, as wisely as possible, but not for positions of leadership in their own race.

( ) 2. A Negro doctor, given the same training that a white doctor enjoys, will be as efficient as the white doctor. There is no excuse for our not allowing the ambitious Negro to advance as far as he wishes, just as we offer the ambitious white every opportunity for leadership in the professional fields. To educate leaders for Negroes from their own race will benefit both whites and Negroes; it will give the Negro self-confidence and confidence in the ability of his race for achievement; it will make for greater racial purity, a thing desired by both races.

( ) 3. The Negro will not follow leaders of his race after they are trained for places of leadership. The Negro prefers to follow a "poor white" than a well trained, capable, leader of his own people. Since this is true, there is no use in training leaders who will have no following, doctors who will have no patients, lawyers who will have no cases, teachers who will find no schools.

( ) 4. We have not given the Negro a chance to see whether he will trust the leadership of his own race. It would be a good investment to train, as efficiently as we train white leaders, a group of the most ambitious and intelligent Negroes and give them an opportunity for leadership among their race.

IV. In a city in Georgia two petitions for extension of the water and sewer lines are before the City Council. One is a request for water and sewerage connections in a new subdivision for whites that is being opened, and the second is from the only Negro residential area of the city.

( ) 1. The Negro does not need as great sanitation and sanitary precaution as the white. In some manner dirt, filth, and exposure to disease

germs do not affect the Negro. Because of long years of living without sanitation the Negro has become immune to diseases caused by lack of sanitation, and having become accustomed to habits of uncleanliness he prefers to remain in this state, content.

( ) 2. The Negro should have available for residence a part of the town in which there are water and sewerage. To deprive him of these common facilities is inexcusable. Common decency demands that the city make some arrangement for water supply and sanitation when a part of the community is set aside for his residence.

( ) 3. As most of the Negro women in this community are employed in the homes of white people, the health of the white families is endangered if the Negro women are exposed to disease in their own homes because of lack of sanitary protection and precaution. Any diseases which they might contract would go immediately into many of the white homes of the city; therefore, every effort should be made to give the Negroes opportunity for health in the way of an inspected water supply and in sewerage connections.

V. A large percentage of employed Negro women and girls are in domestic service, employed as cooks, maids, and house-girls.

( ) 1. Because there are few openings for the untrained Negro woman and girl who must work that her income, supplementing that of the man of the house, will enable her and their children to live, any wage the white woman wishes to pay for the services of the Negro woman will be acceptable. Since the Negro woman will work all day for a wage that she can hardly subsist on, because she must often work for this or go without work, the white woman is right in paying as little as possible for domestic help, and requiring as long hours as she desires of the "colored help."

( ) 2. The home and family life of the Negro woman is just as important to her as the home and family of the white woman is important in the life of the white woman. Since this is true, the white woman is in a position to know that the Negro mother working out all day, with children at home, needs some time each day with her children while they are awake. The employer who requires her servant to arrive early in the morning before the Negro woman's children have gotten up, and who keeps the servant late at night until after her children have gone to bed, is unjust to the Negro woman, though she is violating no law.

( ) 3. We are in need of an eight-hour-day law for women, white and Negro. Such a law would prohibit any woman from working more than eight hours a day, and more than six days a week.

( ) 4. Special training in cooking, house cleaning, buying of food, and other household duties should be taught in the Negro schools, in preparation for domestic service. When the Negro girls and women are better prepared to efficiently carry out their duties in the home, they can demand better salaries and shorter hours. Until that time, we are justified in present wages and long hours.

( ) 5. Since most white women employing Negro servants prefer to train them after they have been employed, it would be a waste of time and money to offer courses in household arts in the Negro public schools. Then, too, the trained Negro will demand more, and we wish to continue to make our own salary scale with no limit on the working day and week for those Negroes we employ.

Interracial Vesper Service
First Presbyterian Church
5:00 p.m.
February 8, 1931

Organ Prelude ----------Dr. Charles A. Shelson

Invocation ----------Dr. W. W. Memminger
All Saints Episcopal Church

What is Interracial Sunday? ----------Rabbi David Marx

History of Atlanta Work (3 minutes)---------Mrs. H. H. Hirsch
Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities

Spirituals ----------Big Bethel Choir

Scripture and Prayer ----------Dr. J. Sprole Lyons
First Presbyterian Church

The Church and the Negro ----------Rev. W. J. Faulkner
First Congregational Church

Spiritual ---------- Big Bethel Choir

The Church and the White Man ---------- Dr. Louie D. Newton
Druid Hills Baptist Church

Spirituals ---------- Big Bethel Choir
First Presbyterian Choir

Benediction ---------- Dean Comer M. Woodward
Emory University

The Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities

Mrs. H. H. Hirsch, Chairman,

invites you to tea

Friday, March 13,

4:30 o'clock

at the home of Mrs. E. Marvin Underwood

21 Avery Drive

Atlanta, Georgia

GENERAL CULTIVATION

One of the primary functions of the local Committee on Women's Interracial Activities is to educate Atlanta leaders and populace, both white and Negro, regarding conditions of health and hospitalization in the city, care of Atlanta's indigent and dependent, penal institution operation and management, housing conditions and school facilities, and to disseminate information and form discussion groups concerned with problems of legal justice and social rights of the Negro citizen.

The series of race relations seminars was one means of educating a group of invited white women. Outstanding Negro and white speakers led the discussion of topics of world wide, Southern, and local interest. For six consecutive Tuesday mornings the group of women met at a local church to concentrate for two hours on matters of race relations and racial justice.

For the first time in Atlanta, Interracial Sunday was observed with a special service at a white church, with both white and Negro speakers on the program; music furnished by Negro and white choirs.

As one phase of its general cultivation program, a tea was given by the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities to the presidents, or other official representatives, of the civic organizations of women in Atlanta. The work of the Atlanta Committee, and particularly the set up of the Speakers Bureau, was explained to the group present.

SEMINAR

Auspices Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities

All meetings at 10:30 a.m.

Wesley Memorial Church

February 3 -World Race Relations - Rev. Hugh H. Harris
Emory University School of Theology

Historical Development of our Southern Social System - -W. S. Phillips
University of Georgia, Dept.of Sociology

February 10 -Barriers to Social Adjustment - Dean C.M. Woodward
Emory University

Agencies for Interracial Cooperation -
Dr. W. W. Alexander
Commission on Interracial Cooperatio

February 17 -Atlanta Negro Population - W. J. Faulkner
Pastor First Congregational Church

The Church in the Life of the Negro -
Rev. Raymond Henderson
Wheat St. Baptist Church

February 24 -Health Needs of the NegroD - Dr. T. H. Slater
Atlanta Negro Physician

Institutional and Community Care of the Dependent and Delinquent Negro Child -
Miss Louisa Fitzsimmons
Department of Public Welfare

Negro Home and Family Life - Mrs. Kemper Harreld
Wife of Morehouse College Professor

March 3 - Atlanta Negro Schools - Willis A. Sutton
Superintendent Atlanta Public Schools

Hospitalization of Negroes - Dr. R. H. Oppenheimer
Emory University Medical School

Negro Women in Employment - Mrs. Sadie Mays
Instructor Atlanta School of Social Work

March 10 - Employment Situation as it Effects the Negro -
Forrester Washington
President At. Sch. of Social Wor

Negro Business: Banking, Insurance, etc. -
L. D. Milton
Atlanta Business Man

PROGRAM OF WORK

It is recommended that the Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities:

I. Endorse the program of the general Commission on rural schools and cooperate by studying rural school conditions in Fulton County.

II. Assist the Federation of the Colored Women's Clubs thro the special committee appointed by the State Committee in securing an appropriation for a State Training School for Colored Girls.

III. Endorse a Negro hospital for Atlanta and pledge cooperation thro the Atlanta Committee on Health with existing or specially created agencies working to secure such an institution. Special recognition is given to the untiring efforts of the Junior Red Cross to build a ward for Tubercular Negro children.

Believing that there is a sufficiently intimate relation between juvenile delinquency and the administration of law, it is recommended that:

A. and B. The committee on Institutional Provisions for Children be asked to direct the committee's activities in affairs affecting law observance and legal protection, not only for children but adults.

In view of the fact that it has been several years since any special consideration has been given school and housing problems, it is recommended that the Board of Directors:

C. and D. Direct its attention to having made a personal study by members of the Committee of housing and community conditions of Negro citizens and that a similar personal study be made of Negro schools in Atlanta.

Loving and Hating in the Bible

[Reprinted from The Southwestern Christian Advocate]

THE full strength of these words as they are used in the Bible has been lost by missing their meaning. We take them to mean more than they mean in one direction, and in this way we lose the force of their meaning in the intended direction. We take them to mean too much in the direction of sentiment, or even sentimentality; we miss their force in the direction of fact and act. In one sense love and hate can not be commanded; in another sense they can be.

I

What is Loving an Enemy?

IT WOULD be a gain if we would try to clear up in our minds the different shades of meanings which the one word "love" is made to serve. When we are told to love our neighbors as we love ourselves, and to love our enemies, manifestly the meaning of love is not romantic or affectionate or parental or filial. Many words are difficult, that is, they are mere attempts, the best we can do, to express the idea. It is so with the word love.

In the great thirteenth chapter of first Corinthians our King James translation uses the word charity, and the more recent translations have substituted the word love. Charity is better. Of course, it does not mean charity in the sense of giving a dime to a beggar. It means being kind and unselfish, free from envy and jealousy, not rejoicing in injustice, but welcoming the truth and not detraction in regard to our neighbors and even our enemies.

As used in the Bible in sentences like loving our neighbors and enemies, the word love carries a combination of justice and kindness, with thinking and doing justice as the basis. It is the spirit of practical good-will. What-

ever of sentiment may precede or follow it, justice is the foundation of satisfactory relations. How easily and conventionally we use the words brotherhood of man, and loving one's neighbor, without thinking of the ABC of justice. Justice is something practical, has its feet on the ground.

Our translation of the New Testament, in several outstanding passages, does not use the word justice where this is really the actual translation. For example, it is, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his justice." And in St. Paul's definition of the kingdom of heaven he says, it is "Justice and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." When our King James translation was made, righteousness meant primarily rightness or justice. The Catholic translation does in fact use the word justice in these passages.

It is worth while to dwell on this thought, because the basis of satisfactory relations amongst men must be justice. There must be justice before the law, justice in our thoughts, justice in our dealings. This applies to individuals, to governments, and to races. Dr. Washington once said that the best Southern speech on race relations he ever heard was made by a certain governor who began by saying that he laid no particular claim to a sentiment of love for Negroes, but he believed in justice. This is different from the sentiment that still hovers around the ghost of the "old black mammy." However fine and even beautiful such sentiment may be, we see the difference. In the ordinary relations of life justice is the staple. But, of course, we need kindness and mercy to supplement justice. There must always be Good Samaritans.

Does not the wonderful, often quoted verse in the book of the Prophet Micah cover the whole ground? It is in the Old Testament, but it is a Christian verse. "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Here we have the whole matter beautifully knit together—justice, mercy, and reverent obedience to the will of Him who is Father of all.

II

What is Hating Your Mother?

IN THE twenty-sixth verse of the fourteenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Luke, it reads: "If any man come to me and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he can not be my disciple." Now it is perfectly evident what our Lord means. He means, of course, that in following Him there may arise some occasion when everything has to give way and a man must take issue with, and perhaps separate himself from, even his mother. I personally knew such a case. The young man's integrity of conscience was at stake, loyalty to his vision of justice was at stake, his every sense of right was at stake. His attitude of opposition wounded his mother deeply, but he was right. Had the mother lived longer, she would have acknowledged that he was right.

This seems to me to illustrate what Christ meant. He was not thinking of sentiment. At no time did the young man hate his mother—that is, in the sense in which we ordinarily use the word hate. On the contrary, he was all the time deeply distressed at her distress, and perhaps loved her more than ever, just as Christ loved people whom He knew to be in the wrong.

The fact is that the word hate, like the word love, is made to serve a number of meanings for which we might well wish that distinct words had been available. In some sense neither hate nor love implies sentiment. In a sermon preached several years ago one of the ablest theologians and preachers of the English Church said outright: "Love is not sentiment." He was, of course, speaking of the word as used in most passages of the New Testament.

So when our Lord spoke about hating father and mother, it was not "sentiment" that He had in mind. The young man mentioned above never for a moment had the "sentiment of hate" for his mother. What he was about was not hating his mother in this sense, but following the will of

God. In the New Testament love generally means just this, namely, being and doing in accordance with the will of God; and hate means opposition to what is against the will of God. So loving an enemy means being and doing toward him as God would have us be and do, under any and all circumstances; that is, forgiving and ready to help.

In thinking about neighbors and enemies we have to remember that God cares about one person just the same as about any other. He expects us to think and act toward all others as we would wish them to act toward ourselves. This is the statement of a fact. There is no "sentiment" about it, any more than our Lord was thinking of the sentimental side when He said that under certain circumstances a man must hate his father or mother.

We ought always to use judgment in our reading of the Bible. I do not mean that there is any requirement of great learning and high intellect, but there is requirement of common sense. We sometimes destroy the very force and power of the words by putting into them the tone of sentimentality when they are tremendous statements of fact or sledge-hammer commands. One of these sledge-hammer commands is, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. When we think of its great meaning, we see that it is no impossible command, but an absolute rule for right relations between man and man.

J. H. Dillard

February 29, 1944

Mr. Henry Ware
Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ware:

On January 6, 1944, the Southern Regional Council was chartered by the State of Georgia. Its purpose is stated in the charter as " . . . the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives."

The charter meeting of the Council was held in Atlanta on February 16-17, at which time directors were elected and by-laws and a program of action were adopted.

We are very sorry to find that through some inadvertence you did not receive an invitation to charter membership and, therefore, did not attend the recent meeting. At this time, however, we are inviting you to become a charter member of the Council, which will hold its first annual meeting in October 1944. We trust that you will accept election and will give the Council your enthusiastic support, and we hope that we may have your early reply.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

Charter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 31, 1944

Some time ago we wrote you and invited you to accept charter membership in the Southern Regional Council. Perhaps our letter did not reach you, or perhaps you have meant to reply and have been too busy to do so.

The enclosed pamphlet, "The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Purpose," will give you the sort of information which you might like to have before deciding whether to accept membership in the Council.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization composed of liberal-minded Southerners, white and Negro, who believe that the South needs a more positive and courageous approach to its social, civic, economic, and racial problems. The strength of the Council is derived from its members, who determine its policies and its program of action. It is therefore imperative that the Council have the whole-hearted support of a large number of progressive people throughout the South.

We should like very much to enroll you as an active member of the Council. Dues are at present only one dollar a year, but additional contributions are, of course, welcome. Whether your answer is affirmative or negative, won't you please check the appropriate items on the enclosed blank and return it to us?

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

As you probably know, the Southern Regional Council, which was an outgrowth of the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences, was chartered by the State of Georgia on January 6, 1944. Its purpose, as set forth in the charter, is "...the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; and to cooperate with local, state, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives."

The Incorporators of the Council designated as charter members all persons who took part in one or more of the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences and all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. At the organization meeting, which was held in Atlanta on February 16-17, these members voted to extend the privilege of charter membership to all persons who signed the Statement issued by the Atlanta Conference of white leaders on April 8, 1943. As a signer of the Atlanta Statement, you are invited to accept charter membership in the Council.

The structure of the Southern Regional Council is democratic. It is governed by its members. It has a Board of Directors of fifty and an Executive Committee of seven plus the elected officers. The officers of the Council are: President- Howard W. Odum; Vice presidents- P. B. Young, Homer P. Rainey, and Carter Wesley. The members and Board of Directors will meet annually in Atlanta on the second Wednesday in October. Members will pay dues, and the amount of dues for the current year has been set at $1.00.

In these critical times, and particularly in the post-war days that lie ahead, it is imperative that liberal and progressive people in the South stand together for a constructive approach to the civic, economic, and racial problems of the South. The Southern Regional Council can be a great force for good in the South if it has the wholehearted support of a large group of members who represent the leadership of both races. We trust that you will accept charter membership and will give the Council your enthusiastic support. A reply form is enclosed for your convenience in indicating your decision.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 3, 1944

Mr. J. W. Thurston
Orange, Virginia

Dear Mr. Thurston:

As requested in your letter of November 1, we are mailing you today two dozen copies of THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE. With these we are including the September issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER and single copies of several pamphlets which we hope will be helpful to you in leading your discussion group. Two of the pamphlets are publications of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which merged with the Southern Regional Council early this year.

The Council has two classes of membership: Voting members, persons who live within the Council's area (thirteen Southern states) and who subscribe to the aims and purposes of the organization as set forth in the charter; Associates, persons living outside this area who are interested in the organization and wish to keep in touch with the work by receiving our literature. The dues in each case are $1.00 a year, and members are requested to make additional contributions, if possible, toward the organization's expenses.

We are delighted to know that you are interested in our work and that you think other members of your discussion group will be, also. We shall be glad to have you fill in and return the enclosed membership application card if you would like to be affiliated with the Council. Additional cards are being included with the pamphlets, in case others in the group wish to become members.

Each Council member receives THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, as well as all pamphlets issued by the organization. For those who wish to receive the paper, only, the annual subscription rate is 25 cents.

We shall look forward to hearing from you, and we hope that you will let us know if we can be of further service to your discussion group.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

JOSEPH W. THURSTON
PRESIDENT
HARTFORD GOLF CLUB
P. O. DRAWER 1379
HARTFORD, CONN.

IRVING C. WRIGHT
VICE PRESIDENT
80 SUMMER STREET
BOSTON, MASS.

J. BROOKS FENNO, JR.
TREASURER
100 OLD ENGLAND ROAD
CHESTNUT HILL, MASS.

PERCY C. ROGERS
SECRETARY
VEAZEY HOUSE
EXETER, N. H.

NEW ENGLAND LAWN TENNIS ASSOCIATION

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
~~P. O. DRAWER 1379~~
~~HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT~~

Orange Va
Nov 6 - 40

CR - 1 2.00
11/3

Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen

Enclosed please find my check for two dollars in payment for two copies "The Southern Regional Council, its Origin & Purpose" which please mail to the address given below.

I conducted a discussion group during the winter composed of the leading men & women of Orange and among the subjects naturally is the racial question. What you are doing meets with my highest approval & many of my friends here I am sure will feel the same way

sincerely yours
J. W. Thurston

address
J. W. THURSTON
ORANGE, VA

24 = #1 - 37
1 = #2 - 6, 33, 38

P.S. I find the racial question is to be the subject of our first meeting so please send pamphlets on it as possible.

P.S. Are you taking members into your organization & if so what is the procedure?

Are you accepting subscriptions now to "The Southern Frontier"?

November 24, 1944

Dr. Ralph F. Strebel
Professor of Education
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York

Dear Dr. Strebel:

It will be entirely agreeable to us to have you quote the complete sentence from UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS as stated in your letter of November 20.

As requested, we are sending you herewith a copy of our pamphlet THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE, which will acquaint you with the background and program of the Council. We are delighted to know of your interest and shall be glad to have your cooperation. As you will see on Page 5 of the pamphlet, our by-laws require that regular members shall be residents of the Council's area, which includes the thirteen Southern states listed. Provision is made, however, for interested persons outside this area to become Associates of the Council. We hope that you will fill in and return the enclosed blank, authorizing us to include your name on our roll.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. Perhaps I should say that as a Council member you would receive THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER and other materials issued by the organization.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

November 20, 1944

Miss Emily H. Clay, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

Thank you for your letter of the 16th in which you give me permission to quote from Understanding Our Neighbors.

I am very sorry that typographical errors occurred in the material which I sent you. Obviously they will be corrected.

In your letter you suggested that I drop out "want social equality" and substitute for it "wish to invade the social life of white people". If it is agreeable to you, I would much prefer to use the complete sentence as it is stated on page 29 of your pamphlet, Understanding Our Neighbors, which is as follows:

> "8. That Negroes want social equality - that they wish to invade the social life of white people...."

I shall be pleased to receive a copy of the pamphlet, The Southern Regional Council, Its Origin and Purpose. I am much interested in this whole problem, and want to keep up with the most recent developments in the field.

Cordially yours,

R. F. Strebel

Ralph F. Strebel
Professor of Education

RFS/S

November 28, 1944

Mrs. Mary H. Spight
900 Cross Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Spight:

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, to which your letter of November 20 was addressed, merged with the Southern Regional Council in February of this year.

We are glad to have your check for $2.25, covering renewal of the nine subscriptions to THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER which were listed in your letter.

It occurs to us that you and the other persons on your list might be interested in becoming members of the Council. We are, therefore, sending you herewith a copy of our pamphlet THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE, which will acquaint you with the background and program of the organization. With this we are including membership-application cards, which we shall be glad to have filled in and returned by anyone who wishes to have his name presented to the Membership Committee. The next meeting of the Committee will be held on December 5.

In the case of the Urban League, our by-laws provide for the affiliation of "organized groups or agencies whose aims and methods are, in whole or in substantial part, similar to the aims and methods of the Southern Regional Council."

Individual membership dues for the current year are $1.00, while the amount of dues for an Affiliate is $2.50. In either case, of course, credit will be given for the FRONTIER subscriptions which you have sent us, since members of the Council are entitled to all publications of the organization.

We shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

January 10, 1945

The Rev. Arthur W. Womack
676 Washington Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Womack:

We are glad to have your letter of January 3 to Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, former editor of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, with your subscription to our Mailing-List Service.

As you probably know, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which originally published the FRONTIER, merged with the Southern Regional Council at its charter meeting in February 1944. The enclosed pamphlet, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE, will acquaint you with the background and program of the new organization. It occurs to us that you might be interested in becoming a member of the Council. If so, please fill in and return the attached card, and the $1.00 which you sent for the Mailing-List subscription will be credited as dues.

The Council needs the cooperation of a large number of representative citizens throughout the South, and we hope that you will authorize us to present your name to our Membership Committee. As a member you would, of course, receive the FRONTIER and any pamphlets issued by the Council.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

J. H. THOMAS, CHM. STEWARD BOARD
PROF. JAMES G. KING, SECRETARY
J. W. BUMPUS, TREASURER

W. H. OWEN, CHM. TRUSTEE BOARD
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WASHINGTON AVE., AT ORLEANS ST.
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CONFERENCE DIRECTOR
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
PRESS REPORTER FOR
THE NTAL GOSPEL SINGERS
CONVENTION INC. AND FEDERATED
COUNCIL OF NEGRO CHURCHES

ASSISTANTS
R. D. JEFFERIES
E. T. ARMSTRONG
M. V. LYNK, M. D.

Jan. 3rd. 1945 .

Mrs Jessie Daniel Ames
Editor Southern Frontier

My dear Editor :

Enclosed fine one ($I.00) dollar for which kindly kindly send the " Southern Frontier"and whatever else you send with it .

It is a very newsey sheet with valuable information which makes one poorer in knowledge without it .

Sincerely yours ,

Arthur W. Womack

Arthur W.Womack .

January 19, 1945

Mrs. T. P. Yeatman
Route 1
Columbia, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Yeatman:

We are delighted to know of your interest in the Southern Regional Council. As requested, we are sending under separate cover a number of pamphlets, with several issues of our monthly paper THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, which we hope will be helpful to you in your work in the Fourth Province. Since I, too, am an Episcopalian, I am especially anxious to have the women of the Province cooperate with us in this important work.

You are, no doubt, already acquainted with the purpose of the Council. In the pamphlet entitled THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE, however, you will find a brief statement concerning its program, and the December issue of the FRONTIER tells something of our plans for 1945.

The Council believes that now as never before the people of the South must mobilize their spiritual and intellectual resources in the interest of constructive social change. It needs the cooperation of a large number of representative citizens throughout the South. We hope very much that you will be interested in becoming a member of the Council and that you will return the enclosed membership application card, authorizing us to add your name to our roll. We shall be glad to apply as dues the $1.00 which you sent for the literature, since members are entitled to our pamphlets, as well as the FRONTIER.

We are very glad, indeed, that you are planning to attend the meeting of women which Dr. Johnson has called, and we shall reserve a room for you at the Piedmont Hotel as requested.

We shall look forward to the pleasure of meeting you but, in the meantime, we hope that you will accept membership in the Council.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Woman's Auxiliary
to the National Council
in the Province of Sewanee

PROVINCIAL REPRESENTATIVES

Representative on National Board—
Miss Alpha B. Nash
Box 204, Sarasota, Fla.

Member of National Board—
Mrs. John F. Heard
1404 Emory Road N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

Daughters of the King—
Mrs. Chas. E. Wood
2708 Central Ave., Tampa, Fla.

Member National Council
Mrs. Henry J. MacMillan
118 S. Fourth St., Wilmington, N. C.

DIOCESAN PRESIDENTS

Alabama—
Mrs. Frank J. Inge
Eutaw, Ala.

Atlanta—
Mrs. Alvin E. Foster
1179 Oakdale Rd., Atlanta, Ga.

East Carolina—
Mrs. W. O. S. Southerland
208 S. Third St., Wilmington, N. C.

Florida—
Mrs. B. C. Riley
625 Washington St., Gainesville, Fla.

Georgia—
Mrs. Roy Breen
Jesup, Ga.

Kentucky—
Mrs. J. Brian McCormick
West Wind Road, Indian Hills,
Louisville, Ky.

Lexington—
Mrs. Louise Allen Short
115 Sycamore Road,
Lexington, Ky.

Louisiana—
Mrs. Duke O. Babin
1732 Cadiz St.
New Orleans, La.

Mississippi—
Mrs. Seth Wheatly
Greenwood, Miss.

North Carolina—
Mrs. E. G. Peoples
Oxford, N. C.

South Carolina—
Mrs. Frank McLeod
Sumter, S. C.

South Florida—
Miss Mildred Gibbons
918 First National Bank Bldg.
Tampa 2, Fla.

Tennessee—
Mrs. Ferdinand Powell
201 East 9th Ave., Johnson City, Tenn.

Western North Carolina—
Mrs. A. B. Stoney
Lone Pine, Morganton, N. C.

Upper South Carolina—
Mrs. J. Floyd White
115 Pinckney St., Chester, S. C.

COLORED BRANCHES

East Carolina—
Mrs. Robert I. Johnson
65 Queen St., New Bern, N. C.

Georgia—
Mrs. A. R. Jackson
538 East Park Ave., Savannah, Ga.

Mississippi—
Mrs. Paul S. Allen
4th St. Drug Store, Columbus, Miss.

South Carolina—
Mrs. Stephen B. Mackey
54 Bogard St., Charleston, S. C.

South Florida—
Mrs. Kate S. Dean
3242 Charles Ave., Cocoanut Grove
Miami, Fla.

Upper South Carolina—
Mrs. Vivian Pompey
1615 Wayne St., Columbia, S. C.

PRESIDENT
Miss Mary E. King
736 Piedmont Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
Mrs. William Grimball
5 Colonial St.
Charleston, S. C.

SECRETARY-TREASURER
Mrs. Louis J. Poisson
318 South Third St.
Wilmington, N. C.

DEPARTMENT REPRESENTATIVES

Missions and Church Extension—
Mrs. Wm. L. Balthis
302 S. York St.
Gastonia, N. C.

Christian Education—
Mrs. John A. Morson
907 Main St.
Greenville, Miss.

Christian Social Relations—
Mrs. T. P. Yeatman
Route 1, Columbia, Tenn.

Promotion—
Mrs. Southall W. Tate
7008 Zimple St.
New Orleans, La.

United Thank Offering Chairman—
Mrs. William Grimball
5 Colonial St.
Charleston, S. C.

College Work—
Mrs. Clifton Pannell
25 Patton Place, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Route I, Columbia, Tennessee
January 11th., 1946

Miss Emily H. Clay, Sec'y.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay -

Enclosed please find a check for one dollar ($1.00) for any publications from the Southern Regional Council that will be of value to me, as Representative on the Department of Christian Social Relations, in the Fourth Province.

My son, J. P. Yeatman, now 'overseas' for over two years, was working towards his Doctor's Degree, at the University of North Carolina, under Dr. Howard Odum, and, through him, I have been greatly interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council.

I shall appreciate greatly anything you may send me.

Very sincerely,
(Mrs. J. P.) Mary H. Yeatman
Provincial Representative Dept. Christian Social Relations

In cooperation with the war effort the Mid-South Conference of The Rural Department of N. E. A. will not convene in Atlanta, Georgia on February 1, 2, 3.

Perhaps a streamlined conference may be arranged for at a later date.

Members of the Georgia organization may expect a letter concerning the activities of that group soon.

Katie Downs, President
Jan. 22, 1945 Georgia D. S. C. D.

✓ 8/ 5/45 card made
m

231 Pine St.
Suffolk, Va.
March 28, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson,

Under the other set-up of the Interracial Commission of Atlanta, my name was on their mailing list. I have been informed that the publication of pamphlets from time to time will be under the Southern Regional Council. But I am sending in my name as one who is interested in news of your interracial work and should like to be kept on your mailing list.

Thanks much for such consideration.

Sincerely yours,
E. E. Chappelle

card made - 11/3/45 m

W. C. MORGAN, Educational Director

MRS. M. L. BRELAND, Secretary

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

D. SWAN HAWORTH, Pastor

Vicksburg, Mississippi

8 April 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

A few days ago while talking with you in Jackson, Mississippi I suggested that we would like to have any regular printed matter sent out from your office that would be of help to our Local Committee on Inter-racial Cooperation. I wish you would please put our name on your mailing list. Such matter can, at present, be addressed to Mr. Emmett Ward, Merchants Bank Building, Vicksburg, Mississippi.

Sincerely yours,

D. Swan Haworth

D. Swan Haworth.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
RICHMOND 16

March 15, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am anxious to be kept on your mailing list for the clip sheet, and I told my friend, Mr. Farrar Shelton, Farmville, Virginia, that I would ask you to add his name to the list. He is doing some thoughtful and effective work in trying to improve racial understanding in Farmville.

I am glad to learn through various persons who attended the Atlanta meeting in February that the council is getting off to a very promising start.

Sincerely yours,

J. L. Blair Buck
Director of Teacher Education

JLBB:G

P. S. Dr. James Hugo Johnson, Dean of Virginia State College for Negroes at Petersburg, Virginia, has just been in my office, and I told him that I would ask you to add his name to your mailing list also.

J. L. B. B.

Cards made
1/30/42
m

February 9, 1945

Mrs. T. P. Yeatman
Route 1
Columbia, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Yeatman:

Enclosed herewith is our check for $18.11 to reimburse you for expenses incurred in connection with your trip to Atlanta for the conference on February 2. We were glad that you could be present, and we trust that the meeting will result in our having a closer working relationship with you and other church women in positions of leadership in the South.

We had hoped that you would return the membership application card, authorizing us to enroll you as a member of the Southern Regional Council. Thinking that you may have overlooked the card, I am sending another one herewith. We shall be happy to have you accept membership in the Council, especially in view of your official position in the Episcopal Church in this Province. May we hear from you soon?

It was a pleasure to meet you, and I shall look forward to seeing you again.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Card made
2/11-1-45

M

Route I, Columbia, Tennessee
February 7th., 1945.

Miss Emily H. Clay
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay -

The idea of having church women, of different denominations, from many Southern States, to meet together, and discuss the problems, confronting them now, and in the Post-war days, was indeed a splendid one.

It was indeed a pleasure and a privilege to be one of that group, and I am grateful for the opportunity of being present, to hear all its deliberations, at the meeting at the Piedmont Hotel, on February the second.

I shall do what I can to have us the Christian Social Relations Secretaries in the Fourth Province, all ~~that~~ I learned, at that fine meeting.

I appreciate greatly all that you did for me, while I was in Atlanta. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you, again, in the near future.

Warm regards for you and Dr. Johnson, and best wishes for your work.

Very sincerely,
Mary W. Yeatman

INVITATION

(Enc. #1-2-SRC,1945-
Jan.SF
Clippings from
Oct.&Nov.SF

February 22, 1945

Miss Flora Belle Williams
Appomattox High School
Appomattox, Virginia

Dear Miss Williams:

Your card addressed to the Interracial Commission has been delivered to this office, since the Commission merged with the Southern Regional Council at its charter meeting last year.

According to the records kept at Tuskegee Institute, there were two lynchings during 1944. I am attaching clippings which give some of the details.

We regret that we do not have for distribution the material about Dr. George Washington Carver which you are seeking. If you will write to the Carver Foundation at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, I am sure that you can get it.

We are interested in hearing that you are developing another "Unit—The Negro." The one which you prepared a few years ago has been helpful to us in answering inquiries from persons who are working on units of study. We hope that you will let us know when the new one is completed, and we shall be glad to hear from you if we can be of assistance in any way.

I am sending you herewith a copy of the revised edition of the pamphlet AMERICA'S TENTH MAN, which was distributed originally by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. With this is included a copy of THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE, as well as a leaflet telling of the program for 1945 which was adopted at our annual meeting in December.

The Council believes that now as never before the people of the South must mobilize their spiritual and intellectual resources in the interest of constructive social change. It needs the cooperation of a large number of representative citizens throughout the South. We hope that you will be interested in becoming a member of the Council, and we are enclosing a membership application card, which we shall be glad to have you fill in and return to us. As a member you will, of course, receive our monthly publication THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, a copy of which is included with the pamphlets, and all other materials issued by the Council.

We shall look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Appomattox, Va.
Jan. 24, 1945

Dear Sir,

Please send me some material on Geo. W. Carver. I had collected quite a bit but some one borrowed it and never returned same. I'd like to have some of the pamphlets he wrote also.

Let me know how many lynching took place in 1944. I am working on a unit The Negro and will be glad of any material you may send me.

Sincerely
Miss Gloa Belle Williams
Counselor for A.H.S.

March 2, 1945

Mr. Harry S. Strozier
Pearson ~~Pearson~~ Building
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Strozier:

As a signer of the Atlanta Statement, which was in reply to the Durham Statement issued by a group of Southern Negroes in October 1942, you were invited to become a member of the Southern Regional Council and to attend its charter meeting in February of last year. We have just learned through Mr. A. C. Robinson, who is now associated with our organization, that you did not receive the letter. We regret this very much, and we should like to renew the invitation at this time.

The enclosed pamphlet and leaflet will tell you something of the background and program of the Council. In its effort to promote "the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South," the Council needs the cooperation of a large number of representative citizens throughout the South. We hope, therefore, that you will be interested in becoming a member and that you will return the enclosed card authorizing us to enroll you.

Members of the Council receive the monthly publication, THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, and all pamphlets issued by the organization. The annual dues are only $1.00, but members are asked to make an additional contribution to the current budget if possible.

We shall look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

March 30, 1945

Mrs. T. P. Yeatman
Route One
Columbia, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Yeatman:

Your recent letter, asking what would be expected of you as a member of the Southern Regional Council, should have had an earlier reply.

As a member, you might be called upon from time to time for information concerning situations that might arise in your state or community. Then, we should hope that you would find it possible to extend the Council's program through your work with the Department of Christian Social Relations, and perhaps through other organizations of which you are a member. I am sure that you would not find the duties of membership arduous.

In view of the fact that the Synod of the Fourth Province voted last October to "commend to the attention and active cooperation of the various Departments of Christian Social Relations the work of the Southern Regional Council," we should be especially glad to have you accept membership, which would give us a closer working relationship. To save you the trouble of looking up the membership card, I am enclosing another one herewith, and I hope that you will decide to fill it in and return it to us.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Enc.
gm 52.
mark copy

Route One
Columbia, Tennessee
February 26th, 1945.

Miss Emily H. Clay
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Miss Clay -

Pardon the delay in acknowledging the receipt of your check for eighteen dollars and eleven cents ($18.11) to cover my expenses on the trip to Atlanta.

The meeting of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. was most interesting, and we learned so much of great value, to pass on to the Secre-

taries of Christian Social Relations in the Fourth Province.

I belong to so many organizations at present, I hesitate about joining another one as fine as the Southern Regional Council, Inc., is. Please tell me what would be expected of me, if I should become a member?

Beside my Provincial work, I have my Diocesan Auxiliary work for the Shut-Ins & the Isolated Church People & my Parochial work - besides belonging to Clubs, etc.

Warm regards, best wishes for you and your work - and grateful appreciation of all you did for me, while I was in Atlanta. Remember me to Dr. Johnson please.

Very cordially yours,
(Mrs. J. P.) Mary W. Yeatman

May 11, 1945

Dr. Alva W. Taylor
101 Bowling Avenue
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Taylor:

Thank you for giving us an opportunity to acquaint Mr. Virgil Williams, of the General Relocation Project, Tupay, Idaho, with the work of the Southern Regional Council. We are sending him copies of our printed materials, as requested.

Please let us know whenever we can be of service, and come to see us the next time you are in Atlanta.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

INVITATION

October 30, 1945

Dr. E. W. Taggart
Masonic Temple
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Dr. Taggart:

We are pleased to learn through the Rev. J. Clyde Perry that you would like to attend the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on November 14.

We shall be very glad indeed to have you become a member of the Council and to attend our meeting. An invitation is enclosed herewith and we hope that you will return the accompanying card, authorizing us to enroll you.

We shall look forward to an early reply.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

Please fill out this sheet and mail it to:

Miss Emily Clay, Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Check appropriate items)

I accept charter membership in the Southern Regional Council ..... ( )

I enclose $1.00 in payment of dues for the year 1944 ..... ( )

I should like to make an additional contribution in the amount of ... $_____

_____

_____

I prefer not to assume the obligations of active membership ..... ( )

However, I should like to help in the work of the Council by

making a contribution in the amount of ..... $_____

_____

_____

Signed _____

Address _____

_____

Date_____

Reprinted from **The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,**
Philadelphia, Vol. 357 (January, 1965), pp. 108–112
Printed in U. S. A.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By Leslie W. Dunbar

The Southern Regional Council

By Leslie W. Dunbar

Abstract: The Southern Regional Council evolved from the Commission on Interracial Co-operation formed in 1919. Shaped by and shaping Southern history, it has reflected whatever has been best in Southern ideals, taking its present structure in war-year (1944) optimism and declaring against segregation in 1951. Odum's founding vision sought to solve the South's racial problems through a commanding regional body's oblique attack on underlying stresses—economic, social, political—but events early forced the Council to focus on race solely. Disruption of traditional racial patterns by the civil rights movement may now allow a shift in emphasis from human relations to human resources. Commitment combined with objectivity has been the hallmark of publications and information services. The council comprises a co-optative board of 100, which directs policy, and a staff. Autonomous but in close liaison are state Councils on Human Relations which have general membership. Because the Council is noncompetitive and has enjoyed trust, it frequently administers programs through and with other agencies. Flexible and unencumbered by restraining policies, the Council looks to embody a future South of constructive dialogue and cultivation of resources.

Leslie W. Dunbar, Ph.D., Atlanta, Georgia, has taught at Cornell University, Smith College, and Mt. Holyoke College. He worked for the Atomic Energy Commission, 1951–1954, and was a Guggenheim Fellow, 1954–1955. He was Director of Research for the Southern Regional Council from 1954 to 1961 and has been Executive Director of that organization since 1961. He has contributed articles to various journals and magazines.

THE Southern Regional Council (SRC), twenty years old in 1964 and successor organization to the former Commission on Interracial Co-operation begun in 1919, has been an indigenous strand of Southern history. In some measure, which others must estimate, it has also helped shape that history. Contrary to the view widely held, a concern for racial justice and democracy has always been an element of the Southern tradition, and, even when ineffective and hard-pressed, was never altogether extinguished among the region's whites. The Council has embodied and increased this element, deriving strength and opportunities from its growth, shortcomings from its vicissitudes.

FORMATION

The Council was formed during the war years, at one of those occasional moments in the region's history when there was a widespread opening of the mind of the white South to a disposition toward, and even a hope for, change. Indeed, without this happy climate the Council would not, perhaps could not, have been established. But a large part of the Council's difficulties since have had their origin in the same happy fact. For the Council was intended by its founders to be a body of commanding regional stature and authority; indeed, the prominence of a large number of the 292 white persons who signed the "Atlanta Statement" of 1943 promised that it would be. This founding assumption withered quickly, however, as the liberal moment passed and prestigious names deserted the infant they had helped birth, and as over the South Negroes turned to the more immediately productive leadership of the NAACP lawyers to advance their cause. When the Council in 1951 took an explicit and public stand against segregation, many—but not all!—remaining whites of power quietly departed. In the last few years, there has been a return, not of the same persons, of course, but of new men of prominence, and the white side of Council membership again approximates in distinction the Negro membership.

If it may seem passing strange for an employee of the Council to write in these detached terms of it, the explanation is at once both simple and basic. For the Council, as was said before, is a part of the South's history, and one must look at it not only with love but with realism. The Council never had nor has a realistic chance to be anything more than the South at its best. It can never exceed—though of course it can fall short of—its environment of men and ideals and intelligence.

AIMS AND METHODS

The intellectual midwife of the Southern Regional Council was Howard W. Odum, who saw in its creation the possibility of an immense catalyst furthering his dream of regional development. True to Odum's view that the racial relations of the South could not be changed and perfected by a frontal assault, but only by encountering and solving them in the context of the other political, social, educational, and economic problems of the region, the Council set out in its early days with all these interests. Very soon, however, its program focused on race, and has stayed there. Odum's great strategy was artificial; race so undercuts and overhangs every Southern problem that none can be rationally treated without first wresting it from enslavement to a debilitating system of race relations. Somewhat paradoxically, Odum's strategy may now, twenty years later, be the road for continued usefulness of the Council.

Again, this is said with the detachment that sees the Council not merely as an organization to which one has grown deeply attached and identified,

but as the representative of liberalism in the Southern region. The civil rights movement will have overcome the old race relations of the South for but unsatisfying results if the same energy and intelligence are not soon addressed to making the political, social, and economic life of the region—and the nation—adequately responsive to the needs of the newly emancipated people; this is to say that emphasis must shift from the cultivation of human relations to the cultivation of human resources.

Even in the boldness of its first days, the Council proposed as its methods research, information, and interracial dialogue. Essentially, these are still the methods. Especially since 1951, when the Council publicized its stand against segregation, its research and information work has been faced with an interesting challenge. Thoroughly committed to one side of the era's most bitter controversy, the Council has, nevertheless, claimed objectivity and factual accuracy for its research publications and information services. Combining partisan commitment and objectivity is sufficiently rare as to be a delight for those who attempt it, and the steady growth of attention to the Council's publications and the rather dizzying increase of demand on its information services suggest that the attempt has not failed.

Early publications of the Council had an impressive circulation. Among them, such pamphlets as *The South: America's Opportunity Number One* (1945); Rupert B. Vance, *Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation,* with an introduction by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia (1946); and Dorothy Dickens' *Wanted: A Healthy South* (1946) reveal something of the initial thrust of the Council. Among the many publications of this pre-1954 period, another which had wide attention and direct influence on Southern practices was *Race in the News* (1950). The Council has always had a basic interest in limitations on suffrage, and has reported and commented frequently. Two pamphlets in particular, released in 1957 and 1959, and both written by Margaret Price, had substantial impact on the legislative history of the civil rights acts. *The Federal Executive and Civil Rights* (1961) received careful attention by the incoming Kennedy Administration. George McMillan's *Racial Violence and Law Enforcement* (1960) has been widely used in Southern police training. Vivian W. Henderson, *The Economic Status of Negroes* (1963) and Robert Coles, *The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study* (1963) offered light and bearing on basic issues. Many of the Council's recent publications have sought to interpret confused events to a perplexed but deeply concerned nation; an example of these was Howard Zinn's *Albany: A Study in National Responsibility* (1962). With caution, SRC has ventured into book publication; to date, there have been Benjamin Muse, *Virginia's Massive Resistance* (Indiana University Press, 1961); Muse, *Ten Years of Prelude* (Viking, 1964); and James McBride Dabbs, *Who Speaks For the South?* (Funk and Wagnalls, 1964). Through the years, a monthly magazine, *New South,* has come out.

THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

In 1954, the Council ceased being a membership organization in the usual sense. Originally, it had absorbed and maintained several state groups created under the guidance of its predecessor, the former Commission. Now it was to decentralize, establishing in the various Southern states Councils on Human Relations, to which all membership was transferred and which, about 1957, became legally autonomous bodies. The Southern Regional Council is now a cooptative body of about 100 members.

Between it and the state Councils on Human Relations the relationship that has developed is somewhat like that between parents and their adult children: as intimate as desired, but not binding. The state councils are an expression of the "grass roots" philosophy of one of my predecessors, the late and much beloved Dr. George S. Mitchell. They, and their many local chapters, give strength, outreach, and a capacity for local attentiveness and action. It is within them that the old, and still firmly held, belief in the essentiality of interracial contact and dialogue and co-operative action on real problems is today largely expressed.

The present stucture has also had the unintended beneficial consequence that, freed from the exigencies of a mass membership, SRC has during these years of tension been able to move, usually quietly but generally freely and effectively—one believes—in field work of many kinds. There have also been unending consultations with people well outside the orbit of civil rights movement; during these years, the much lamented breakdown of communication between the races has not been nearly so real as that between the white South and the rest of the nation, and SRC has been one of the few open transmission lines.

A not so beneficial consequence has been that the new structure almost inevitably yielded, as a by-product, a heavily staff-oriented operation for SRC. This has enabled SRC to develop an unusual degree of flexibility of program and versatile staff skills; but surely long-run interests, not only of the organization but of the liberalism which it expresses for the South, require that the SRC lay membership—"the board"—resume active policy direction. Or, to put it differently, in the days of "massive resistance," when only defense strategies were possible, they were probably best left to the professionals; in the fluid and progressive present, lay leadership all over the South must assert itself in behalf of the new opportunities.

This is not to say that the "board" is idle. Its members comprise a very large chunk of the progressive leadership of the South, active in all fields of struggle and reform. But for the most part the conspicuous leadership they supply is outside the program activities of the Council itself. They greatly strengthen that program, however, and not only by the weight of their names. At least as important is the base they give to SRC's strategic contacts and influences throughout the region, and the deeper dimensions they give to the staff's understanding of events and policies by their frequent informal reports.

There seems to be a growing intellectual awareness throughout the nation that some measure of conflict, even a large one at times, is indispensable to social reform. Yet concurrently, we have the emergence and growth of the new profession of "intergroup relations," which has always, even though sometimes unacknowledged, the aim of minimizing if not preventing conflict, and of containing it whenever loosed. Another paradox is that the most radical wing of the civil rights movement has a thorough intellectual devotion—almost obsession—to a fuzzy "power structure" theory of social control and change, surely almost the purest of conservative theories.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Undoubtedly a good bit of SRC's work, both in the field and at the writing desk, in the decade since 1954 has sought to minimize conflict and to reach the "power structure." More in keeping with the founding vision of SRC has been the program which since early 1962 has been its largest; that is, the administration of the Voter Education

Project. Here is a combined effort by all the principal civil rights groups and many local Negro organizations to increase voter registration dramatically and, in decisive places, decisively. The Project, which will close its field work in late 1964, promises to telescope into a couple of years the voting growth which by normal trends would have taken a decade or more. Voting is no panacea and registration even less so, but without them there is no progress at all.

From the Project, SRC will draw and publish research findings, directed at the question of the effectiveness of organized activity to counterbalance depressing socioeconomic conditions. But for the present, the Project can illustrate another facet of the SRC program. Only because SRC is a noncompetitive and generally trusted agency has it been able to administer the Voter Education Project. In other ways too numerous to list, a great deal of SRC's activities involve co-operation with other agencies.

THE FUTURE

As the Voter Education Project is loyal to SRC's founding hopes, so too is the state Council on Human Relations movement. The ties between the state groups and SRC are today drawing steadily closer, and nearly everywhere the state groups and their local chapters are stronger than they have ever been. How they may prosper in the future depends chiefly on two questions. Can they shift from being defensive bands, waging a brave fight against hostile racists, to the role of creative artisans, contributing to an intelligent and humane cultivation of all the human resources of the region? Will white and Negro liberals of the South continue to find a biracial association a valued instrument for achieving their interests?

SRC's own future depends also on these same questions. We shall have the rule of civil rights in the South, but only the bold would today predict whether we shall also have an integrated social order. We stand a better chance of building one if Negroes and whites continue to believe that it is worth-while to join and work with each other, with a candor which embraces their separate identities and their common interests. The Council has taken pride in being a useful organization, free of restraining strategies and versatile enough to meet many issues. For the future, how the Council may evolve depends, as it always has, on the configuration of Southern society.

Invited _____

Accepted _____

Refused _____

No Answer _____

Remarks :

	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Dues										
Contri-butions										

From the Charter of the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Granted by the State of Georgia, January 6, 1944

"The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce racial tension, . . . racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; . . . and to cooperate with local, state, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives."

Secretary, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

I subscribe to the aims and purposes of the Southern Regional Council as set forth in the charter **(see other side)** and I accept membership in the Council.

I enclose dues for the year 194—— . . . . . $ 1.00

I enclose an additional contribution in the amount of . . . $_____

Total amount enclosed . . . $_____

Name _____ Date _____

Street or Box Number _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . INEZ B. TILLISON . .

Memo for the File "Office Policies"

Talked with Dr. Johnson today concerning vacations. Each person has two weeks vacation per year. Up to now, there has been no policy about holidays, when they fall within a vacation period. We discussed Miss Kirby's vacation which is from August 27 to September 10th during which period Labor Day falls.

Dr. Johnson stated it was agreeable to him to let this holiday not count as a part of her vacation. Therefore, she will have an extra day to add on to her vacation.

IBT

August 17, 1945

DARBY · ATLANTA

Office Procedures

MEMORANDUM

August 20, 1945

To: Dr. Johnson

From: Inez B. Tillison

Re: Holidays

It is my understanding that on the following holidays the office of the Southern Regional Council is closed.

1. New Year's Day
2. Independence Day
3. Labor Day
4. Thanksgiving Day
5. Christmas Day

Miss Clay tells me that the office has closed for a half day on Christmas Eve, but that this is not a permanent practice.

If the above information is correct I should like to add it to a file in which I am compiling all information on office policies, working toward the beginnings of an office manual.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . INEZ B. TILLISON . .

Memo for the file "Office Policies"

Re: Mailing List

There is a very strict policy concerning the use of the SRC mailing list. (It may not be used by anyone outside the SRC)

However, the Executive Director is given the privilege of using his discretion as to what is mailed out in SRC envelopes.

August 21, 1945.

DARBY · ATLANTA

JBT

September 4, 1945

To: The Staff

From: Inez B. Tillison

Re: Central Calendar

As some of you may have already noticed, we have hanging on the wall in the main office a large calendar which has enough space under each date for writing in scheduled meetings and events.

This calendar is for the convenience and use of the entire staff, and all happenings such as the following should be posted:

1. All SRC meetings, such as:
   (a) Board meetings
   (b) Annual meetings
   (c) Executive Committee meetings
   (d) Meetings of other committees
2. Any meetings sponsored by the SRC, such as the Rural Health Conference to be held on the 13th and 14th.
3. Any local community events — conventions, institutes, and meetings of general interest.
4. National or regional meetings which might be of interest to the staff or members of the Council.
5. Any information which will serve as a reminder to the entire staff -- such as posting the name of the stenographer on duty on Saturday mornings, deadline dates for special projects, etc.

The stenographers, in sending out the notices of the SRC meetings, will post those dates on the calendar, but they will not be able to catch dates of all important local, regional, and national meetings. All members of the staff are asked to inform Miss Martin of any meetings or events which should be posted on the calendar.

Thank you for your cooperation.

To: The Staff

From: Ines B. Tillison

The following division of responsibility has been worked out for stenographic coverage of meetings next week --

Monday, November 12 -

10:00 A. M.	Committee on Fellows	-Notes- Miss Martin

Tuesday, November 13 -

9:30 A. M.	Nominating Committee	-Notes- Miss Martin
10:00 A. M.	Executive Committee	-Minutes- Miss Clay
2:00 P. M.	Board of Directors	-Minutes-Miss Clay, Mrs.Tillison
7:30 P. M.	Public Relations and Publications Committees	-Notes- Mrs. Tillison
8:30 P. M.	Finance Committee	-Notes- Miss Clay

Wednesday, November 14 -

10:00 A. M. - Meeting of Members

Registration - Miss Kerby and Mrs. Saxon in charge all day.

Miss Martin - Helping in A. M.

(On duty in SRC office in P. M.)

Mrs. Warwick -Helping in P. M.

(On duty in SRC office in A. M.)

IBT:MFS

November 9, 1945

MEMORANDUM

To: Mrs. Inez B. Tillison

From: Jane Martin

If agreeable with office schedule, I should like to take one day of my annual leave on November 23, the day following the office holiday for Thanksgiving, November 22.

I should also like to return to the office at one o'clock on December 26, if permissible, so that I will not have to travel on Christmas day from Athens to Atlanta. Since I am due an afternoon off for work on Saturday morning, December 1, I should like to ask for special permission to exchange the morning of December 26 for this Saturday morning's work rather than the regularly scheduled Friday afternoon off of the week following December 1.

It would be helpful to have a memorandum about the SRC policy on the accumulation of annual leave, i.e., whether it accumulates from the day of employment with SRC or from the day of last vacation.

November 20, 1945

OK
JBT

MEMORANDUM

November 30, 1945

To: The Staff

From: I. B. T.

Some questions have come up recently concerning capitalization of such words as south, southern, state, federal, etc. So that we may be consistent in the use of capitals, I am suggesting that we follow these rules, some of which I have taken from The Secretary's Handbook by Traintor and Monro and from Modern Grammar at Work by Watts.

Names of points of the compass (north, south, etc.) are capitalized when they denote a region. Example: The South needs industrialization.

Such nouns are not capitalized when they indicate a direction - as: Turn north when you reach the bridge.

Capitalize southern, northern, etc. when used as part of proper names to designate a world division; do not capitalize such words when used to indicate parts of states. Examples: Northern Italy western New York
Western Asia southern Florida

Such words as southern, northern, etc. are not usually capitalized when merely descriptive in character such as: eastern fashions, etc. but for our use in Council letters, and etc., I am suggesting that whenever the word southern is used to express a quality or characteristic of the South, ~~that~~ the word southern be capitalized. (This would apply to eastern, northern, and western also). Examples: Southern economy Southern farmers
Southern politics Southern States
Southern customs Southern leadership

However, do not capitalize the word southern, when used in a general way, such as: southern part of the state
follow the southern route

Always capitalize nouns referring to the inhabitants of different sections of the country: Southerner, Northerner, etc.

The word state is capitalized when used with a name of a state or when used in the place of the name: State departments, State rights, State of Florida, etc.

Do not capitalize government when referring to that of a state in the United States. Capitalize government when used synonymously with the U. S. Government or when referring to that of a foreign nation. As:

a Government official
the Italian Government

Capitalize Federal when referring to the U. S. Government or Constitution. Examples:

the Federal Government
the Federal Constitution
Federal laws

In titles of books, magazines, and articles, it is conventional to capitalize the first word and all other words except prepositions containing less than four letters. A preposition of less than four letters is capitalized also if it stands last in the title.

Quotation marks are used to enclose titles of articles in magazines, poems, lectures, etc.; for titles of books italics are preferred. Titles of books, magazines, and newspapers should be underlined to denote italics.

M E M O R A N D U M

December 5, 1945

To: Dr. Johnson

From: Inez B. Tillison

While you were out of town yesterday I had a chance to discuss with Miss Clay and Miss Kerby the routine for handling SRC Membership dues. I made the following notes concerning the present procedure:

1. Money for membership dues usually comes in with the membership card signed by the member (Card # 1 attached). Miss Clay opens the mail, and makes a typed notation of the money received for bookkeeping records (as is done for all money coming in for literature, etc.)
2. A receipt is written in longhand either by Miss Clay or Miss Kerby. The first copy is sent to the member and a carbon kept for the file.
3. A letter is usually sent with the receipt, sometimes a form letter by Miss Kerby, and sometimes a special letter written by Miss Clay. See copies of form letters attached--one to those members who join and send regular dues, the other to those members who made a contribution.
4. The payment is then entered on the blue dues card (Card #2 attached). If the new member is one who has been previously invited, a blue card will already be in the file box of those invited to membership. In that case, the card is removed from that box, the address checked, the amount posted, and it is filed in the alphabetical file of SRC members. If there is no card in the "invited" box, then one is typed, the amount posted, and the card filed. This posting is sometimes done by Miss Clay

sometimes by Miss Kerby.

5. The payment is then posted to the looseleaf book record of dues and contributions. There are several of these books and they are kept in Miss Clay's office. Each page has a name, address, amount of dues and contributions, and the date; the blue card shows the date invited to membership, the date accepted, and comments, in addition to the information in the book.

6. Miss Kerby cuts the stencils for the addressing machine. Stencils for SRC members are blue and are filed in the cabinet alphabetically by states.

7. The following cards are made from the stencil:

   (a) One for the alphabetical SRC list
   (b) One for the geographical card list
   (c) One for the board list (if the member is a board member)

8. Miss Kerby then files cards:

   (a) The card which has been returned signed by the member, or in case of renewal, the white card which has been returned. This file box is on Miss Clay's desk.
   (b) The blue dues card in metal card box which is on Miss Clay's radiator.
   (c) The cards which have been run from the stencils in cardboard boxes in the cabinets under the stencils.

The above procedure also applies to Associate Members. The same procedure is used with the following exceptions:

   (1) The word "Associate" is written on the blue dues card and in the looseleaf book record of dues and contributions.
   (2) Stencils for associate members are cut on orange stencils, and filed separate from the regular members.
   (3) The card list of associate members is filed alphabetically.

Note re: Fellows, Since they do not pay for their membership, Fellows are not included in the file of blue dues cards nor in the looseleaf record of dues. Stencils for Fellows are red and are filed in a separate place in the stencil cabinet from general SRC membership. An extra card 3"X5", light green in color, is typed for Fellows, in addition to the white card list which is run from the stencil.

I would like to make the following suggestions which I believe will result in a more efficient procedure:

(1) That Miss Kerby be given full responsibility for routine in connection with memberships. That all receipts be written, all posting done, stencils cut, and all card lists made and filed by her. If the work increases, or for some reason the work gets behind, I suggest that Miss Kerby let me know and we will arrange for extra help. Up until now, Miss Clay has been writing some of the receipts, posting some of the amounts, etc.

(2) That when Miss Clay wants to write a special letter to a new member, she indicate this by a note on the membership card which she turns over to Miss Kerby. That Miss Kerby write the receipt and follow through on all the routine in connection with the member, but return the receipt to Miss Clay to be enclosed in the special letter. The receipt will serve as a memorandum to Miss Clay that she is to write a special letter. She will either write the letter herself, or will dictate it to a member of the stenographic staff. Arrangements for time needed will be made with Mrs. Tillison.

(3) That the posting to the looseleaf book be discontinued as it is a duplication of the blue dues card. Punched cards might be used with a rod so that cards cannot be removed from the file box. Whether the punched cards are used or not, a positive rule should be made that no card will ever be removed from the SRC membership file, except by Miss Kerby for posting. We should encourage the staff to use the alphabetical card list when clearing names or checking addresses.

(4) That cards for the Honorary Fellows also be made and filed in the card box with the other blue dues cards for SRC members. That word "Fellow" be typed at the top of the card as "Associate Member" is typed for associate members. In the space on the card where dues are posted, an "F" may be written to indicate that the member does not pay dues. This card should be made when a person is asked to be a Fellow, and when he accepts the date filled in, just like a regular SRC member.

(5) That Associate members' cards which are now kept in a separate place at the front of the file box, as well as the cards for the fellows, be filed along with the regular members.

(6) That the stencils for the Fellows (which are now filed separately) be filed in the geographical file of members. As they are red in color they can easily be picked out if we want to send material to the Fellows only. As the files now are, when envelopes are addressed to all members in any one state, they are addressed to "paying members" only.

A separate set of stencils are cut for the board members, and if material is sent to the Fellows very often, it would save some time to have a separate set of stencils made for Fellows.

(7) That the 3"X5" card which is typed for Fellows be discontinued as it is a duplication of the white card list run from the stencil.

In looking back over these suggestions, I don't think I have cut out many of the steps in the procedure. I do not think it is possible to cut it down any more, unless we discontinue some of the card lists which are run from the stencils. However, I believe the usefulness of these card lists more than balances the time spent in making them.

I have also looked into the procedure in connection with subscriptions to the Southern Frontier and will let you have a memorandum on that later.

IBT:MS

Later arranged to have receipts typed, & some of them numbered, so that we may know how many members we have at all times.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Dear Council Member:

We are delighted to have you accept membership in the Southern Regional Council, and we appreciate your check, covering dues and an additional contribution for the year 1945. A receipt is attached hereto.

Under separate cover we are sending you copies of our current publications, including recent issues of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER. Hereafter, you will receive the FRONTIER each month, and other materials will be sent from time to time as they are issued.

Please let us hear from you whenever we can be of service.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

file

M E M O R A N D U M

December 7, 1945

To: The Staff

From: Inez B. Tillison

Re: Christmas Holidays

The office of the Southern Regional Council will be closed on the following days:

Saturday, December 22,
Monday, December 24, and
Tuesday, December 25, 1945

Monday, December 31, 1945, and
Tuesday, January 1, 1946

MEMORANDUM

January 8, 1946.

To: Dr. Johnson

From: I.B.T.

I would like to make the following recommendations concerning salary increases for clerical staff to be effective January 1st, 1946.

1. A $15.00 a month increase for Miss Kerby. Miss Kerby has been with the organization longer than any of the other girls. According to Miss Clay's records, she started work for the Commission in May, 1943, at the rate of $95.00 a month. In March, 1944 she received an increase to $105.00 a month, and in January, 1945, was raised to $125.00 a month. The increase beginning January 1st will make her rate $140.00 a month.

   Miss Kerby is doing a fine job of keeping the membership records and mailing lists up-to-date. Miss Kerby is not a fast typist, but she does do a good job of cutting stencils. Although her position does not require a specific skill, such as stenography or knowledge of bookkeeping, it does require patience and a knack for following through on minute details. Since I came to the Council, I have added to her responsibilities the job of sending invitations to prospective members. This job was formerly handled by Mrs. Saxon.

2. An increase of $15.00 a month for Mrs. Saxon. Mrs. Saxon started work with the Council last January at the rate of $115.00 a month, and has not received an increase. This recommended increase would bring her salary up to $130.00 a month.

   From my observation, Mrs. Saxon has shown marked improvement since August (when I came to the Council). Her typing speed has increased and she has seemed to take over more responsibility in connection with the order letters. She composes a nice friendly letter in answer to inquiries. For a while I was worried about her telephone "technique", but this has improved considerably in the past couple of months.

3. I would recommend an increase of $10.00 a month for Miss Martin. Miss Martin came to the Council in April, 1944 at a starting salary of $125.00 a month. In August, 1944, she received an increase to $135.00 a month, and one in January, 1945, to $145.00. This recommended increase will bring her rate up to $155.00 per month.

Miss Martin is one of the best stenographers I have ever known. She is quick, accurate, and does beautiful work. I have observed that she handles people well as receptionist, and has done a very good job in reorganizing the files.

The fact that I have recommended an increase of $10.00 for Miss Martin and $15.00 for the other girls does not indicate that she deserves less increase, but is simply to bring the salary rate of all three girls closer together.

4. An increase of 5 cents an hour for Connie Way. Connie has been with the Council since May, 1945, and has been working at the rate of 40 cents an hour since he started. Connie is an intelligent boy, is anxious to please, and follows instructions well. He has charge of metering mail, and has done a very good job, with the exception of a few mistakes in his postage records. This increase would make his rate per hour 45 cents.

These increases as recommended would be effective January 1, 1946, and would be the total increases for the year 1946--unless there are some changes in responsibility or duties.

I have not recommended an increase for Mrs. Warwick. Her salary was set by Dr. Mitchell as head of Veterans Service, and any expenditures for that separate budget are approved by him. Mrs. Warwick's salary at present is much higher than any of the other clerical staff. For instance, Miss Martin, who performs approximately the same duties as Mrs. Warwick, is making $30.00 less per month. It probably would be a good idea to hold up any increases for Mrs. Warwick until Miss Martin's salary is somewhere near $175.00 per month.

At present our minimum salary for clerical workers is $115.00 per month (Mrs. Saxon); our maximum salary is $175.00 per month (Mrs. Warwick). For permanent salary ranges for clerical staff I would like to suggest that the following be considered:

Position	Minimum salary	Maximum salary
Clerk (General Office Clerks or Clerk-Typists)	$125.00 per mo.	$160.00 per mo.
Stenographers	125.00 " "	160.00 " "
Steno-Secretaries (or private Secretaries to Executives)	150.00 " "	180.00 " "

The maximum salary for private secretaries probably should go as high as $200.00 a month after several years of service with the organization. What do you think?

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . INEZ B. TILLISON . .

May 5, 1946

Dr. Johnson:

Here's what I found in the postal guide concerning reply envelopes:

"Business reply cards...envelopes or labels, bearing the name and address of the distributor...including the number of the special permit, may be distributed and returned through the regular mails under the provisions of Section 510 Postal Laws and Regulations, 1940, without prepayment of postage, the regular postage, plus one cent additional on each business reply card or letter under cover of business reply envelope to be collected on delivery."

IBT

DARBY - ATLANTA

MEMORANDUM

April 25, 1947

From: Margaret Price
To; Anna S. Warwick
Re: Postage on dues notices

We mailed 807 notices to people delinquent for 1946 and 1947 (roughly 150 of these owe for both years). Postage on these is as follows:

410 -- 1½¢
397 -- 3¢

Those which were sealed (3¢ postage) contained cards with "April 25, 1947" stamped on the back.

When the cards come back to us, we are to keep account of those with the date stamped on the back and those unstamped. Inthis way we can tell something of the effectiveness of first class versus third class postage.

We sent 29 notices to people delinquent for three years--1945, 1946, 1947. Names and addresses were filled on the typewriter (letter mimeographed) and were signed by Dr. Mitchell.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD L. TRIGG
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. INEZ B. TILLISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain the full realization of the ideals and principles of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

April 25, 1947

Our cardex tabs show your name with unpaid dues for three years.

Although our by-laws provide that members not paying dues for two consecutive years are to be removed automatically, I hesitate to do this until I have specific word from you that you wish to have your membership lapse.

As one who was among the early believers in and supporters of the Council, your continuing faith and confidence are highly prized. Therefore I hope you will let us have your check for membership dues for 1945, ($1.00), 1946 ($2.00), and 1947 ($2.00), so that we may bring you up to current membership status.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

1947

April 25, 1947

Dear SRC Member:

Recently our membership has been increasing at the rate of almost one hundred a month. We think you will agree that this is indicative of the growing strength and effectiveness of SRC in the affairs of the region.

While we are proud of our new members, we do not in the least overlook the vital importance of the continuing interest and support of old members. We urge you, therefore, to mail us, before it slips your mind again, a check for your 1947 dues.

We hope that you will use the enclosed card and self-addressed envelope for forwarding your money, including any additional contribution you feel you can make. We might remind you that dues and contributions to SRC are deductible for income tax purposes.

Cordially yours,

Anna S. Warwick

Anna S. Warwick
Acting Secretary-Treasurer

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
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Cordially yours,

Anna S. Warwick

Anna S. Warwick
Acting Secretary-Treasurer

Office Procedures

SUGGESTED CLASSIFICATIONS FOR CLIPPINGS

1. Agriculture
2. Achievements of Negroes
3. Book Reviews
4. Business
5. Bibliographies
6. Church and Religion
7. Community Activities
8. Crime and Punishment
9. Discrimination
10. Education
11. Employment
12. Freight Rates
13. F. E. P. C.
14. Health and Medical Facilities
15. Housing
16. Industry
17. Interracial Agencies
18. Labor (organized)
19. Law
20. Lynching
21. Negro Police
22. Negro Servicemen and Women
23. Organizations and Movements
24. Poll tax
25. Peonage
26. Politics
27. Police Brutality
28. Prejudice and Public Pressure
29. Recreation Facilities
30. Segregation
31. Southern Regional Council
32. Teacher Salary Suits
33. Unemployment
~~34. Unions~~
35. Vital Statistics
36. Veterans
37. White Primary
38. Youth

19-4-45

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

DUTIES OF EMPLOYEES

Executive Director

To administer the program of the Council as laid down by its governing bodies.

Director of Information

To write, edit, and handle printing of all publications. To write and channel publicity, attend committee meetings, work with related agencies, entertain visitors, and to fulfill some speaking engagements. To answer requests for information with the help of the research assistant. Since the reduction in staff, to fill orders for literature, wrap packages, and do miscellaneous errands.

Secretary-Treasurer

To keep the financial records and handle that correspondence having to do with the membership dues and acknowledgements of gifts. To pay bills, order office supplies, prepare financial reports, keep minutes, and have general supervision of clerical work.

Research Assistant and Home Town Self-Survey Advisor

To prepare material for New South and do some writing for New South. This includes most of the research, clipping of many daily and weekly publications and keeping records about Negro police and firemen, state and municipal anti-mask laws, civil rights incidents and legislation, Negroes serving on official bodies, including jury service, and those running for public office. To do the research involved in answering requests for information. To keep current, the clipping files.

As the self-survey advisor, to be concerned at present with the promotion of this project. This entails a great deal of correspondence and the mailing out of survey material. When there are sufficient funds, to travel into the various communities to help coordinate and consult with those towns making surveys and to interest others in improving their communities by the survey method. Also, to do research on surveys and the self-survey method and to provide interested communities with materials. To assist with mimeographing, assembling, and mailing of the Manual.

Field Secretary - Mrs. Tilly

As in charge of women's work, fosters, directs, and does most of the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned. While no longer technically Field Secretary, still does work of that kind for the Council, for example: organizing the Arkansas Division, visiting important people in the Tennessee Division, etc., all of which is in addition to her work for the Georgia Committee and her various activities as a member of the Committee on Civil Rights, and as an active person in Georgia and Atlanta Councils of Church Women.

Secretary to Executive Director

To take dictation from the Executive Director, and upon occasions all other staff members. To do other clerical jobs such as: opening and distributing mail, answering telephone, take minutes of meetings, keeping various types of files, fill some literature orders, and other general clerical work.

Membership Clerk

To keep all membership and subscription records. This also involves billing for dues and subscriptions, mailing new member packets, and having addressograph stencils made. To mail New South with whatever assistance any staff member or an occasional volunteer can give. In addition, to fill in on general clerical work.

General Clerical

As of April 1st this position will be eliminated. It has involved most of the stenciling and mimeographing, of which there is a great deal. Any clerical work involved in a special project, such as mailing Race in the News to the county weekly newspapers, mimeographing and assembling Home Town Self-Survey Manuals, etc. With the maintenance of the general files, this is a full time position.

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I. LETTERS - GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

These instructions pertain to the preparation of letters in general. The table of contents or index should be consulted for references to instructions on specific types of correspondence, documents, etc.

1. Paper

Appropriate Department or bureau letterheads should be used for the ribbon copy in all correspondence. Thin letterhead paper should be used for carbon copies to outside third persons. Other carbon copies should be on manifold or light-weight bond in accordance with bureau requirements.

2. Envelopes

Franked envelopes should be used for all official letters. Large envelopes should be used for thick communications which cannot be folded. The address should be typed directly on the envelope, whenever possible.

The address should begin approximately one-third the length of the envelope from the left edge and approximately one-half the depth of the envelope from the top edge. It should be blocked without punctuation at the end of lines unless abbreviations are used. When it is necessary to break a line in the address, the part carried over should be indented two spaces.

The complete address should be shown on the envelope. If an attention line has been used in the letter, it should also be written on the next line after the name of the organization on the envelope.

Window envelopes may be used for form letters or when more expedient and convenient.

3. Margins

Margins depend upon the length of the letter. The letter should have a "framed picture" appearance on the page. The right and left margins should be at least one and one-quarter inches and the bottom margin at least one inch.

4. Spacing and Paragraphing

Block style should be used with double spacing between paragraphs.

5. Punctuation

Modified open punctuation should be used in the address and closing parts of the letter. No end punctuation should be used except a colon after the salutation and a comma after the complimentary close. (See Exhibit No. 1, p. 38.)

6. Placement of Date, Address, and Salutation

The date should be properly placed with respect to the length of the letter and should be flush with the right margin.

The address is written four spaces below the date. The salutation is written two spaces below the last line of the address. (See Exhibit No. 2, p. 39.)

For a window envelope, the space to be left between the top of the page and the date depends upon the number of lines in the address. For a plain envelope the aproximate space between the top of the page and the date is determined by the length of the letter.

7. Date

The month should be written in full and the day of the month indicated in figures without "st," "nd," "rd," and "th," and without a period following the year. Example: July 15, 1940

If the date is not typed on the letter at the time of preparation, but is stamped in later by the mail room, the preparation date should be typed under the dictator's name and stenographer's initials on the carbon copies. (See Exhibit No. 8, p. 45.)

8. Address

The address should be single spaced, in block style, each line flush with the left margin except that any necessary adjustments should be made when window envelopes are used. Punctuation at the end of lines should be omitted unless abbreviations are used. When it is necessary to break a line in the address, the part carried over should be indented two spaces. (See Exhibit No. 4, p. 41.)

Titles and Names

A title may be placed on the same line as the name of the addressee or on the line below.

8. Address (Cont'd.)

Firm Names

A firm name should be written as it appears on the letterhead used by the firm, even though the printed name includes abbreviations. If a letterhead is not available, words such as "Company," "Corporation," or "Incorporated" should not be abbreviated.

Street Numbers

Streets designated by numbers should generally be spelled out, but figures followed by "-st," "-nd," "-rd," or "-th," may be used for streets numbered over 10 if they do not immediately follow the house number.

City and State

The names of the city and the State should be written on the same line, with a comma between them. If one line is not sufficient, the city and State should be written on separate lines without punctuation. (For acceptable abbreviations, see the Style Manual of the Government Printing Office.)

9. Salutation

The salutation should begin at the left margin, two spaces below the last line of the address (or two spaces below the "attention" line). It should be followed by a colon.

If the salutation is not indicated by the dictator, "Gentlemen" is used for a firm and "Dear Mr. _____" for an individual. Ordinarily, "Dear Sir" should be used only when the name of the person is not known. A woman who signs her name without "Miss" or "Mrs." should be addressed as "Miss." (See section on Forms of Address, Salutation, and Conclusion.)

10. File Reference

File references given in incoming letters should be quoted in replies.

Bureau file references, when required on outgoing letters, should be typed flush with the left margin approximately two inches below the top of the page. (See Exhibit No. 8, p. 45.)

11. Attention Line

Ordinarily an attention line should not be used. If one is used, however, it should be placed two spaces above the salutation, flush with the left margin. (See Exhibits Nos. 3 and 5, pp. 40 and 42, respectively.)

12. Subject Line

Although a subject line is not generally used, if one is necessary it should begin two spaces below the salutation, flush with the left margin. (See Exhibits Nos. 4 and 5, pp. 41 and 42, respectively.)

13. Confidential Mail

The word "CONFIDENTIAL" in capital letters should be written flush with the left margin approximately one inch below the lowest printed line of the letterhead. (See Exhibit No. 2, p. 39.)

14. Air Mail, Registered Mail, and Special Delivery

Form AD-19 should be prepared in quadruplicate and three copies forwarded with the correspondence to the Department Post Office through bureau mail rooms. To insure immediate consideration by the recipient, "AIRMAIL" or "SPECIAL DELIVERY" may be typed in the same location suggested for "CONFIDENTIAL." (See paragraph 13.)

15. Placement of Text

The text of a letter should begin flush with the left margin and two spaces below the salutation, or below the subject line. All succeeding paragraphs should be similarly blocked. (See Exhibit No. 1, p. 38.)

Short letters of one paragraph may be double spaced. Letters of two or more paragraphs should be single spaced with double spacing between paragraphs. (See Exhibit No. 1, p. 38.)

16. Second and Succeeding Pages

When a letter requires more than one page, the last page should contain at least two lines in addition to the complimentary close and the signature.

Each page after the first should be numbered about one inch from the top beginning with an arabic numeral, flush with the left margin, followed by a hyphen, the name of the addressee, a second hyphen, and the date. The text should continue four spaces below. (See Exhibit No. 6, p. 43.)

17. Extracts and Quotations

Extracts and quotations should be single-spaced, blocked, and indented five spaces. Brief quotations of three lines or less may be run as a part of the paragraph in which they appear.

18. Complimentary Close

"Very truly yours," is the usual form of closing for letters addressed to private individuals. "Sincerely," "Sincerely yours," and "Cordially yours," are each a more intimate form preferred by some dictators. "Respectfully," is reserved for letters to high officials. (See section on Forms of Address, Salutation, and Conclusion.)

Only the first word should begin with a capital letter.

The proper punctuation at the end is a comma.

19. Placement of Complimentary Close and Title

The complimentary close should be typed beginning slightly to the right of the center two spaces below the last line of the text. The title of the signer should be typed five spaces below and should be blocked with the complimentary close. When it may be necessary to insert the word "Acting," the title should be typed seven spaces to the right. (See Exhibit No. 1, p. 38.)

There should be no punctuation after the title.

20. Signature for Superior

The form to be followed when a secretary signs a letter for her superior or sends out a letter in his absence depends upon the specific situation and individual preference. She may sign his name in the usual place, adding her own initials in very small letters or she may sign her own name.

If a secretary sends a letter out in her own name, beneath her signature she should ordinarily type "Secretary to" and the name of her superior. His title should be substituted if the official significance of his name would not be clear.

21. Enclosures or Material Sent Separately

A complete list of enclosures should be typed below the signature and title, flush with the left margin on the file copy and all other carbons retained by the Washington office,

21. Enclosures or Material Sent Separately (Cont'd.)

except when they are enumerated in the letter itself. If the length of the letter will not allow room for the list, it should be typed on a separate full sheet of paper and attached to the file copy. Such a list need not be attached to any other carbon copies. Only the word "Enclosure" or "Enclosures" should appear on the ribbon copy. It should be typed flush with the left margin and at least two spaces below the title of the signing official. For two or more enclosures a numeral should be added to indicate the number. (See paragraph 24 of this section and Exhibit No. 7, p. 44.)

If material will be sent under separate cover, the words "Separate Cover" should be typed on the carbon copies only, and a notation added to indicate the manner of sending the material, such as "Registered Mail," "Parcel Post," or "Express."

22. Identification of Dictator and Stenographer

The capitalized initials of the dictator's first name, middle name (if one is used), and last name, with the remaining letters of his last name completely spelled out in small letters, followed by a colon and the stenographer's initials, capitalized, should be typed two spaces below the list of enclosures and flush with the left margin on all carbon copies except extra copies for third persons. (See paragraph 24 of this section and Exhibit No. 8, p. 45.)

23. Distribution of Copies

The names of third persons to whom copies are sent should be listed on the carbon copies, at least two spaces below the dictator's name, following the symbol "cc" typed flush with the left margin. (See Exhibit No. 8, p. 45.)

24. Information Typed on Carbon Copies

The original should always be removed from the typewriter before any information is typed on the carbon copies.

25. Arrangement of Letter File

The standard arrangement of letters and the carbon copies in a file is as follows:

25. Arrangement of Letter File (Cont'd.)

Outgoing letter)
Enclosures (on letters to Con-)
gressmen, enclose one extra copy)) clipped together
Envelope, lengthwise, address side)
up, flush with top, left margin)

* Protecting sheet of blank manifold

Carbon copies for third persons)
Envelopes (arranged as above)) clipped together

#* Copy to be initialed
Other file copies (with copies of enclosures if required)

Incoming letter and attachments

Previous correspondence

The entire file should be clipped together securely.

* Stenographers should consult their supervisor for exceptions.

\# A number of offices like to have this copy marked in some way to avoid delay in searching for the proper copy to initial. This may be done by attaching a paper clip or small strip, or by extending the copy a little from the rest of the file.

II. LETTERS PREPARED FOR THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Except for the instructions listed below, letters for the signature of the Secretary, Under Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Assistants to the Secretary, Director of Finance (also Budget Officer), Director of Personnel, Land Use Coordinator, and the Chief, Office of Plant and Operations should be prepared in accordance with the instructions given under "Letters - General Instructions."

1. Spacing

If a letter consists of a full page or more, the address should be written approximately one inch below the seal when the Department (blue seal) letterhead is used. A short letter should be balanced on the page.

2. Date

The letter should not be dated at the time of preparation, but the preparation date should be typed under the dictator's name and stenographer's initials on the salmon and all file copies. (See Exhibit No. 8, p. 45.) The date of the letter should be the actual date of dispatch and will be placed on the letter by the Secretary's Files after signature and before mailing.

3. Complimentary Close

The closing "Sincerely" or "Sincerely yours" should be used in all letters prepared for the Secretary's signature except letters addressed to the President and Members of the Supreme Court when the closing "Respectfully" should be used.

4. Signature and Title

Unless otherwise specifically instructed by supplemental memoranda, only the title of the official to sign should be typed on letters prepared in bureaus or offices for signature of the officials listed above. In no case should the word "Acting" be typed on the letter with the title. This will be stamped on when applicable. The word "Secretary" should always be typed seven spaces to the right to allow for use of the stamp when necessary.

5. Copies

All letters for the signature of the Secretary or members of his staff should be accompanied by one salmon and two white copies. Extra copies to meet the bureau filing requirements should also be made. In addition, extra carbon copies of letters addressed to the following officials and offices should be provided on plain white paper without printing or initials as indicated below:

5. Copies (Cont'd.)

Senators and Representatives.....1 extra copy
White House.....1 extra copy
Joint Committee on Printing.....1 extra copy
Senate Committee on Agriculture.....2 extra copies
House Committee on Agriculture.....2 extra copies
House Committee on Public Lands.....2 extra copies

Chairmen of committees of Congress
or members of Congress reporting
on bills or dealing with proposed
or possible legislation.....4 extra copies

The Bureau of the Budget transmitting
recommendations for appropriations
or reports or recommendations on
legislative bills.....3 extra copies

The Office of Government Reports
regarding proposed State
legislation.....1 extra copy

The Comptroller General.....3 extra copies

6. Enclosures

Enclosures except publications, circulars, or other reference material should be submitted in duplicate in order that a copy may be retained by the Secretary's Files.

Copies of letters or telegrams prepared for the Secretary's signature should not be used as enclosures or referred to in a communication, until a copy bearing the date of dispatch and the facsimile signature of the signer is provided by the Secretary's Files.

7. Identification of Dictator and Stenographer

The capitalized initials of the dictator's first name, middle name (if one is used), and last name, with the remaining letters of his last name completely spelled out in small letters, followed by a colon and the stenographer's initial capitalized, should be typed two spaces below the list of enclosures and flush with the left margin on the salmon and

7. Identification of Dictator and Stenographer (Cont'd.)

all white copies except extra copies for third persons. (See paragraph 24 of "Letters - General Instructions" and Exhibit No. 8, p. 45.)

8. Signing Official

a. Replies to Other Agencies. When a letter is written in reply to a letter addressed to this Department by another executive department, independent establishment, or other government agency, it should be prepared for the signature of the official indicated on the "pink jacket" referring the letter to the bureau concerned for the preparation of a reply. As a general rule, if a letter is received from an "acting" Secretary or Assistant Secretary of any department, the reply should be addressed to the Secretary of that department and not to the "acting" Secretary or Assistant Secretary who signed the incoming letter.

b. Letters Originating in the Department. When a letter addressed to the head of another department, independent establishment, or other government agency originates in this Department, it should be prepared for the signature of the Secretary if it involves a matter of policy or a question of considerable importance. Letters relating to routine matters should be prepared for the signature of the appropriate staff member of the Secretary's Office.

All communications to the Office of Government Reports relating to proposed State legislation should be prepared for the signature of the Secretary.

9. "Green Jackets" and "Pink Jackets"

A green jacket (Form AD-114) should be prepared for all letters originating in the bureaus for signature in the Secretary's Office. The six blanks beginning with "Letter to" and ending with "Initials of stenographer" should be filled out under the direction of the dictator of the letter. The subject should be an accurate digest of the letter, including specific references to the name of the addressee, date of letter replied to, if any, and other essential information.

A pink jacket prepared by the Secretary's Files is used as a cover sheet for incoming letters referred to the bureaus for preparation of replies. The memorandum of action taken should be filled outon the pink jacket when the reply has been prepared. If the letter is referred to another office, a report of such

9. "Green Jackets" and "Pink Jackets" (Cont'd.)

referral should be made to the bureau official responsible for Secretarial correspondence so that the Secretary's Files will be able to locate the file if necessary.

If the incoming letter requires reply for signature in the Secretary's Office and is not accompanied by a pink jacket, a green jacket should be prepared as explained above.

The pink or green jacket should be the cover sheet of the file throughout its movement within a bureau or from bureau to bureau to signal correspondence requiring signature in the Secretary's Office.

Since letters referred to bureaus and offices by the Office of the Secretary should be answered within three days after receipt by the bureau or office, pink-jacketed letters should ordinarily be given preference over other typewritten work.

10. Arrangement of Letter File

Before a proposed letter is transmitted for signature, the file should be arranged as follows:

The pink or green jacket)
The outgoing letter)
Enclosures) clipped together
Envelope, lengthwise, address side)
up, flush with top, left margin)

Protecting sheet of blank manifold paper

Carbon copies for third persons)
Envelopes (arranged as above)) clipped together

Salmon copy
Salmon copy of original draft if rewritten

Carbon copies of outgoing letter
Copies of enclosures that accompany outgoing letter

Incoming letter and attachments

Previous correspondence

The entire file should be clipped together securely.

11. Rewritten Letters

If a letter prepared in one bureau is rewritten in another bureau, the new draft should be accompanied by the initialed salmon copy of the original draft, canceled in lead pencil. The salmon copy of the new draft should be initialed (on the last page if more than one) by the chief or acting chief of the bureau in which the letter was rewritten. All file copies, salmon and white, should have the following legend typed in the lower left corner.

Originated in (bureau) , (date)
Initialed by _____
Rewritten in (bureau) , (name of rewrite officer) , (date)

12. Disposition of Correspondence

All notes or memoranda relating to the disposition of the correspondence after signature by the Secretary should be attached to the salmon carbon of the outgoing letter.

13. Initialing and Clearance

The initials of the chief or acting chief of the bureau or office in which letters are prepared for signature in the Office of the Secretary should be written in ink or indelible pencil in the lower right corner of the salmon copy on the last page (if more than one). Others to whom the letter may be referred by the Secretary's Office should initial in the same place. Employees within a bureau whose duty it is to approve letters should initial in accordance with the bureau's system, but only the initials of the chiefs or acting chiefs of bureau should appear on the salmon copy.

All letters to the Comptroller General should be initialed by the Solicitor and the Director of the Office of Budget and Finance before being submitted for signature.

All replies to requests for records or reports on proposed legislation should be referred through the Secretary's Files to the Director of the Office of Budget and Finance for transmission to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget before being finally transmitted to Congress.

14. Returning Copies of Letters

Letters addressed to Members of Congress and transmitted to the Department for information should always be returned with

14. Returning Copies of Letters (Cont'd.)

the reply. Letters transmitted by other correspondents should also be returned when requested or when it is obvious that such action should be taken. In all cases, copies should be retained in the bureaus. Copies are not required by the Secretary's Files.

15. Directing Correspondents to Field Officers

If a correspondent is referred to any field officer for additional information, a copy of the letter advising of the reference should be sent to the proper person in accordance with bureau requirements.

16. Drafts of Letters for the Signature of the President

The instructions for the preparation of letters for signature in the Secretary's Office should be followed except that (1) plain white bond paper instead of letterhead should be used for the original; (2) two extra white carbon copies should be provided in accordance with White House requirements; and (3) the complimentary close and title should be omitted. The suggested draft should be accompanied by a letter of transmittal prepared for the signature of the Secretary. (See paragraph 5 of this section.)

17. Legislative Reports

Legislative Reports should be prepared in accordance with Secretary's Memorandum No. 730. "Department of Agriculture" letterheads should be used for both reports to committees and clearance letters to the Bureau of the Budget. The following numbers of copies should be prepared:

a. Transmittal letters to the Bureau of the Budget:

1 salmon copy (for initialing - retained in the Secretary's Files)
1 white copy (retained in the Secretary's Files)
1 white copy (indicating date of dispatch to the Bureau of the Budget - returned by Secretary's Files to originating bureau)
1 white copy (indicating date of dispatch to the Bureau of the Budget - returned by Secretary's Files to the Office of Budget and Finance)
Other copies, if any, needed by preparing bureau

17. Legislative Reports (Cont'd.)

b. Drafts of proposed reports to Congress:

1 salmon copy (for initialing - retained in the Secretary's Files)
1 white copy (retained in the Secretary's Files)
2 white copies (to accompany the original to its final Congressional destination)
2 white copies (for the Bureau of the Budget) Occasionally, in cases where it is desirable to obtain the views of other agencies on proposed legislative reports, the Bureau of the Budget requests this Department to furnish additional copies of the reports after the usual number have been received. Where such a need can be anticipated, it is suggested that extra copies be prepared at the time the report is prepared so as to expedite clearance and to make unnecessary a repetition of the typing.
1 white copy (indicating date of dispatch to Congress - returned by Secretary's Files to originating bureau)
Other copies, if any, needed by preparing bureau

c. Drafts of reports if addressed to the Bureau of the Budget:

1 salmon copy (for initialing - retained in the Secretary's Files)
1 white copy (retained in the Secretary's Files)
2 white copies (for the Bureau of the Budget)
1 white copy (indicating date of dispatch to the Bureau of the Budget - returned by Secretary's Files to originating bureau)
Other copies, if any, needed by preparing bureau

d. Enclosures required in appropriate cases:

1 copy (retained in the Secretary's Files)
1 copy (for the Bureau of the Budget except in the case of private relief bills)
2 copies (to accompany report to its final Congressional destination)

Exceptions may be made to the rule on enclosures in the case of bulky files, documents, etc., which it would be unreasonable to have copied.

17. Legislative Reports (Cont'd.)

e. Arrangement of file, as submitted for signature:

Jacket)
Original of report)
2 copies of report) clipped together
Enclosures)
Envelope, lengthwise, address side)
up, flush with top left margin)

Protecting sheet of blank manifold paper

Salmon copy
Whites copies
Copies of enclosures
Letter requesting report
Copy of bill on which report is made

All of the above clipped together

Original of letter to the Bureau)
of the Budget)
Copies of enclosures (if any))
Copy of bill on which report is made) clipped together
Envelope, lengthwise, address side)
up, flush with top, left margin)

Protecting sheet of blank manifold paper

Salmon copy
White copies

The entire file then should be clipped together securely.

III. FORMS OF ADDRESS, SALUTATION, AND CONCLUSION

Letter	Envelope
1. The President	
The President The White House	Add: Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. President:	
2. The Vice President	
The Honorable The Vice President	Add: Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Vice President:	
3. Justices of the Supreme Court	
The Chief Justice United States Supreme Court	* Hon. (full name) The Chief Justice United States Supreme Court
Dear Mr. Chief Justice:	Washington, D. C.
Mr. Justice Blank United States Supreme Court	* Hon. (full name) Associate Justice United States Supreme Court
Dear Mr. Justice:	Washington, D. C.
4. Members of the Cabinet	
The Honorable The Secretary of Commerce	* Hon. (full name) The Secretary of Commerce Department of Commerce
Dear Mr. Secretary:	Washington, D. C.
The Honorable The Attorney General	* Hon. (full name) The Attorney General Department of Justice
Dear Mr. Attorney General:	Washington, D. C.

* "The Honorable _____" is an alternative form.

Letter	Envelope
4. Members of the Cabinet (Cont'd.)	
The Honorable The Postmaster General	* Hon. (full name) The Postmaster General The Post Office Department Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Postmaster General:	
5. Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers	
His Excellency The Ambassador of Blank	* Hon. (full name) The Ambassador of Blank Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Ambassador:	
The Blank Minister Washington, D. C.	* Hon. (full name) The Blank Minister Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Minister:	

The complimentary close for items 1 to 5 inclusive should be "Respectfully,".

6. American Ambassadors and Consuls	
The Honorable James Blank American Ambassador Rome, Italy	The Honorable James Blank American Ambassador Rome Italy
Dear Mr. Ambassador:	
James A. Blank, Esquire American Consul General London, England	James A. Blank, Esquire American Consul General London England
Dear Mr. Blank:	

* "The Honorable _____" is an alternative form.

Letter	Envelope
7. Senators	
* Hon. James Blank United States Senate	Add: Washington, D. C.
Dear Senator Blank:	
8. Representatives	
* Hon. James Blank House of Representatives	Add: Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Blank:	

When Senators or Representatives are addressed at their homes, the following form should be used:

* Hon. James Blank 1719 Blank Avenue St. Louis, Missouri	* Hon. James Blank Member of Congress 1719 Blank Avenue St. Louis, Missouri

9. Chairmen of Congressional Committees	
* Hon. James Blank Chairman, Committee on Appropriations United States Senate	Add: Washington, D. C.
Dear Senator Blank:	
10. Civil Service Commissioners	
* Hon. James Blank President, Civil Service Commission Washington, D. C.	(Same as letter)
Dear Mr. Blank:	

* "The Honorable _____" is an alternative form.

Letter	Envelope
10. Civil Service Commissioners (Cont'd.)	
* Hon. James Blank Commissioner, Civil Service Commission Washington, D. C. Dear Mr. Blank:	(Same as letter)
11. Heads of Independent Agencies	
* Hon. James Blank Comptroller General of the United States Dear Mr. Blank: or Dear Mr. Comptroller General:	Add: Washington, D. C.
12. Army and Navy Officers	
Major General James Blank U. S. A. Fort Madison, Texas Dear General Blank:	(Same as letter)
Vice Admiral James Blank U. S. N. U. S. S. Pennsylvania San Diego, California Dear Admiral Blank:	(Same as letter)

* "The Honorable _____" is an alternative form.

Letter	Envelope
13. Governors	
* Hon. James Blank Governor of Utah Salt Lake City, Utah	(Same as letter)
Dear Governor Blank:	

The complimentary close for items 6 to 13 inclusive may be "Respectfully," "Sincerely," or "Sincerely yours,".

14. Catholic Priests	
The Reverend James Blank 1306 Payson Street Chicago, Illinois	(Same as letter)
Dear Father Blank:	
15. Protestant Ministers	
The Reverend James Blank 4400 - Seventh Avenue Atlanta, Georgia	(Same as letter)
Dear Mr. Blank:	
16. Jewish Rabbis	
Rabbi James Blank 44 East 42nd Street New York, New York	(Same as letter)
Dear Rabbi Blank:	

"Respectfully yours," and "Sincerely yours," are appropriate complimentary closes for letters addressed to the clergy.

* "The Honorable _____" is an alternative form.

Letter	Envelope
17. Presidents or Deans of Colleges, etc.	
Dr. James Blank President, University of Maryland College Park, Maryland	(Same as letter)
Dear Dr. Blank:	

The title "Professor" should be spelled out, whenever used.

18. Doctors	
Dr. James Blank 20 Main Street Jackson, Wyoming	(Same as letter)
Dear Dr. Blank or Dear Doctor:	

In the address, the abbreviation "Dr." should always be used; in the salutation and in the body of the letter, this title should be abbreviated when the name follows and typed in full when no name follows.

19. Banks, Corporations, Firms, Committees, etc.	
Mr. A. B. Blank President, Federal Land Bank of Spokane Spokane, Washington	(Same as letter)
Dear Mr. Blank:	
Blank Hardware Company Colman Building Seattle, Washington	(Same as letter)
Gentlemen:	

Letter	Envelope
19. Banks, Corporations, Firms, Committees, etc. (Cont'd.)	
Mrs. James Blank Buyer, Blank Clothing Company Warwick Building Milwaukee, Wisconsin	(Same as letter)
Dear Mrs. Blank:	
Finance Committee Business Women's Club 100 Franklin Street Baltimore, Maryland	(Same as letter)
Mesdames:	
20. Private Individuals	
Mr. James Blank 20 Eighty-Ninth Street Chicago, Illinois	(Same as letter)
Dear Mr. Blank:	
Mrs. Mary Blank 111 Grand Avenue Harrisburg, Pennsylvania	(Same as letter)
Dear Mrs. Blank:	

The complimentary close for items 17 to 20 inclusive should be "Very truly yours," unless some other form is preferable or indicated.

IV. MEMORANDA

Memoranda are used for communications between the units of the Department, whether interbureau or intrabureau.

1. Paper

Memoranda should be written on a memorandum form (See Exhibit No. 9, p. 46) or on the regular letterheads of the office of origin, if a printed memorandum form is not provided.

2. Envelopes

Chain envelopes should ordinarily be used for memoranda; if the material is confidential, requiring that it be sealed, a franked envelope may be used, and should be plainly marked "BY MESSENGER." The name of the addressee and his bureau must be shown on the envelope on all mail.

3. Date

The month should be written in full and the day of the month indicated in figures without "st," "nd," "rd," or "th," and without a period following the year. Example: July 15, 1940

If the date is not typed on the memorandum at the time of preparation, but is stamped in later by the mail room, the preparation date should be typed under the dictator's name and stenographer's initials on the carbon copies. (See Exhibit No. 8, p. 45.)

4. Heading

The following form for the heading should be used:

The words "To," "From," and "Subject" should appear at the head of the memorandum beginning flush with the left margin and followed by a colon, with the appropriate information for each.

The "To" line should give the name of the person to whom the memorandum is addressed, his title, section, division, or bureau if applicable. The name should not be preceded by "Mr.," "Mrs.," or "Miss." No end punctuation should be used.

The "From" line should state the name of the person sending the memorandum, his title, section, and division.

The "Subject" should be brief and worded as specifically as possible. The first letters of all words except articles, conjunctions, and prepositions should be capitalized.

If the subject contains two or more lines, it should be single-spaced, the second line beginning flush with the first.

4. Heading (Cont'd.)

The parts in the heading should be aligned with double-spacing between the separate items.

5. Text

The form for the text of the memorandum should follow the form for letters.

6. Complimentary Close

There should be no complimentary close.

7. Signature

The person whose name is typed in the "From" line of the memorandum must initial or sign his full name (in ink or indelible pencil) after the text of the memorandum. The initials or name of the signer of the memorandum are not to be typed in.

8. Attachments

A list of attachments should be typed three spaces below the last line of the memorandum flush with the left margin on all the carbon copies unless the enclosures are enumerated in the memorandum. Only the word "Attachment" or "Attachments" should appear on the ribbon copy. For two or more enclosures, a numeral should be added to indicate the number.

9. Identification of Dictator and Stenographer

The capitalized initials of the dictator's first name, middle name (if one is used), and last name with the remaining letters spelled out followed by the stenographer's initials, capitalized, should be on all carbon copies. (See Exhibit No. 8, p. 45.)

10. Copies

The names of third persons to whom copies are sent should be listed on the carbon copies two spaces below the dictator's name, following the symbol "cc:" typed flush with the left margin. (See Exhibit No. 8, p. 45.) Names preferably are arranged in alphabetical order.

Memoranda to the Secretary, Under Secretary, Assistant Secretary, or their assistants should be accompanied by one white carbon copy on thin letterhead of the bureau or office originating the memorandum.

V. TELEGRAMS

1. General Form

Standard Form No. 14A should be used for all messages sent from Washington by Government or commercial facilities. (See Exhibit No. 10, p. 47.)

All parts should be typed in lower case type with ordinary punctuation. Block style and double-spacing must be used in the address and in the body of the telegram. The date should be written in unabbreviated form as on a letter. The appropriation to which the telegram is to be charged should be typed in the space provided, that is, in the upper right corner of the form. The kind of service desired, straight telegram, day letter, night letter, etc., should be indicated under the printed heading. (See Exhibit No. 10, p. 47.)

2. Style

"Retel," "relet," "reourtel," and "reourlet" may be written as one word and will be counted at the rate of five letters per word; for example, "retel" one word; "reourtel" two words. The body of the message should begin with one of the above examples, if appropriate, and should be followed by the date of the letter or telegram reference. (See Exhibit No. 10, p. 47.)

Punctuation

Between points in the United States, no extra charge is made for the transmission of the following punctuation marks: comma, period, colon, semi-colon, dash, hyphen, quotation marks, parenthesis, question mark, and apostrophe. Actual punctuation marks make unnecessary the using of the word "stop" or the spelling out of punctuation marks. Other punctuation marks will be charged as words. A fraction bar, decimal point, comma, or a dash when part of a group of figures is considered one figure in the group.

Figures

As a general rule, figures typed in arabic should be used instead of words to indicate numerals. A group of five figures or fewer will be charged as one word.

Cities and States

Cities and States of two or more words are counted as one word.

3. Signature and Title

A telegram may be signed in the following ways without extra charge:

The name of an individual and his title

The name of an organization and (a) the title of an official, or (b) the name of a department or branch, or (c) the name of an individual.

(See also paragraph 7 of this section.)

4. Copies

An original on Standard Form No. 14A and two carbon copies are required on all telegrams. Two additional copies are required on "multiple-copy" messages. (See paragraph 6 of this section.) A confirmation copy and an addressed envelope for this copy may be prepared, if administratively desirable.

5. Identification of Dictator and Stenographer

The capitalized initials of the dictator's first name, middle name (if one is used), and last name with the remaining letters spelled out, followed by the stenographer's initials, capitalized, should be on all of the carbon copies except the confirmation copy. (See Exhibit No. 8, p. 45.)

6. Classes of Service

The following classes of telegraph services are available:

Straight Telegram

A straight telegram receives priority either day or night over all other messages.

Day Letter

The day letter is a deferred day message with the rates ordinarily lower than straight telegram rates. For a day letter to be delivered on the day of its issue, sufficient time must be allowed for transmission and delivery during regular office hours, subject to the priority accorded straight telegrams.

6. Classes of Service (Cont'd.)

Night Letter

The night letter is a deferred night message accepted up to 2:00 a.m. for delivery at the beginning of the business day.

Serial Message

The serial message is a series of telegrams sent under one date to the same addressee and bearing the same signature.

Multiple-copy Message

This type of message is sometimes called a "book" message. It is used when the same message is to be sent to several different individuals or organizations. An original and four copies of both the message and the list of individuals or organizations are required. The original and one copy will be sent to the telegraph office and a stamped copy returned to the originating bureau.

7. Prepared for Signature in the Secretary's Office

The same general instructions should be followed except that one salmon and one white carbon copy in addition to those required on other types of telegrams should be supplied. The title "Secretary of Agriculture," "Under Secretary of Agriculture," or "Assistant Secretary of Agriculture," as the case may be, should be indicated but in no case should the name be typed in.

VI. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

These instructions govern the preparation of official documents having general applicability and legal effect, such as Proclamations, Executive Orders, and other official papers for publication in the Federal Register. (See Exhibit No. 11, p. 48.)

1. Paper

All documents shall be typed on legal-sized paper (8 by 12½ inches).

2. Margins

All documents shall have a left margin of approximately two inches and a right margin of approximately one inch.

3. Spacing and Paragraphing

The paragraphs shall be indented five spaces to conform to Federal Register regulations. All documents shall be double-spaced, except that quotations, tabulations, or descriptions of land may be single-spaced.

4. Title

A suitable title shall be provided. It should be centered and typed in capital letters. It should not be underscored.

5. Land Descriptions

Descriptions of tracts of lands shall conform, insofar as practicable, to the most recent edition of the Specifications for Descriptions of Tracts of Land for Use in Executive Orders and Proclamations, published by the Federal Board of Surveys and Maps. This information is given in the Style Manual of the Government Printing Office.

6. Copies

An original, a first white carbon copy, a salmon carbon copy, and four white carbon copies are required on all documents for publication in the Federal Register. One additional white copy is required on Proclamations and Executive Orders. If a document is to be transmitted through another Department, one additional copy is also required.

7. Federal Register Documents

Form OS-186 should be prepared and attached to the document in the originating bureau.

VII. TYPOGRAPHIC STYLE

1. Punctuation

The general rules governing modern punctuation are that no mark should be used unnecessarily and that in the choice and placing of marks the aim should be to bring out the meaning clearly.

Since most dictators do not specify punctuation except for unusual constructions, the typist should be thoroughly familiar with the purposes and general uses of this mechanical aid to clearness and emphasis.

2. Capitalization

Overcapitalization should be guarded against. The general principles are that proper nouns and proper adjectives are capitalized but common nouns and common adjectives are not. Since some nouns and adjectives are construed as proper in certain connections and common in others, it is impossible to determine in advance whether a capital should be used. If the purpose of capitalization and the general principles are kept in mind, a reasonable uniformity is possible.

3. Spelling

The simple approved form of spelling should generally be used. If the dictionary gives more than one approved spelling, the simpler form is preferable.

Unless The United States Board on Geographic Names or its successor, The Division of Geographic Names, has approved a different form, the spelling given in the United States Postal Guide is to be used for geographic names in the United States and its possessions, and the International Postal Guide is to be followed in the spelling of foreign names. This information is available in the Department Library.

4. Division of Words

The division of words given in the dictionary should be followed. Words are ordinarily divided by syllables. The following rules should also be followed:

> Not more than two consecutive lines should end in word division.
>
> Hyphened words should be divided at the hyphen.

4. Division of Words (Cont'd.)

A word should not be divided on a single letter, and division on two letters should be avoided if possible; for example, a-bout.

The last word on a page and the last word of the last full line of a paragraph should not be divided.

Abbreviations such as U.S.D.A., U.S.N., should not be divided.

Initials should not be separated from each other and preferably not from the surname.

In general, when a consonant is doubled, the division should be between the two consonants.

Titles, such as Dr., Mrs., and Gen., should not be separated from the names to which they belong.

A monosyllable should not be divided.

Words beginning with prefixes should be divided on the prefix if possible.

Contractions, proper names, figures, and abbreviations should not be divided.

Separate signs, letters, or short abbreviations should not be separated from that to which they apply.

Dates should be divided between the day and the year, if necessary; not between the month and the day.

5. Numerals

The rules given in the Style Manual of the Government Printing Office should be followed in typing numerals.

6. Underscoring

Underscoring is used to emphasize or call attention to words which are to be differentiated from other text. It may be used for the following:

6. Underscoring (Cont'd.)

Foreign words and phrases

Reference words, phrases, and abbreviations used in citations and footnotes

Titles of publications whether in running text, citations, or footnotes

Names of vessels and airplanes

Names of legal cases except the "v" or "vs" for "versus"

Scientific names of genera, subgenera, species, and sub-species (Groups of higher rank are not underscored.)

"To be continued," "See," "See also"

Letters indicating indefinite persons ("A," "B")

To set off the relevant matter following such expression as "the word."

7. Headings

Center Headings

If the heading consists of more than one line, all overrun lines should be typed without spacing between the lines and blocked with the first line of the heading.

Center headings may be written in the following manner:

All capital letters

Small letters, underscored, with the first and last word and all important words capitalized

Small letters, not underscored, with only the first word and proper names capitalized.

7. Headings (Cont'd.)

Side Headings

Side headings should be placed flush with the margin, typed in small letters, underscored, with all of the important words capitalized; they should not be followed by a period. They may be used over either a single paragraph or a number of paragraphs.

Run-in Headings

Run-in headings apply only to single paragraphs; they are placed at the beginning of the paragraph and are run in with the text.

8. Rough Drafts

Rough drafts should be double-spaced unless otherwise specified. The words "Rough Draft"; the capitalized initials of the dictator's first name, middle name (if one is used), and last name, with the remaining letters of his last name completely spelled out in small letters, followed by the stenographer's initials, capitalized; and the date of preparation should be typed in the upper right corner of the first page.

9. Copying

The word "Copy" should be written at the top of the first page of every manuscript copied.

When a letterhead is copied, the address should always be included.

To show that the original was signed, "(S)" should be written before a signature when it is being copied.

Any initials should always be copied.

If anything is apparently unintentionally omitted in the original, a short line should be made beneath a space to note the omission in the copy. If a letter or figure is obviously wrong, a line should be made beneath it. An entire word should not be underlined but a question mark in pencil should be placed after it.

Punctuation should be copied exactly as it is written unless there is an obvious typographical error.

9. Copying (Cont'd.)

An intentional omission of material should be indicated by three asterisks if a paragraph, or by three dots if words or sentences.

10. Tabulations

The instructions given in the Style Manual of the Government Printing Office should be followed.

EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Single-spaced Letter of Two or More Paragraphs
- Placement of Complimentary Close and Title

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

WASHINGTON

Mr. John Doe
Chief Administrative Officer
Division of Employee Training
Department of Blank
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Doe:

Letters for the signature of the Secretary of Agriculture are prepared in accordance with the instructions given under "Letters - General Instructions" of the Department Style Manual. There are, however, a few exceptions as explained in the section entitled "Letters Prepared for the Office of the Secretary."

If a letter consists of a full page or more, the address is written one inch below the seal when the Department letterhead is used. Letters are not dated when prepared. The date is placed on the letter after it has been signed and immediately before mailing.

Letters prepared for the signature of the Secretary or members of his staff indicate only the title of the official to sign the letter. The name of the official is not typed on the letter.

Enclosures, except publications, circulars or other reference material, are submitted in duplicate in order that a copy may be retained by the Secretary's File Room.

Telegrams for the signature of the Secretary have one original on a telegraph blank form (Standard Form No. 14A), one salmon copy, and four white carbon copies. When it is essential to indicate the title of the Secretary, "Secretary of Agriculture" is used.

Sincerely yours,

Assistant to the Secretary

EXHIBIT NO. 2 - Placement of Date, Address, and Salutation
- Placement of "CONFIDENTIAL"

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF BLANK
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

March 1, 1941

Mr. James Smith
20 New Avenue
Dover, Maine

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for the report enclosed with your letter of February 27, 1941. I am interested in this problem and appreciate having the viewpoint of your group.

Very truly yours,

Business Manager

EXHIBIT NO. 3 - Letter with "Attention" Line

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF BLANK
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1941

Bell Telephone Company
Chicago, Illinois

Attention: Mr. James Blank

Gentlemen:

Thank you for your letter of February 27, 1941, explaining why it was necessary for you to discontinue service on the branch line to Forest Hills. We shall appreciate your expediting the repair work so that this line may be in service by April 1.

Very truly yours,

Director, Region Twenty

EXHIBIT NO. 4 - Letter with "Subject" Line

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

WASHINGTON

March 1, 1941

Mr. John Blank
Office Equipment and
Supplies Company
130 East Lane Street
Dayton, Ohio

Dear Mr. Blank:

Subject: Department Style Manual

Thank you for your letter of February 27, submitting a sample of a proposed Style Manual.

It has been decided that a style manual in loose-leaf form, allowing easy insertion of supplements and amendments, will best suit the needs of this Department. Such a manual is being prepared now and it is expected to be available soon.

Sincerely yours,

Director of Personnel

EXHIBIT NO. 5 - Letter with "Attention" and "Subject" Lines
- Letter with Figures Used in Street Address

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF BLANK
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1941

Blank Plow Company
25 West 103rd Street
St. Paul, Minnesota

Attention: Mr. James A. Porter

Gentlemen:

Subject: Lease of Storage Space

Your bid for leasing 500 square feet of storage space to this Department has been received, but there is no indication that the rental rate includes light, heat, and water. Please furnish this information as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Real Estate Officer

EXHIBIT NO. 6 - Second and Succeeding Pages

2-James Blank-March 1, 1941

When a letter requires more than one page, the last page should contain at least two lines in addition to the complimentary close and the signature.

Very truly yours,

Correspondence Counselor

EXHIBIT NO. 7 - Letter with Enclosures

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF BLANK
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1941

Mr. James Blank
1006 West Franklin Street
Denver, Colorado

Dear Mr. Blank:

The application blanks requested in your letter of February 27 are enclosed. They should be filled out, notarized, and returned to this office not later than March 15.

Very truly yours,

Chief, Division of Employment

Enclosures - 2

EXHIBIT NO. 8 - File Copy of Letter Showing File Reference, Enclosure, Carbon Copies, Dictator's Name and Stenographer's Initials, and Date of Preparation

GM-4507

Mr. John Doe
600 Main Street
Boone, Wyoming

Dear Mr. Doe:

The information requested in your letter of February 27, to Mr. James Blank, Director of Farm Welfare, is available in Miscellaneous Publication No. 88 entitled "The United States Department of Agriculture - Its Structure and Functions," a revised edition of which was issued in July 1940.

A copy of this publication is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Director of Information

Enclosure

ABSmith:BB
3-1-41

cc: Mr. James Blank

EXHIBIT NO. 9 - Memorandum Form

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF BLANK
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1941

To: James Blank, Chief, Auditing Unit

From: John Doe, Chief, Bookkeeping Unit

Subject: Payment of Expenses for Shipping Exhibit

The attached voucher in favor of the Pennsylvania Railroad has been charged to "suspense" pending the receipt of information from the Treasury Department that a special account has been established from which such expenses may be paid.

(name or initials signed)

Attachment

EXHIBIT NO. 10 - Telegram

STANDARD FORM No. 14A
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT
MARCH 10, 1926

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

BUREAU of Blank

CHG. APPROPRIATION 3405-31

Day Letter

March 1, 1941

Mary Stenographer

Marvin, Wisconsin

Retel March 1. Arriving Milwaukee March 5, 8 a.m., via

Chicago & Northwestern.

James Blank
Chief, Administrative Division

EXHIBIT NO. 11 - Official Document (To be typed on legal-sized paper, 8x12½)

REGULATIONS ON BUDGETARY ADMINISTRATION

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921, approved June 10, 1921 (42 Stat. 20), and as President of the United States, I hereby prescribe the following regulations with respect to the compilation and reporting of information on the financial condition and operations of the Government and with respect to the budgetary control of expenditures:

SECTION 1. The term "Agencies" as used in this order shall include executive departments and independent establishments and corporations in which the United States has a proprietary interest, direct or indirect, except Federal savings and loan associations and those corporations in which the proprietary interest of the United States is evidenced only by preferred stock or capital notes acquired through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or production credit corporations.

SECTION 9. Executive Orders No. 5614 of May 1, 1931, No. 6226 of July 27, 1933, No. 6869 of October 10, 1934, No. 7126 of August 15, 1935, as amended, and all other orders or parts thereof inconsistent with the provisions of this order, are hereby revoked.

REFERENCES

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE STYLE MANUAL. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

MODERN ENGLISH USAGE. By H. W. Fowler. Oxford University Press.

SELF-AIDS IN THE ESSENTIALS OF GRAMMATICAL USAGE. By L. J. O'Rourke. Educational and Personnel Publishing Company, Washington, D. C.

STANDARD HANDBOOK FOR SECRETARIES. By Lois Irene Hutchinson. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York.

TRAINING FOR SECRETARIAL PRACTICE. By Sarah A. Taintor. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York.

U. S. GOVERNMENT STYLE MANUAL. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY. G. & C. Merriam Company, Springfield, Massachusetts.

WRITING EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT LETTERS. By James F. Grady and Milton Hall. Employee Training Publications, Washington, D. C.

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SRC - Office Policies + Procedures

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Your card addressed to the
has been referred to us, as that organization was merged with the Southern Regional Council some years ago.

We regret very much that a small budget, together with the high costs of paper and printing have not permitted us to maintain a free mailing list. We can, however, offer you a subscription to our monthly bulletin, New South for $1.50 per year, or to our Publications Service, which includes New South, as well as any other pamphlets which may be issued during the calendar year, for $2.00 per year.

We are sending you our latest annotated list of publications, so that you may see just what we have available. Won't you let us hear from you further if we can be of help?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

Mrs. Tilley -

Is not able to estimate exactly how much time of a stenographer she will need, But will need some time each day from now until the Health Conference which is to be held on September 16.

There may be some extra help for a special conference to be held in October, but that will be paid for from another fund.

If a dictation schedule is worked out, she would like to dictate the first thing each morning.

Miss Kirby

Has charge of the addressing machine.
First responsibility is to get out the Southern Frontier, and to keep file of addresses correct.
Assists Miss Clay with some of the bookkeeping, especially that which has to do with membership.
Types minutes for Miss Clay, etc.

Marie ~~Thxxxxx~~ - Saxon -

1. General office ~~aff~~ work mostly stencils.
2. Sends out literature automatically to the new members of the Council.
3. Copy work - cuts stencils.
4. Clips some of the papers - Journal - Constitution.

First responsibility is to send literature ordered, and to send out literature automatically to the new members of the Council.
Clips papers and checks clippings sent by the clipping service.
(some system must be worked out for the clippings. Put them in folders, paste and file them.)
Sendd out invitations ~~fxx~~ to prospective members of the SRC, types blue membership f lecards.

Files correspondence re literature orders.

Has been here since December.

Jane Martin -

1. Answers telephone usually (Miss Saxon now doing it)
2. Takes Dr. Johnson's dictation.
3. Files correspondence.
4. Acts as receptionist.
5. Handles mail for Dr. Johnson.

(Mail isnot ~~xx~~ date-stamped.

6. Does work for other members of the staff when ever she is not busy with Dr. Johnson's work.

Connie

1. Operates the machine for metered mail.
2. Operates the mimeograph machine.
3. Runs errands, etc.
4. Checks Congressional Record as it comes in.

ROUTINE FOR HANDLING DUES

1- List payment for bookkeeping

2- Make receipt

3- Enter payment on blue card

4- Enter payment in book

5- Send receipt, with letter (usually a form letter) welcoming the new member and all SRC literature if it hasn't already been sent

6- Make stencil

7- File cards

Frontier

1. Clay [illegible] money —
gives 5K — [illegible] blue & yellow.

2. [illegible] — 1 a carbon —
white card members of State Committees —
yellow card for individual subscr —
(not a member of Council) Frontier
and — [illegible]

salmon card — mailing list, subscr. $2.00
(not member of SRC) [illegible]

light green — complimentary subscr to S. Frontier
or to mailing list — [illegible]

Colored cards are filed alph. by states,
[illegible]

Carbon of each — white cards filed by
date —

3 — Cut sale cil —

4 — Run off card alph list + geo list
on white cards —

Card lists

1- Alphabetical card file 3¼ x 5½

stamped (minimum) size

[illegible]

[illegible] SPC members

[illegible] only - (Pd)

State Com -

[illegible]

[illegible]

2- Geographical file by states

[illegible] each SPC

member in these states - incl

M. L. sub. to DF only, comp.

M. L. & State Com - [illegible] follows

& board members

3 Card list [illegible] follows - light

Green - filed [illegible] light - 3 x 5

4 - ~~[illegible]~~ file 3 3 x 5 - cards.

4 - white - State Comm alph. by states

5 - yellow - S.R.C. - ~~[illegible]~~ alph by states

6 - salmon - M L - alphabetically

7 - L. green - Comp. M.L. - alph -

file 5 alph. ~~by states~~

Carbon file by match

Notes re Stencils

SRC Members - Blue stencils filed alphabetically by cities within the state. Example: Atlanta, Augusta, etc. filed behind guide Georgia.

Associate Members - Orange, filed in separate place.

Mailing List - Salmon colored - paid subscribers to all the literature. Filed with -

Complimentary Mailing List - Green - subscribers to all the literature - free.

Individual Subscribers to Southern Frontier - Yellow stencils, filed separately by states.

Complimentary Southern Frontier - Green - filed separately by states.

State Committee Members who are not SRC Members - White

Fellows - Fushia color. Fellows are not in general membership file.

Board Members - Dark Blue stencils. This is an extra stencil for board members, as they are included also in the state stencils

Notes re Card Lists

1. Alphabetical card list - 3x5 run from stencils.

   These are stamped: SRC Member
   Mailing List only (paid)
   Individual Subsc. to S. Frontier.
   State Committee

   Stamps indicate where other card ~~xxxxxx~~ and stencil are filed.

2. Geographical file by states - Contains cards on all SRC members in the 13 states, includes mailing list, subscriptions to S.F. only, complimentary mail list, state committees, Fellows and Board members.

3. Card list of Fellows - light green 3x5.

Notes re clippings:

Clipping service weekly at cost of 5c per clipping.
Mrs. Saxon clips papers whenever she has the time.
At present clippings a e behind several months, nd when they are clipped they are filed in envelopes, with some classification made.

Questions:

Is clipping file important?
How much is it used by the office and by the public?
Should they be filed as per the attached- pasted on paper ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ classified and filed?

Who should be responsible for this job? Probably the person who does most of the work for the publicity person.

Have ask d Miss Clay to subscribe to N.Y. Times.

You and Your Telephone

A Pamphlet on
Good Telephone Usage

Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company
INCORPORATED

America uses the telephone far more than any other form of fast communication.

An average of more than 100,000,000 telephone conversations are held in this country every day—which is equivalent to approximately three for every four persons in the entire population.

Approximately 33,000,000,000 telephone conversations is the annual total—more than twice the number of letters, post cards and telegrams.

You and Your Telephone

"Use your telephone in such a manner that people will like to call you, and to have you call them," said a business man to his employees.

"I know the people at Such and Such Company," a person remarks who has never been there. "I've talked with them by telephone. They're good people to deal with."

So it goes. Every time you telephone you make a definite impression—good, bad, or indifferent—on the person at the other end, just as surely as you get an idea of what that person is like. Your voice, what you say, and how you say it, is what reveals *you* to others. It's on just such impressions that much of this country's business depends; for if favorable they make for confidence and good will.

The art of getting good results by telephone—making pleasing impressions, meriting good will, having people like to telephone with you—is largely a matter of dealing with others as you would have them deal with you. "Phone as you would be phoned to," is the way one prominent executive put it.

This pamphlet outlines methods of applying that principle. They have been found to be the best by telephone users in many lines of business. Furthermore, you will find them practical and easy to apply.

"Phone As You Would Be Phoned To"

The telephone provides communication by *voice*—the natural and quickest way of making your thoughts and personality known to others. You like to deal by telephone with people whose voices and manner of speaking show them to be courteous, interested, alert. Not so with those who seem abrupt or indifferent.

Individuals and business concerns are increasingly interested in this phase of their telephone service. Here is a company telling its employees that "the telephone, if properly used, will enhance sales and create a spirit of friendliness within and towards our organization." In a newspaper article headed, "Pleasing Voice Now An Important Business Asset," pleasing and correct telephone speech and manner is rated "the foremost requirement" of employees having telephone contacts with customers.

In the best sense of the word, it *pays* to have a good telephone personality. Whether you are an executive, a secretary, a salesman, a clerk, a switchboard attendant, or are engaged in any other occupation—or just your own personal affairs—your success depends largely upon how you treat customers, make friends, create good will. And a telephone personality plays just as important a role as a face to face personality.

Although you can't actually *see* the person at the other telephone, you can imagine what his face looks like and how he feels in response to what you are saying or doing. You can get a good response by saying or doing the right thing at the right time, and in the right manner.

The Voice With A Smile Wins!

If you could call yourself up, what would you hear? Simply your own voice and speech—your sole representative. You would hear yourself as others hear you.

Would it please you? Would you know, in an instant, that here was a person genuinely courteous, interested, alert? Would there be something about your tone of voice, your way of greeting, your manners, the ease with which you were understood, which gave a glimpse of a friendly face, of an alert, capable person? Would you find yourself quickly responding to an attractive personality?

Since your voice and speech is all that there is to your telephone personality, you'll want to study it, and be thinking about using the *voice with a smile,* almost every time you make or answer a call. Then, too, you'll want to be careful about the clearness of your speech. If you speak distinctly, making it easy for the other person to understand, you will make a good impression from that one feature alone.

"What was that?" "I'm sorry, I didn't get that." If your listeners sometimes break in with such remarks, it usually means that your voice is not doing its job well. It's a signal that you should form your words better, or speak more slowly, or perhaps more directly into the mouthpiece—your lips not more than half an inch away.

So, the first thing to do about having a good telephone personality is to give attention to your voice and speech.* That attention should be directed to these two essential goals:

Be easily and accurately understood, and
Make the good impression that brings a pleasant response.

How Are Your Callers Welcomed?

There is one way in which you can "call yourself up" and hear how you sound to others—that is, if you are the head or manager of a business concern or institution, or a professional man, interested in the kind of welcoming answers that are received by your customers, clients, or patients. Just call up your headquarters once in a while and listen with an attentive ear to the welcome you get. How do *you* sound to others? Do you like the way your callers are greeted? And the way they are treated?

On such test calls, you'll find it helpful to rate the voices that you hear, representing *you*. For example, are they—Pleasing? Helpful? Indifferent (mechanical)? Curt? Indistinct?

If you take that kind of an interest in your telephone service, and let the people at the office know about it, you'll be pleased—and benefited—by the results, and so will your callers.

Now let's look at some of the specific situations in telephoning.

How to Meet Your Caller

When the bell rings and you open the telephone door, your first words are important. Remember, you don't know who is calling. It may be one of your firm's best customers. Or a prospective customer making inquiries. Or a good friend. Naturally, you want to make such callers feel that they are welcome—as you would if you met them face to face.

*NOTE: If you are interested in learning more about the effective use of the voice in telephoning, you are welcome to a copy of a pamphlet, "The Voice With A Smile," which can be obtained as shown on the last page of this pamphlet.

The welcome you offer is the promptness and pleasantness of your answer, the friendly attitude shown in your first greeting, even before you know who your caller is. This is not only courtesy but "good business." Time and again it actually determines the attitude of the caller and assures an agreeable tone to the interview.

As you know from your own experience, people don't like to be kept waiting. Possibly some of your callers may *have* to wait—"cooling their heels" and growing impatient over a delayed answer—because you may be the only one who can help them. But they may not be very agreeable when you finally answer. If, on the other hand, there are other firms who can serve these delayed callers about as well, there is every likelihood they will not wait long before calling someone else.

Some of the slow answers, which make callers impatient, are due simply to failure to keep other telephone conversations reasonably brief. It's an interesting fact that a minute, while waiting, seems awfully long, whereas a minute, while talking, seems like no time at all.

To sum up, *always have a prompt and pleasant greeting ready for every telephone caller.*

What to Say When You Answer

When you answer, avoid such old-fashioned, indefinite and time-wasting words as "Hello" and "Yes." The best way to answer is to identify yourself by saying your name, or that of your company or department, or your telephone number—or combinations of these—depending upon what will be the most helpful to the person calling.

Examples:

"Mr. Brown," or, "Mr. Brown speaking"

"Robert Smith and Company"

"Bates Brothers, Mr. Johnson speaking"

"Rug Department, Mr. O'Brien speaking"

"This is 4-1099"

Much can be accomplished simply by the tone of these few words of identification. A pleasant rise in your voice seems to ask, "Is this the person (or firm) you are calling?" And the important welcome already mentioned is conveyed by a tone of helpful, friendly interest that seems to say, "What can I do for you?" It shows that you are pleased to receive the call.

Your own identification made, the person calling usually responds by identifying himself. The conversation can then proceed with no time wasted in annoying questions like, "Who is this?" or "What company do you represent?"

Now suppose you are answering *someone else's* telephone. In that case you should give the name of that person.

Examples:

"Mr. Brown's office"

"Bates Brothers, Mr. Johnson's telephone"

"Doctor Jones' office"

"Mr. Thompson's telephone (or, 'residence')"

Where desirable, the name of the person answering is also given, as, "Mr. Brown's office, Miss Smith speaking."

Asking a Question Tactfully

Sometimes when you answer another person's telephone, it will be desirable to find out who is calling—if he does not identify himself. The best way to do this without appearing inquisitive, and to make it clear that the information is for the other person, is to ask a question like one of these:

"May I tell him who is calling (or, 'who called'), please?"

"May I take a message for him, please?"

"Would you like to have him call you?"

This method also indicates your willingness to be of service to the caller. Incidentally, whenever you take a message for someone, be sure to write it down and place it where the person will see it as soon as he returns.

Occasionally when you answer your own telephone, the person calling may not give his name. In such a case, it is important not to use a question which may seem peremptory, such as "Who are you?" or "Who's calling?", but one like the following:

"May I ask who is calling, please?"

"I am sorry, but I did not get your name."

Just the phrasing of the question will change it from one that may be resented to one that is willingly answered. This shows the importance of paying attention to smallest details.

Attending to Calls For Someone Else

If you are employed by a firm which has its telephones served by a private switchboard, keep in mind that being transferred from one telephone to another may be annoying to the person calling. No one likes to be obliged to repeat what he has to say to several different people before reaching the one who can attend to it. Therefore, if you yourself can attend to a call satisfactorily, always do so, instead of transferring it.

If you can not take care of the call yourself, there are several ways to handle it, as follows:

(1) You may say that you will refer the matter to the proper person. In some cases you will want to indicate that the person calling will be called back, while in other cases this will not be necessary.

Examples:

"That is something Mr. Brown looks after. If you wish, I will tell him about it, and I am sure he will give it prompt attention."

"That is something Mr. Brown handles. If you wish, I will refer it to him and ask him to call you back."

(2) You may offer to transfer the person calling to someone who can take care of his call.

Example:

"That is handled by our Credit Department. If you wish, I will have you connected with them."

(3) If you do not know who should handle the matter, inform the person calling that it is not handled by your department but that you will refer it to someone who will take care of it.

Example:

"I am sorry, but that is not handled in this department. If you wish, I will refer the matter to the proper person and ask him to call you back."

Whenever transferring calls, make sure that the person calling knows what you are doing. Signal the switchboard attendant and explain the situation to her so that she will not have to ask the person calling to repeat. For example,

"Will you please connect Mr. Smith (or, 'this call') with Mr. Brown in the Credit Department?"

Wait for the attendant's reply, to be sure she understands correctly.

Of course you will see that anything you have undertaken to have attended to does receive the necessary attention.

How to Introduce Yourself When You Are Calling

So far, you'll notice, you have been the person receiving a call. Now let's take it the other way around—you are the person calling and presenting yourself at the other person's telephone door. Although the situation is reversed, the underlying ideas are the same. You hope to make a good impression and to be greeted by a welcoming answer. But, whether you feel that the answer is welcoming or not, you want to make a good first impression by the pleasant way you introduce yourself.

If you stop to think of it, a self-introduction is an important matter—from *your* standpoint, anyway. As you are the caller, you are in the position of wanting something—either service, such as attention to your needs, or a hearing for whatever you may desire to promote or sell. In either case, your cause will be aided by genuine, well-expressed courtesy.

If the desired person answers and identifies himself, promptly announce your own name and, if desirable, your firm name. For example,

"This is Mr. Wood, of Curtis and Sons."

Wherever appropriate, it is helpful to combine a pleasant greeting with your announcement. For example,

"Good morning, Mr. Baker (or simply, 'Mr. Baker'), this is Mr. Wood of Curtis and Sons."

If the one who answers the telephone is not the person you want, or does not identify himself, ask pleasantly for that person. Unless your voice is recognized, it is usually helpful to announce your own name also.

Examples:

"May I speak to Mr. Baker, please? Mr. Smith calling."
"Mr. Smith calling. Mr. Baker, please?"

If you do not want any particular person, simply state your wishes in a nice way, preferably in the form of a request.

Examples:

"The Rug Department, please?"
"Will you please give me information regarding——?"
"Please take an order for——."

Incidentally, remember that it is always helpful to speak pleasantly

to switchboard attendants, secretaries, and others upon whom you depend for further assistance. They—like everyone else—respond to "the voice with a smile."

Bad Impressions Are Sometimes Made Thoughtlessly

Perhaps you have had this experience—and annoyance. Your telephone bell rings—you answer—a secretary's voice says, "Just a minute, please. Mr. Jones wants to talk to you." Then a wait—and finally Mr. Jones comes to the telephone. Sometimes, you may not even be told who is calling.

Presumably Mr. Jones is busy and thinks he can save time by telling his switchboard attendant or secretary to get you on the telephone and then call him back. But he forgets that he is the one who asks the favor of your time, and that actually he requires you to waste your time—waiting for him. Perhaps, too, he doesn't realize that connections, including long distance, are now made so quickly that it's much more efficient to remain at the telephone, or be called to it as soon as the point is reached where the called person's telephone is being rung. This saves time, for both the people and the equipment involved. Furthermore, always being at the telephone, ready to greet the called person when he answers, is the courteous way to telephone and has much to do with what people think of you and your firm.

Of course, Mr. Jones' practice of having his secretary get people for him is followed without any intention of causing annoyance. If one stops to think of it, however, it does seem to be a bit inconsiderate. You might imagine the following somewhat parallel situation. It is wholly ridiculous, of course, but it illustrates the point. Mr. Jones, wishing to see you personally, marches with his secretary to your office, has his secretary ask your secretary for permission to notify you that he is calling, whereupon his secretary enters your office and asks you to remain at attention, while she returns to the outer office, procures Mr. Jones—if he is still there—and finally escorts him into your presence. A little comedy of secretarial manoevering!

It was a very busy executive who recently said, "My time is valuable, of course. But the time of people with whom I usually talk by telephone is also valuable. They don't like to be kept waiting by me any more than I like to be kept waiting by them. So the only sensible and fair thing is to be at my telephone, ready for the an-

swer of the person I'm calling. And I appreciate being shown the same courtesy when the situation is reversed. The waiting time for the person calling is rarely longer than a few seconds, and it's time well spent."

Another Helpful Suggestion

Whenever possible, have paper, pencil, and business records at hand so that you can use them as needed during a call, without having to leave the telephone and keep the other person waiting. When it is really necessary to interrupt, first request permission of the other person and explain what you are going to do.

Examples:

"Will you hold the line, please, while I find out about that?"

"Will you excuse me just a moment, please, while I consult our records?"

Listen a moment to be sure you were understood and that there appears to be no objection.

When returning to the telephone, if there has been some delay in doing so, apologize for it or thank the other person for waiting.

Examples:

"Thank you for waiting, Mr. Smith."

"I am sorry to have kept you waiting, Mr. Smith."

Add a few words of explanation, if it appears desirable to do so.

In cases where it would require some time to secure the necessary information, or take the required action, offer to call the other person back later.

Examples:

"I am sorry, but it will take a little time to get that information. If you wish, I will call you back as soon as I have it."

"Would you like me to call you back as soon as I can get that information, or would you prefer to wait?"

What to Do When Away From Your Telephone

When you are to be away from your telephone, it is a good plan to leave word where you are going, how you can be reached—with the telephone number, if that is available—and when you probably will return. This is especially desirable if those who may answer the telephone in your absence are not qualified to speak for you.

The Little Matter of Replacing the Receiver

When you have finished your telephone visit, and courteously said "Good-by" or "Thank you," replace the receiver gently. Slamming the receiver might cause a sharp crack in the ear of the person with whom you have been talking. Since you would not "slam the door" after an actual visit, be just as careful in closing your telephone door.

Likewise, if at any time you have to lay down the receiver in order to have two hands free, while someone is waiting on the connection, it is better to place it *gently* on the desk or table rather than seeming to bang it down.

Some Other Important Little Things

As you know, people like to be addressed by their names, together with titles where appropriate. So, in your conversations, sound the personal, as well as courteous, note—"Mr. Brown," "Mrs. Thompson," "Dr. Baker," "Professor Courtis," "Colonel Smith," and so on. Likewise, the words "Sir," and "Madame," frequently are in good taste and most helpful for those who are in the business of rendering some form of service to others.

Little expressions of consideration, like "Thank you," "I am sorry," and "I beg your pardon," are jewels, when properly used, in the art of making good impressions. So, too, are such things as letting the other person finish without interruption, and avoiding argument or the display of impatience.

As to other details, such as the general character of your speech—the avoidance of slangy and slovenly expressions, and the use of good English—they are matters for each person to decide for himself. As a general rule, the most effective speech is that which is correct and at the same time natural and unaffected. The best manners are those which are in good taste and prompted by a genuine consideration for the feelings and convenience of others.

Your Telephone Number

Whenever you leave word for someone to call you, don't fail to leave your telephone number in addition to your name. And be sure that the person to whom you give it gets it correctly. That will save trouble for the one from whom you are asking the favor of a return call.

Indeed your telephone number is important. It should be featured as prominently as your address, on your stationery (social as well as business), billheads, promotional booklets, folders, etc., and in newspaper and other advertising.

Your number is needed by the reader of your letter, or advertising material, when he has the impulse to reach for the telephone. Displaying it freely will make it *easy* for customers to call you when making purchases or inquiries regarding your product or service, and likewise, easy for anyone else to get in touch with you promptly. It will also save them the trouble of searching for your name in the Directory or calling the Information Bureau. Those who are featuring their telephone numbers find that it pays. They know that many a message, many an order, has been lost because of the omission of a printed telephone number.

A Partner—Yours For Success

To find other ways of getting the greatest value out of your telephone, put yourself in the other person's place. "What would please me if I were at the other end of this connection?" Figure it out from that angle, as you think over your telephone habits.

Your success by telephone—like your general success—depends on your thoughtful effort and intelligent observance of certain fundamental principles. If you observe the simple requirements of good telephone technique, suggested in these pages, you will find, as many others have found, that your telephone will become more truly a partner—Yours for success.

Additional copies of this pamphlet, as well as "The Voice With A Smile," a pamphlet on good telephone speech, may be obtained on request at any of the Company's Business Offices.

The Voice With a Smile

Pamphlet on GOOD TELEPHONE SPEECH

SOUTHERN BELL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
INCORPORATED

The Voice With a Smile

HOW A BRIGHT SMILE LIGHTS UP A PERSON'S FACE! It makes it pleasant to look at, even though it may be a plain face. And how contagious a smile is! You usually respond with a smile of your own.

It's much the same with your voice. *The voice with a smile wins!* This well-known saying refers, of course, to the kind of voice you like to hear over the telephone—the kind operators are trained to use, to indicate their desire to serve you courteously.

Everyone wants to make a pleasing impression—over the telephone as well as face to face. Have *you* a good telephone personality? Perhaps you don't know. If you could only have a *voice mirror,* you could tell how you *look* to others when you visit them by telephone. You would be all the more sure that a good telephone appearance is wholly a matter of your voice and how to use it. Being handsome or homely makes no difference, and clothes don't count. You can have a good telephone personality if you'll be careful about just one thing—*your speech.*

This isn't difficult, as you'll see by reading these pages. Some of the suggestions are in fact so simple you may overlook them. Practice is necessary, however, for "practice makes perfect." But that doesn't mean a lot of long and tiresome exercises. A few minutes a day spent on voice grooming soon gives one the *habit* of clear and pleasing speech which, by telephone or otherwise, is necessary in order to—

Be easily and accurately understood, and
Make the good impression that brings a pleasant response

Some People Have Lazy Lips

To be easily and accurately understood it is necessary, of course, to speak distinctly. You do this if you pronounce your words carefully, giving proper form to each sound in every word.

Just try this: Open your mouth slightly—and now, *hardly moving* your jaw, or tongue, speak a few sentences.

You've heard people talk in just about that way, and probably had trouble in understanding them. They're suffering from stiff jaws, lazy lips, sleepy tongues. No wonder their words sound mumbled, shut in, or "swallowed," instead of being nicely formed and directed *outward* to the listener. Incidentally, in face to face conversation your facial expression will be much more interesting to others if your lips are mobile.

Many of us do get a bit careless and let our talking muscles get stiff. Like any other muscles they need limbering up to be really useful. Why not take a few exercises that will make it *easier* for you to speak clearly. You'll find suggestions for this purpose in later pages. In addition, just thinking about your speech helps a lot. Reading aloud at home and observing how other people speak are also good ways of becoming speech conscious.

How Fast Should You Speak?

Over the telephone it's more important to speak unhurriedly, as well as distinctly, than when face to face. This is because your listener cannot have the help of watching you, seeing your gestures and the changing expressions of your face. You save yourself and others a lot of time when you make yourself understood without having to repeat what you have said.

Some people used to think they had to talk fast over the telephone or their time would be up before they were through. Well, when talking at an ordinary rate a person averages about 378 words in three minutes. If you try to "talk a blue streak" the chances are you won't make yourself nearly as well understood, and will have to use up valuable time saying things over again.

Telephone speech should be neither too fast nor too slow. If too fast, words are jumbled, parts of words are lost to the ear, and bad sounding forms creep in—"wadjado," for "what did you do," and so on. If too slow, the words sound disconnected, and lose meaning and interest for the listener.

Ordinarily, the very act of speaking clearly will tend to prevent your talking too fast.

Speak Close to the Mouthpiece

Your voice is carried most clearly by telephone when you speak directly into the mouthpiece, with your lips not more than half an inch away. If you change this direction or widen this distance, some of the sound that ought to reach the listener will stray elsewhere instead of into the telephone.

It's just as important to speak directly into and close to the mouthpiece as it is to keep the receiver close to your ear. Your telephone should be located so conveniently, of course, that you can use it with ease, and without being disturbed or disturbing others.

When you speak into the telephone properly, no shouting or loud talking is necessary. Too loud talking may actually cause a blurred sound and make it difficult for the listener to hear and understand. The telephone is made to carry words spoken no louder than in ordinary conversation.

Your Voice is YOU

You wish to make your voice a faithful messenger of good will and to gain a pleasant response. But since you are not face to face with your listener, there is a tendency to let the voice become mechanical and without expression. Unfortunately, however, your *only* means of making a good impression is a pleasing tone of voice, together with a clear and correct way of speaking.

Your voice over the telephone is *you*. Though no smile or gesture can be seen at the other end of the wire, you can put a tone or a "sparkle" in your voice which will serve equally well. A mechanical sounding voice, however, is just as bad as an expressionless face.

The voice of the telephone operator has been mentioned as expressing an interested and helpful attitude. This kind of voice is being heard more and more in all lines of business and social activity. If you also are frequently in telephone touch with other people, you will find it helpful to study the difference between a voice having a "personal interest tone" (which is another name for the voice with a smile) and one lacking that expression of interest. This difference is suggested in the contrasting sets of words which follow.

The Voice Having Personal Interest Tone	*The Voice Lacking Personal Interest Tone*
Pleasant	Expressionless
Friendly	Mechanical
Cordial	Indifferent
Cheerful	Impatient
Interested	Inattentive
Helpful	Repelling

Test Others—And Yourself

The next few times you call up some business or professional places, pay special attention to the voices of the persons who answer the telephone. Which words in the two lists given above best describe their tones? Are you pleased by their voice attitudes?

After such tests, study your own voice. Try to hear it as others hear it, and rate it as frankly as you have rated these others.

The way your voice rises and falls, the way you show what is important by proper emphasis, the way shades of feeling appear in your voice—all these give color to your speech and help to make it pleasing and convincing.

Even the way you say the words you may use in answering the telephone is important. Suppose they are, "Robert Smith and Company." In these four words you can accomplish much. By a pleasant, questioning tone you seem to ask, "Is this the firm you are calling?" At the same time, by the helpful note in your answer, you ask "What can I do for you?" and imply that you are pleased to receive the call. All that in just four words! That's the kind of an answer the customers of Robert Smith and Company like to get.

Here's an important point about the voice with a smile. In addition to the pleasing effect upon the hearer, you get a pleasant reaction yourself. So, you see, you win in two ways.

Sounds That Go Wrong

You've probably noticed the way telephone operators pronounce certain numbers, such as "nien" for "nine." The reason is that several numbers sound much alike over the telephone and, unless spoken with special distinctness, cause misunderstanding and confusion. For example, *five* and *nine* may get mixed up; so may *oh* and *four* and *eight;* also, strange as it may seem, *two* and *three*.

How to make these and other sounds go right is shown in the following simple directions. You'll find them a big help, as absolute accuracy is necessary in understanding all numerals and letters in telephone numbers.

Numeral or Letter	*Sounded as*	*Principal Sounds*
0	oh	Round and long O
1	wun	Strong W, and N
2	too	Strong T, and long OO
3	thr-r-ee	A single roll of the R, and long EE
4	fo-er	Strong F, long O, and strong final R
5	fi-iv	I changing from long to short, and strong V
6	siks	Strong S and KS
7	sev-en	Strong S and V, well sounded EN
8	ate	Long A, and strong T
9	ni-en	Strong N, long I, and well sounded EN
10	ten	Strong T and N
J	jay	Strong J, and long AY
R	ahr	Strong R
M	em	Short E, and strong M
W	dubble-yoo	Full value given to every syllable
F	ef	Short E, and strong F

You'll notice that the suggested ways of saying several of the numerals are not just as the dictionary gives them. Practical experience, however, has shown that this is the easier and surer way over the telephone to avoid confusion with other numerals.

Your Mouth Is a Sound Instrument

To sound any particular note on a musical instrument requires a special position or action, such as pressing a violin string at exactly the right point and drawing the bow correctly. So, too, there is a special position or action of the lips, tongue or jaw for every sound used in speech. The lips sometimes close or take a slightly parted or rounded shape; the jaw moves up or down; the tongue moves into many positions.

These speech workers have a way of shirking on their jobs, however, unless we give them special attention. To insist on right mouth action for any sound is to make sure that that sound is formed rightly and uttered clearly.

Let's see how true this is. If you haven't made the following test before, you'll be astonished at the variety and importance of mouth action required to form the different sounds. Now—

Talk, Look, and Listen

Standing before a mirror, watch and listen to yourself while you say the vowel sounds in the way shown in the following list. Carefully note your mouth action while you say each vowel so that it sounds exactly right.

Vowels	*Sounded*	*As In*	*Approximate Position of Mouth*
A	ah	father	Open
A	ay	ate	Half open
A	aw	call	Open, lips slightly rounded
A	a	hat	Half open
E	ee	he	Almost closed
E	e	met	Slightly open
I	eye	kite	Open, then closing
I	i	it	Slightly open
O	o	hot	Open
O	oh	old	Open, lips round
U	oo	flute	Almost closed, lips slightly rounded
U	uh	hut	Half open
OI	aw-i	oil	Open, then closing
OU	ah-oo	south	Open, then closing

The movements of the jaw to produce the above mouth positions permit the tongue to take the necessary positions for the various sounds.

To make the consonant sounds shown in the next list is even more important. There is much more movement required of the tongue and lips, and the teeth have a part. Unless spoken strongly and distinctly, consonant sounds may not be heard at all or may easily be mistaken for others.

Breath Consonants	*Voice Consonants*	*Nasal Consonants*	*Formed by*
F	V		Lower lip against upper teeth
P	B	M	Lips
	W		Lips
	WH (as in "when")		Lips
T	D	N	Tip of tongue against upper gums
	L		Tip of tongue against upper gums
TH (as in "three")	TH (as in "then")		Tip of tongue against upper teeth
S (and soft C)	Z (as in "maze")		Tip of tongue almost touching upper gums
SH	Z (as in "azure")		Front of tongue almost touching upper gums
	Y (as in "yet")		Middle of tongue raised close to hard palate
CH	J (and soft G)		Tip and front of tongue against upper gums
	R (as in "run")		Sides of tongue against back teeth
K (and hard C and Q)	G (hard)	NG	Back of tongue against soft palate
X (as in "ax")	X (as in "exact")		Same as K followed by S, or G followed by Z

Practice further by reading or talking aloud, also in front of the mirror, to see how well you can use the correct mouth action in ordinary conversation. Continue to listen to your own voice intently, as you practice, so that you can detect any faults.

Probably the best "voice mirror" you have is your own hearing. Ask yourself frequently, "How do I sound?" Be honest with yourself. If you wish another check, try out your speech on someone whose judgment you value, and ask for frank criticism.

Try These Easy Exercises

If your speech is not as clear and distinct as it should be, here are some simple exercises for your lips, tongue and jaw which will make them flexible and more quick and sure to do their duties.

To exercise the lips: (1) extend them forward in open circular form; then let them relax and return to normal. Repeat several times. (2) Starting with lips closed, puff them apart with the breath, as for the sound of "p" in the word "part," and repeat this rapidly. (3) Repeat, adding the various vowel sounds, in order, as "pah," "pay," etc. (4) Again repeat, substituting the "b" sound, as, "bah," "bay," etc.

To exercise the tongue: (1) with mouth well open, curve tip of tongue upward to touch the gums just back of front teeth, and return to normal. Repeat several times, gradually speeding up. (2) Repeat, sounding "lah" each time tongue is lowered. (3) Again repeat, successively using the sounds "tah," "nah," and "dah."

To exercise the jaw: (1) drop the jaw, with muscles relaxed, far enough to permit inserting the thumb sidewise between the teeth. Return to closed position, and repeat several times. (2) Repeat, sounding the syllable "mah" each time the jaw is dropped. (3) Repeat, using the sounds "maw" and "moh." Avoid any forcing down or stiffening of the jaw. It should drop loosely.

Some Good Practice Sentences

Each of the following sentences has a grand mixture of vowels and consonants. Read them aloud, slowly enough to give every sound its proper value and to be conscious of your mouth action. They will give all-round exercise to your vocal apparatus and at the same time some mighty useful ideas to carry about with you.

It's a good plan to add other practice sentences, selected from your reading or made up by yourself. And then there are always those old tongue-twisters—like "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers" and "She sells sea shells." They are very good exercises for stiff or lazy speech organs.

1. For distinct enunciation, every word, every syllable, every sound, must be given its proper form and value.
2. Think of the mouth chamber as a mold, in which the correct form must be given to every sound.
3. Will you please move your lips more noticeably?
4. The teeth should never be kept closed in speech.
5. As your voice is the most direct expression of your inmost self, you should be careful, through it, to do yourself full justice.
6. You may know what you are saying, but others will not, unless you make it clear to them.
7. Through practice, we can learn to speak more rapidly, but still with perfect distinctness.
8. Good speech is within the reach of everyone, through conscientious practice.
9. The courtesy of face to face conversation, where the smile plays such an important part, can be expressed, over the telephone, only through the tone of voice and a careful choice of words.

Finally, here is a thought which was expressed by Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone and one of the great voice teachers. It should prove especially valuable for use in practicing.

"Consonants give intelligibility to speech, but vowels give beauty of utterance. Consonants constitute the back-bone of spoken language—vowels the flesh and blood. You cannot do without them."

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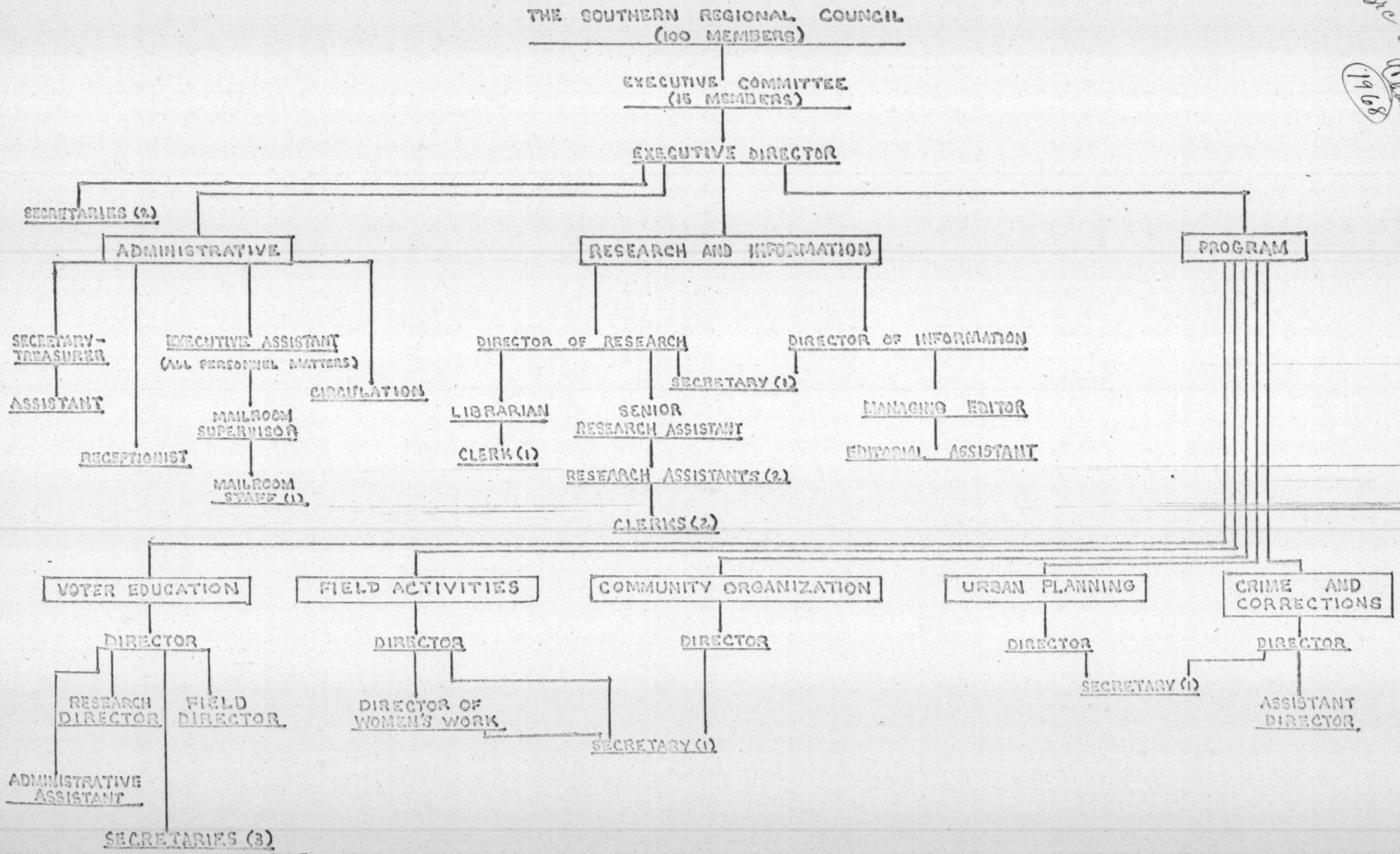

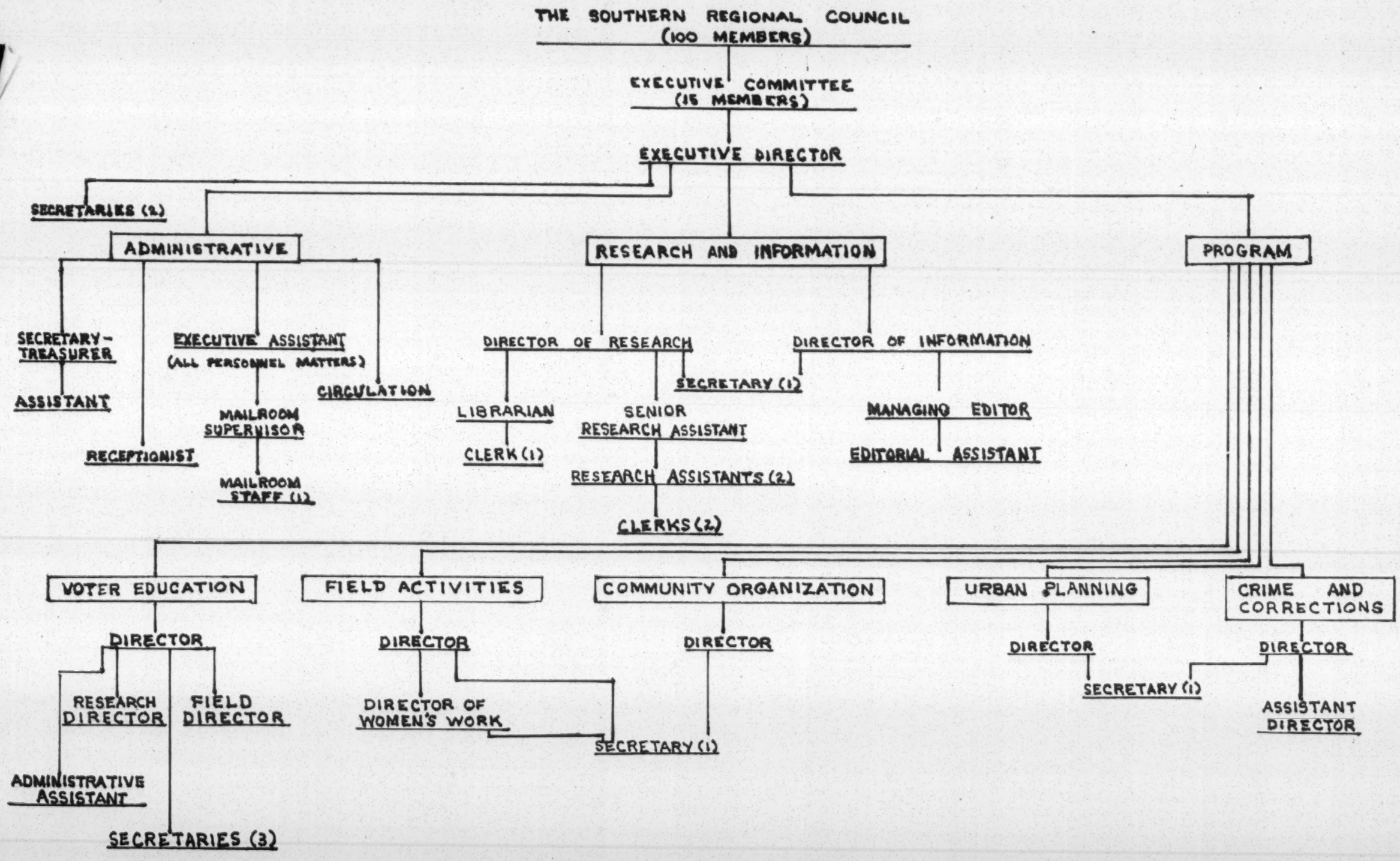
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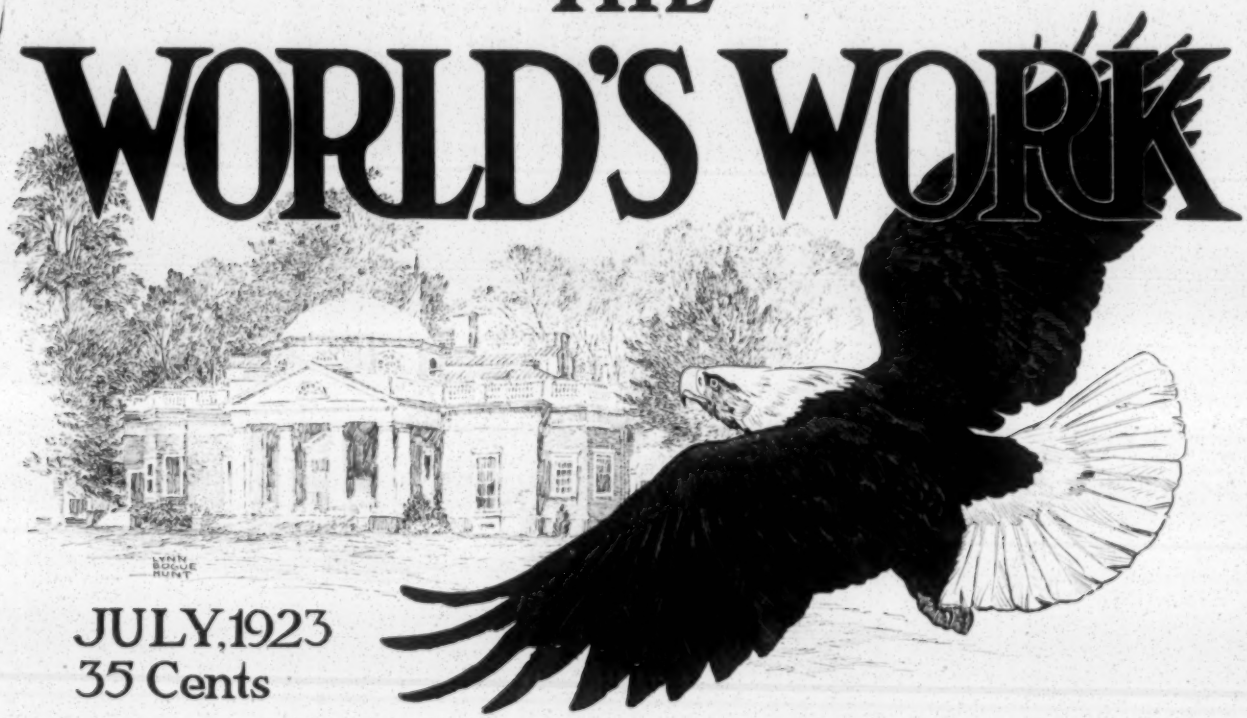

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POPULATION PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTH

●

A Brief Supplement to the Study of Civics and American Problems

●

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POPULATION PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTH

It is hard enough for people to get along together when they belong to the same family. Those of different families find it more difficult, and when there is a difference of nationality or race, it is more difficult still.* The United States has sometimes been called the "melting pot" of the world, which means that our population is made up of many different nationalities and races. Among this conglomerate population there are many differences, much misunderstanding, more or less "looking down" upon one another by the various groups, and not a little suspicion and hostility. So, while this mixture is probably an element of strength, at the same time it creates numerous population problems.

In the East there is the problem of the "foreign born"—millions of people of foreign birth, speaking different languages, and largely unaccustomed to American institutions. Their assimilation into American life and citizenship constitutes a real problem. On the West Coast there is the problem of some 200,000 Orientals—Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. These are people of a different race and culture; they work hard and live more cheaply than Americans, hence they are keen competitors; they cannot readily be assimilated. While this group is relatively small, people have sometimes become excited about it and made it the center of heated political controversy. In the Southwest there is another population group that is not yet adjusted. This is composed of a million Mexicans, most of them laborers and agricultural workers. Because of various handicaps, they are often an exploited and neglected element in the population.

For two hundred years the South's most serious population problems have centered about the Negro. "Next to representative government," says Thomas Nelson Page, noted Southern writer, "this is today the most tremendous question which faces . . . the people of the United States." Of America's handling of this problem, Mr. Page says: "In dealing with this question in the past nearly every mistake that could possibly be made has been made."

THE FIRST GRAVE MISTAKE

Turning back the pages of history we see clearly that Page was right. The introduction of slavery was the first grave mistake. Not only was it morally wrong to make slaves of human beings; we see now that it was unwise as well, politically, economically, and in every other way. Many of the nation's founders saw it even then.

Looking at slavery on the moral side, Thomas Jefferson, himself a slave owner, said: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." Contemplating its probable political effect, as a divisive issue in the life of the nation, George Washington said: "I can already foresee that nothing but the rooting out of slavery can perpetuate the existence of our Union." In 1818 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church declared that

* This difficulty, it seems, is due to the fact that people do not so readily understand those who are different from them, that they tend to be suspicious or fearful of those they do not understand, and finally that they foolishly assume that those who are different from them must necessarily be inferior.

slavery was "a gross violation of the most sacred and precious rights of human nature and utterly inconsistent with the law of God."

In 1816, in the hope of getting rid of slavery by freeing the slaves and restoring them to their native country, the African Colonization Society was established in the South. This movement was endorsed by several state legislatures and great sums of money were contributed to it by Southern people.

In 1832 the Virginia legislature came within one vote of abolishing slavery. Governor Edward Coles of Virginia, who had inherited some hundreds of slaves and was forbidden by state law to emancipate them, took them over to Illinois, set them free, supplied them with land, stock, and tools, and befriended them until they were self-supporting.

It is probable that neither Jefferson nor Washington realized how tragically true their prophecies regarding the effects of slavery were destined to be. For fifty years the issue was the center of bitter political controversy in the young republic, destroying its unity and threatening its existence. Finally the struggle culminated in the greatest misfortune in our history, the war between the states. Nearly four million members of a common country faced each other in battle, sometimes brother against brother. Four years they fought till 600,000 of the nation's finest young men were dead, and one whole section of the country lay prostrate, bankrupt, and desolate.

A NEEDLESS TRAGEDY

If slavery was a mistake, the means by which we ended it was, if possible, a greater one. We see now that the war could have been averted by the exercise of a little patience and restraint on either side, and that the problem could have been worked out on the basis of reason and justice, with much greater advantage to both sections and both races. Not only would such a course have saved the vast treasures of life and property that were destroyed by the war; it would also have averted the aftermath of sectional bitterness and division which, to some extent, continues even to this day.

Even President Lincoln saw this and declared in March, 1862: "In my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is best for all." A noted federal officer, General Samuel Armstrong (later the founder of Hampton Institute), looking at the situation from the humane standpoint, said: "It is simply barbaric to whip the South and go home rejoicing, to build monuments of victory, leaving one-third of our countrymen in the depths of distress."

OTHER COSTLY BLUNDERS

But even the war, costly as it was, did not end the tragedy of errors. Reconstruction also was a succession of costly blunders, some of them wicked, others well meaning, but mistaken and stupid. To quote General Armstrong again: "The reconstruction measures were a bridge of wood over a river of fire."

It is a mistake, however, to hold the newly freed Negroes chiefly responsible for the wrongs of the reconstruction era. In fact the Negroes themselves were largely the victims of designing men who used them to get control of the Southern states.* In his book, THE NEGRO AND THE NATION, Merriam says: "Plenty of waste and mischief was wrought . . . Yet most of the plunder seems to have gone into the pockets of knaves of the superior race."

It is a mistake also to speak of Reconstruction as the period when the South was "controlled by Negroes," "under Negro rule," etc. Strictly speaking there was no such period. Though Negro voters outnumbered the whites in five Southern states, in every state these Negro voters elected white governors; in every state but one the legislatures they chose were predominantly white, three to one, five to one, even ten to one. The chief responsibility for Reconstruction, therefore, must be laid on white leaders, rather than on the Negroes whom they used to put them into power.

In fairness also it must be admitted that the reconstruction governments did some good things. For example, they all framed state constitutions which in most cases were retained for many years after reconstruction ended. They established in each state a genuine public school system, where before there had been only makeshifts. A Negro member of the South Carolina reconstruction legislature, speaking at the convention which disfranchised him, made this defense of the government of which he had been a part:

"We were eight years in power. We have built schoolhouses, established charitable institutions, built and maintained the penitentiary system, provided for the education of the deaf and dumb, rebuilt the jails and courthouses, rebuilt the bridges, and reestablished the ferries. In short, we have reconstructed the state and placed it upon the road to prosperity, and at the same time, by our acts of financial reform, we transmitted to the Hampton government an indebtedness not greater by more than two and a half million dollars than was the bonded debt of the state in 1868."

In his history of the United States, Rhodes says of a Negro member of the Mississippi legislature: "John R. Lynch was a credit to his race and in 1872 made an impartial and dignified speaker of the House." In 1873 Lynch was given a public testimonial by Republicans and Democrats, and the leading white newspaper, the Jackson Clarion, said of him: "His bearing in office had been so proper, and his rulings in such marked contrast to the partisan conduct of the ignoble whites of his party who have aspired to be leaders of the blacks, that the conservatives cheerfully joined in the testimonial."

UNUSUAL RECORD OF LOYALTY

In this connection we might well remember also the Negro's record of loyalty to the white people of the South during the war. Of this record Page says: "No race ever behaved better than the Negroes behaved during the war. Not only were there no massacres and no outbreaks, but even the

* Some of these men were plainly self-seeking grafters; some were well-meaning but misguided zealots; some, no doubt, were sincere patriots seeking to make the best of a bad situation.

amount of defection was not large. Not only did they remain loyal, but they were nearly always faithful to every trust that had been confided to them." In a notable tribute to this same record Henry W. Grady says: "History has no parallel to the faith kept by the Negro in the South during the war.... I rejoice that when freedom came to him after years of waiting, it was all the sweeter because the black hands from which the shackles fell were stainless of a single crime against the helpless ones confided to his care."*

In contrast with the disorders usually following great social upheavals —as for example the French Revolution—the Negro's conduct after emancipation was also worthy of note. By the Thirteenth Amendment nearly 4,000,000 slaves were set free, most of them illiterate, without property, and untrained in self-direction and self-support. Yet there were no outbreaks, no serious disorders, no efforts to get revenge, "no reign of terror," such as often accompany revolutions. Page says that no serious trouble developed till the Negroes "were worked on by the ignorant and designing class who in one guise or another became their teachers and leaders." When asked how the Negroes had conducted themselves after the war the Confederate leader, General John B. Gordon, replied: "The remark is not uncommon in Georgia that no other race on earth relieved from servitude under such circumstances would have behaved so well."

ALL SECTIONS RESPONSIBLE

In contemplating past mistakes in dealing with the race question, let us remember that all sections of the country, North as well as South, must share the responsibility. If slaveholding centered largely in the South (because it was more profitable there), the slave trade centered in New England. Rhode Island, for example, built 103 slave ships in ten years; in 1770 that state alone had 150 ships engaged in the slave trade. When slaveholding became an issue, the extremists on one side were just as unreasonable as those on the other, and did just as much to make a rational settlement impossible. Neither is it necessary at this distance to "blame" anybody for what happened. It is just as well, and much kinder, to assume that most people meant well, on whichever side they were, and that the wrongs they did were mistakes of judgment rather than of intent.

Just the same it must be clear, as Page says, that our past dealing with this question has been full of costly mistakes. It is also evident, as he says again, that this problem is still one of the "most tremendous" which confronts the South and the nation. Hence it seems important that young people in the schools preparing for citizenship give serious study to this matter, so that in the future it may be handled more wisely than in the past and with less loss and greater advantage to all concerned. With that purpose, let us look now at some of the more important aspects of the present situation.

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* For entire quotation see "America's Tenth Man," page 8.

POPULATION TRENDS

In 1930 the Negro population of the United States numbered 11,891,143, or a little less than one-tenth of the total population. Of these, 8,805,635 were in thirteen Southern states and 3,085,508 were in other sections of the country.

In the previous ten years, 1920-1930, the net increase in Negro population was 1,428,012. It is notable, however, that in the thirteen Southern States the increase was only 364,529, or five per cent, while in other sections it was 1,063,483, or sixty-three per cent. This looks strange, but it was due to the fact that nearly a million Negroes went north during the prosperous twenties, lured by the hope of industrial employment. The most rapid gains were in the great cities of the East and North, so that today the five cities having the largest Negro population are all north of the Potomac River.

Meantime the white population of the country increased somewhat faster than the colored, so that the proportion of Negroes in the total was smaller in 1930 than ever before in the nation's history. In 1790 this proportion was 19.3%, or practically one in five; in 1930 it had fallen to 9.7%, or not quite one in ten. The proportion of Negroes in the South also has been steadily decreasing. In 1880 it was 36 per cent, or more than one in three. In 1900 it was 32.3 per cent; in 1920, 26.9 per cent; and in 1930 24.7 per cent, or a little less than one in four.

The same trend is found in every Southern state, with a single exception.* The population of South Carolina, for example, which was 58% colored in 1900, was only 45% colored in 1930. Meantime, between 1900 and 1930, the percentage of Negroes in the population of the other Southern states had gone down as follows: Mississippi from 58.5 per cent to 50.2 per cent; Louisiana, 47.1 to 36.9; Georgia, 46.7 to 36.8; Alabama, 45.2 to 35.7; Florida, 43.7 to 29.4; Virginia, 35.6 to 26.8; North Carolina, 33 to 29; Arkansas, 28 to 25.8; Tennessee, 23.8 to 18.3; Texas, 20.4 to 14.7; Maryland, 19.8 to 16.9; Kentucky, 13.3 to 8.6. We see, therefore, that the common opinion that Negroes are increasing faster than white people is far from true. They are not even keeping up.

The rapid movement of Negroes to other sections of the country is significant also. It tends to relieve the tension in the South, and at the same time it is giving the problem a national aspect that may help toward its solution.

PROGRESS SINCE EMANCIPATION

Since their emancipation in 1865, the progress made by American Negroes has been remarkable. Some commentators say it has been more rapid than was ever shown by any other group in an equal length of time. This is probably true, when one considers their poor start, limited opportunities, and heavy handicaps.

Though most of them were penniless when set free, it is estimated that Negroes now possess property valued at more than two billions of dollars.

* The single exception is Oklahoma, which had seven per cent of Negro population in 1920, and 7.2 per cent in 1930.

This includes more than 20,000,000 acres of land. In 1930 there were 882,850 Negro farm operators. Of these 181,016 were owners and part owners, with farm property worth more than $350,000,000. In the preceding year Negro farmers produced 32% of all the South's cotton, 25% of its sweet potatoes, 19% of its tobacco, and 16% of its corn.

In 1930 eighty per cent of Negro men and thirty-eight per cent of the women (including boys and girls over ten) were gainfully employed in hundreds of occupations and trades. Of these, many thousands were listed by the Federal census as owners, managers, foremen, and overseers. They were conducting more than 25,000 retail stores, with sales aggregating $100,000,000 a year. Engaged in the various professions were 351 technical engineers, 361 chemists, 430 artists, 545 photographers, 1,038 social workers, 1,247 lawyers, 2,146 dentists, 3,805 physicians and surgeons, 4,130 actors, 5,728 trained nurses, 10,533 musicians, 25,034 clergymen and 54,683 teachers.

In recent years the race has made great gains in health. Between 1910 and 1930 their death rate per thousand decreased from 24.2 to 16.5. In ten years their average life span increased from forty-one years to forty-six. These gains without doubt were due largely to education, with increasing emphasis on hygiene and sanitation.

The educational progress of the race is best shown by the decrease of illiteracy (inability to read and write) from an estimated ninety per cent in 1865 to sixteen per cent in 1930. The 1930 census reported 2,477,311 Negro children attending school. About 22,000 are in college and more than 20,000 have won college degrees, many of them with honors. Hundreds have achieved notably in music, art, and literature, and have made valuable contributions to American culture. Others have won distinction in science and invention. On the whole the record is highly creditable and justifies great hope for the future progress and usefulness of the race.*

GRAVE PROBLEMS FOR BOTH RACES

Along with these evidences of progress, however, there still exist among Negroes many conditions that constitute grave problems for both races. One of the commonest and most serious of these is poverty. Though the aggregate wealth of the group is large, the great majority of Negroes are still poor and dependent. Many of them own practically nothing, their earnings are uncertain and very meager, and their standards of living low. Most of them occupy rented houses without modern conveniences and often unfit for human habitation.** Insufficient clothing, poor food, and unsanitary surroundings sap their vitality and encourage disease. Scant

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* A general survey of Negro progress since emancipation—in property ownership, industry, business, education, religion, health, literature, and art—will be found in "America's Tenth Man," "Recent Trends in Race Relations," and "Singers in the Dawn." Personal or library copies of these should be available to every student making this study.

** In 1930 there were 2,803,756 Negro families in the United States; of these, 2,050,217, or 73 per cent, were living in rented houses.

hope for the improvement of their condition tends to destroy ambition, discourage energy, and lower efficiency.

WAGES AND PUBLIC WELFARE

The low wage scale of most Negro workers is a serious element in this problem. Low wages for any group mean, of course, that they have little purchasing power and that their standards of living are low. This in turn means less business for those they buy from. At the same time the competition of this low wage group tends to lower the wages and living standards of all other workers. So everybody suffers together, white and colored, business people as well as wage earners.* This is doubtless one reason why the wealth of the Southern states averages only $1,785 per person, while in the rest of the country the average is $3,609—more than twice as great. There is no ready-made answer to this problem, but intelligent people may well begin to consider it seriously.

FARM TENANCY

Of the 882,850 Negro farm operators reported by the 1930 census 700,911 were landless renters and tenants. Only one in two hundred of these families had a telephone and but one in three hundred had water and lights in the home. More than three-fourths of their houses were valued at less than $500 each. Yet in 1929 these Negro farmers produced crops and food stuffs valued at 643 millions of dollars. Had their conditions been such as to favor ambition and efficiency, their productiveness and their value to society undoubtedly would have been much greater. There are also 1,954,137 white farm tenants, making a total of some 2,600,000 farm tenant families, comprising twelve million people.

At last we are beginning to realize the magnitude and seriousness of this problem and to look about for a solution. The governments of Ireland, Denmark, Finland, and other European countries have remedied similar conditions of tenancy, poverty, and dependence by making farm ownership possible on easy terms. A similar program in this country has been authorized by Congress and funds have been appropriated to begin it.

POOR HEALTH AND HIGH MORTALITY

Of late the health of Negroes, as stated before, has shown decided improvement. With all that, however, the rates of Negro morbidity and mortality (long names for disease and death) are still much too high. In 1927 the annual Negro death rate was 17.5 per thousand, while that of white people was only 10.8 per thousand. This means that Negroes were dying at a rate 62% higher than white people. In 1930 their death rate was 16.5 per thousand, which still was more than 50 per cent higher than that of

* Speaking of the efforts people sometimes make to keep others down, Dr. Booker T. Washington used to say: "It isn't possible to hold another man down in the ditch without staying down there with him."

white people. In a number of states and in many cities it was twice as high. Vicksburg, Mississippi, reported the highest death rate, 43.4 per thousand; Little Rock, 35; Charleston, 33; Lexington, Kentucky, 32.9; Shreveport, 32.1; Columbia, S. C., 30; Macon and Savannah, Georgia, and Greenville, S. C., 26.

Tuberculosis is one of the commonest diseases among colored people, their yearly death rate from this cause averaging 193 per hundred thousand. The rate varied greatly in the different states, but in every case was two to five times as high as the tuberculosis death rate among white people. Since this disease is largely preventable and curable, it is evident that health agencies have not given proper attention to its prevalence among colored people.

Infant mortality (the death of babies under one year of age) was 99.5 for every thousand Negro children, as compared with 59.6 for white infants. This higher rate was due to a variety of causes—unsanitary surroundings, poor medical attention at birth and later (a great number of Negro mothers have no physician at the birth of their children), improper food because of ignorance and poverty, and lack of maternal care due to the fact that so many Negro mothers have to go out to work.*

CONSEQUENT ECONOMIC LOSS

All this means, of course, that there is a great deal more sickness among Negroes than among white people. This, in turn, means corresponding loss of time, reduction of efficiency and producing power, and heavy expense for the care and treatment of the sick. This loss to society runs every year into hundreds of millions of dollars; yet much of it is due to preventable illness and could be saved by more efficient public health services. Unfortunately, these services are frequently limited largely to white people, though obviously it is the Negroes who need them most. For example, public health clinics, dental examinations, and inoculations against contagious diseases are much more general in white than in Negro schools. Hospital facilities for Negroes are meager and often entirely absent. This, of course, means that Negroes have a poorer chance to be healthy than white people, and that disease and death are commoner among them.

FROM ALLEY TO AVENUE

Here again everybody suffers, white people as well as black, for many diseases are contagious, and, as someone has said, "disease germs do not respect the color line." Every day, according to the 1930 census, more than a million Negro cooks, laundresses, and maids go into the homes of white people to prepare their food, wash their clothes, and care for their

* A committee of prominent women, investigating the living conditions of Negroes in Atlanta, found three small children out on the street in front of their home. One of the children, a baby, was asleep on the ground. The committee learned that the mother, going away every morning to work for white people, locked the children out of the house for fear they might be burned to death. The committee provided a day nursery and turned it over to a group of competent colored women to operate. Now no Negro child in that neighborhood has to sleep in the street while its mother goes to work.

children.* In so far as these domestic helpers live in unsanitary, disease-breeding slums (as many of them do, not from choice but from necessity), the contagion of the alley will certainly spread to the avenue. Hence, for the protection of all its people, irrespective of race, the wise community will take steps to abolish its slums, provide decent homes amid sanitary surroundings, and guard with equal care the health of all its citizens.

Unfortunately, most communities are not yet awake to the importance of taking these necessary steps. In general, Negro housing in both city and country is notoriously poor, the streets in Negro sections are likely to be unpaved and poorly lighted, the sewers often end where the Negro section begins, water and bath tubs in the houses are the exception rather than the rule. Yet in proportion to the value of the property they occupy, Negroes commonly pay higher rents than any other group. These are problems to which the rising generation of citizens may well give attention, North as well as South. The recent work of the Federal government in slum clearance and the provision of modern housing is an encouraging step in this direction. In view of the magnitude of the need, however, it is only a beginning.

THE PROBLEM OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Another problem of citizenship peculiar to the South is that of public education for Negroes. Our ancestors who established public schools believed that every child was entitled to a reasonable opportunity for education. They realized also that a sound democracy was impossible without an educated citizenship. But there were many children whose parents were not able to pay for private education. So, in harmony with the American ideal, a system of public schools was provided for in which the poorest child should have the same chance as the most fortunate. The law of every Southern state distinctly says that this shall be true, whether the child is white or colored.

In relation to Negro children, however, this law is rarely carried out. The average expenditure of public school money throughout the Southern states is nearly four to one in favor of the white child—$44.31 for each white child enrolled and $12.57 for each colored child. Following are the figures for eleven Southern states for the year 1929-30 as given by Prof. Fred McCuistion, of Arkansas, in a report entitled, "Financing Schools in the South."

PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPENDITURES PER CHILD ENROLLED, 1929-1930

State	*White*	*Colored*
Alabama	$36.43	$10.09
Arkansas	38.15	13.02
Florida	57.16	14.45
Georgia	35.42	6.38

* According to the census of 1930 there were 1,576,205 Negroes engaged in domestic service in the United States.

Louisiana	67.47	16.54
Maryland	64.86	43.16
Mississippi	45.34	5.45
North Carolina	40.07	15.71
Oklahoma	43.86	34.25
South Carolina	60.06	7.84
Texas	38.76	16.02

The figures above, of course, are only averages. The extremes found in hundreds of counties run as high as ten, twenty or even thirty to one in favor of the white child. The student can probably find many of them in the report of his own State Department of Education.

In many counties less is spent on the Negro schools than the amounts the state has given those counties on account of their Negro school children. In such cases, the white schools get their full share of state funds, all the school funds raised within the county, and also a considerable share of the state funds sent down for the Negro child. One state superintendent reported recently that more than four-fifths of the counties in that state were thus diverting to white schools $1,200,000 of funds sent down to them on account of Negro children. In another state the amount thus diverted in a recent year appears to have been more than $600,000. Thus it comes about that in counties with many Negro children their schools are often neglected and the white schools are generously provided for, largely from funds the county received because of its Negro children.

Some of the states, happily, have recently enacted laws to curb this practice, but it is still widely prevalent in others.

Buildings and equipment for Negro schools are usually inferior. Many thousands of Negro children go to school in buildings unfit for use—tumble down churches and lodge rooms, log cabins, abandoned tenant houses, with roofs leaking, windows broken out or closed only with solid shutters, benches without backs, no desks or tables, stoves rotting with rust, and walls too flimsy and open to keep out the cold.* Shorter school terms for Negro schools are not uncommon; consolidated schools for Negroes are practically unknown in most states. Some counties expend solely on bus transportation of white children more than they expend for all purposes on their Negro schools.

These conditions illustrate the heavy disadvantage under which the Negro child labors to get an education. Evidently such an unequal distribution of school funds violates the fundamental theory of the public school

* The writer of this pamphlet recently visited every Negro rural school in two populous Georgia counties. Most of them were exactly like those described above. Only one-fourth of these buildings were owned by the counties.

system.* One may question also whether it is not poor policy from the standpoint of the general welfare. Can people with little or no education be as efficient, as productive, and as law-abiding as if they had received greater advantages?** Does not the whole community suffer as a result of their neglect? It is obvious, of course, that these conditions cannot be changed in a day, but the question is so serious as to challenge the conscientious attention of every citizen interested in the general welfare and in justice to a minority group.

PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

The same problem of the equitable distribution of public benefits and services between the two population groups appears also in many other forms. The cities provide public parks and playgrounds to afford opportunity for normal recreation. These are especially necessary for city children, most of whom live in sections so crowded that normal opportunities for play are impossible. Of all the population, Negro children are worst off in this respect; hence of all the children in the community, they are most in need of public recreation grounds.

Yet, strange to say, most cities and towns make little or no provision for this need on the part of colored children. Here, for example, is a big Southern city, with 90,000 Negroes making up a third of its population. For white people it has 1,300 acres of parks valued at more than three million dollars. For the exclusive use of its 90,000 Negroes it has only one park of fourteen acres, valued at $41,000.

This again is not a matter which concerns the Negro alone. It affects also the whole community, for the child without opportunities for wholesome play is much less likely to grow up into good citizenship; much more likely to become a problem and a menace to society. Leaving aside the question of justice to the Negro children, would it not also be good policy for every community to see that they are provided with ample opportunities for normal recreation? Would it not pay in better citizenship, better health, greater efficiency, and higher moral standards on the part of the Negro population?

Similar problems are found in relation to nearly all other public services—public libraries (often wholly inaccessible to Negroes), sewers which frequently end where the Negro section begins, street paving and lights, public health activities of city and county, clinics in the schools, etc.

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* Discrimination against the Negro child in the expenditure of public money is sometimes defended on the ground that Negroes do not pay a great amount of taxes. But there are also a great many white people who pay little or no taxes; yet nobody would think of giving their children poorer schools on that account, while providing excellent schools for the children of the well-to-do. Furthermore, one may ask whose labor really pays the tax, that of the landlord, or that of the people who work his land and rent his houses?

** Apparently there is a close connection between ignorance and crime. Some time ago the University of North Carolina made a study of 1036 Negro convicts in 33 prison camps. More than a third of these convicts were found to be totally illiterate and eighty-three per cent were unable to read newspapers. Not one of them had gone to high school.

THE ATTITUDE OF OFFICERS

In many communities a serious problem is found in the attitude of officers of the law toward Negroes. Vested with considerable authority and with guns to enforce it, officers are not always as courteous and considerate as they might be in dealing with the public in general. Negroes, being largely without influence and political power, are the chief sufferers. They are often arrested and thrown into jail for insignificant offenses and on the barest suspicion. They may be threatened and tortured to extort a confession or testimony against others. Then they may be convicted and sentenced to prison or to death solely on evidence thus secured.* In court people are assumed to be innocent till they are proved guilty, but with Negroes it often works the other way.

Not infrequently, in the process of arrest, Negroes are beaten and sometimes shot and killed. In a Southern city a dozen Negroes were thus killed by police in a recent year. None of these killings was thoroughly investigated and none of the officers who committed them was reprimanded. A Negro discovered prowling in a used car lot was shot to death by police as he ran to escape arrest; a blind Negro was shot to death in his home by two officers who went to arrest him; a Negro of excellent reputation was taken from his home by police at three o'clock in the morning on a trumped-up charge and at four was delivered by the officers to the hospital severely beaten and practically dead of three pistol shots—these are some of the cases that have recently come to light in that particular city.

Such things are so common that Negroes in many places look upon white policemen as their natural enemies and expect no justice at their hands. It would seem that mayors, police committees, and grand juries should watch keenly for police injustice and promptly and properly punish any officers found guilty of it. In the effort to improve this condition more than a dozen Southern cities have tried the appointment of colored detectives and police to serve in the Negro sections.** Officials of these cities report that the plan has been found helpful in keeping order and in retaining the confidence and cooperation of the Negro community. This is another of the problems which boys and girls in school today will be called upon to face as citizens a few years hence.

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* As this is written, (November, 1936), a former governor of Mississippi is fighting for the lives of three Negroes sentenced to death on evidence said to have been secured in this way. In setting aside this verdict the United States Supreme Court said: "The rack and torture chamber may not be substituted for the witness chair."

** Among Southern or border cities reported as using Negro police are Baltimore, Washington, Louisville, Knoxville, Memphis, Tampa, St. Louis, Kansas City, Austin, Beaumont, Houston, Galveston, Muskogee, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, and a number of smaller places. Several larger Southern cities have Negro probation officers to work with the juvenile courts, and a few have colored policewomen.

MURDER AT THE HANDS OF THE MOB

A problem peculiar to America ("peculiar" in the sense that it is found in no other part of the world) is that of lynching—the murder of people by mobs. Among right-minded people there is no difference of opinion about this practice; everybody condemns it—ministers, educators, editors, statesmen, intelligent, thoughtful men and women in all walks of life. In a recent address the Southern Methodist bishops said: "We especially urge that everything possible be done to prevent lynchings, which are no less a disgrace to those who engage in them than they are an outrage upon the helpless victim." Every year the Southern Baptist Convention pronounces a severe indictment of this crime, and from time to time the other great churches do likewise. Recently more than 40,000 white women have enrolled in the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Each of these women has personally signed a repudiation of lynching for any cause whatever and a pledge to do everything in her power to abolish it.

Happily all this is having its effect and the lynching habit is slowly passing out. Lynchings are still frequent enough, however, to be recognized around the world as a characteristic American custom, marking us as excitable, brutal, and only partly civilized. Though nearly everybody condemns lynching, there are still people here and there who think it sometimes necessary. These people need to be informed. They should know such facts as the following, which were revealed by careful investigation of the eighty-four lynchings that took place in the five years ending with 1935:

1. Eleven per cent of the eighty-four persons lynched were not even accused of crime.

2. Many others equally innocent were lynched because of unfounded suspicion, false accusation, and mistaken identity.

3. Another large proportion of mob victims were accused only of minor offenses, some of them even trivial.

4. Numbers of those lynched for homicide were found to have killed in self-defense. If they had been white men, they would have been held guiltless.

5. Crimes against women, actual or attempted, were charged in only one-fourth of the lynchings of the past five years, and in these cases a number of those lynched were found to have been falsely accused.

But even if all mob victims were worthy of death, lynching would still be wrong. It exalts anarchy above law, and thus strikes at the very foundations of ordered society. "Every lyncher," said the great Mississippian, Bishop Charles B. Galloway, "becomes a law-despiser, and every law-despiser is a betrayer of his country."

In America there is no issue of greater importance than that of abolishing lynching. Every good citizen should exercise his utmost influence to that end.

PEONAGE

Another occasional practice for which there can be no defense is that of "peonage," or debt slavery. This means that Negroes who get in debt to landlords and employers are sometimes held in servitude by force and intimidation, on the pretext of working out their debt. Some years ago a prominent Georgia planter, under suspicion of holding Negroes in peonage, was convicted of killing or causing the death of eleven Negro farm hands to keep them from testifying against him. In November, 1936, a city marshal in Arkansas was fined $3,500 for holding eight Negroes in enforced slavery.* About the same time four men were arrested in Florida, charged with holding Negroes in peonage in a turpentine camp. A Louisiana planter convicted recently on a similar charge defended himself by saying that he was only doing what everybody else did. This, of course, was not true, but it indicates that in some sections the practice is not uncommon. It is very difficult for the courts to break it up, because the victims of peonage are usually afraid to testify.

THE BALLOT

No study of this kind would be complete without a consideration of the problem of Negro suffrage. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified March 30, 1870, provides that "the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment does not mean that every person must be allowed to vote, irrespective of his fitness to do so; it leaves each state free to decide what qualifications for suffrage shall be required. It does mean, however, that these qualifications should apply equally to all citizens, and that no one who can meet them should be denied the ballot merely because of his race.

Nevertheless, in many sections Negroes, even when intelligent and well educated, are kept from voting by one means or another. Most of the Southern states, for example, provide that voters must be able to read and "interpret" the constitution of state or nation to the satisfaction of the election officers. If they see fit to do so, these officers can refuse to accept the most intelligent interpretation. Thus the best educated Negro in the community may be denied the ballot.

In many sections it is sufficient merely to let Negroes understand that they are not supposed to vote and that it may make trouble for them if they try to do so. Actual intimidation and violence are sometimes resorted to. The one-party system, based on the primary in which only white persons may vote, is another means by which Negroes are excluded, particularly in state and local elections. Thus, in some states and in certain

* The Arkansas Gazette, leading daily paper, said of this case: "It was as grave an offense as could be committed in America against fundamental human rights."

sections of others, it comes about that few Negroes have any part whatever in the governments under which they live. Consequently, they have little or no political influence and no power to protect their interests.

A great many people are beginning to wonder whether a wiser way may not be found. Not everybody is competent to exercise the ballot, to be sure. It must be protected, of course, by suffrage limitations. But should not such limitations be applied equally to both races? Would good government be endangered by such a course, or would it be made stronger and more secure through increased loyalty on the part of the Negro group?

Dr. R. R. Moton, former president of Tuskegee Institute, expressed the Negro's view of this matter in the following words in a recent address at Peabody College, Nashville:

"Negroes would like to share in the government only in proportion to their merit, their ability, and their fitness. They have no desire for dominance. There are many Negroes who own property. They have something at stake in every state and county and town in the South. They are as anxious as any other citizen that their property be protected, and they are concerned for the best interests of the community. Therefore, they want to get the best man available to govern the community or the state or the nation. Here in Tennessee you might pick out the best colored man in the state as a candidate for governor and you could not get the Negroes of Tennessee to vote for him. They wouldn't want a Negro as governor. That is not lack of respect for their race, either. They would want as governor the man with the most experience and the best background, the man who is most representative of all the people. So you see after all, there is really nothing to fear from the Negro in politics."*

This problem of the suffrage is not simple, of course. In some sections it is much more difficult than in others. It cannot be solved overnight. However, it is one of the most important problems of our section, and those who are coming into citizenship must work it out in harmony with the public interest and the best traditions of our democracy.

JURIES AND COURTS

Similar to the question of the ballot is that of jury service for Negroes. In a case that was carried up from the Alabama courts in 1935 the Supreme Court of the United States set aside a verdict against a Negro on the ground that Negroes were systematically excluded from jury service on account of race. Governor Bibb Graves, of Alabama, immediately issued a statement in which he said: "Holdings of the United States Supreme Court are the supreme laws of the land. . . . This decision means that we must put the names of Negroes in jury boxes in every county in the State. Alabama is going to observe the supreme law of America." He then advised the officials of every county to include in the jury rolls the names of Negroes who were qualified for jury service by intelligence and char-

* The part taken by Negro voters in the last presidential election (November 3, 1936) tends to confirm Dr. Moton's statement. Though the Communists nominated a Negro for vice president, very few Negroes voted for him. Some stuck by their traditional loyalty to the Republican party, but the great majority voted for Roosevelt. In the last three elections the populous Negro district of Chicago has elected a Negro Democrat to Congress, defeating the Republican candidate who was also a Negro.

acter. In cases involving Negroes, courts in many sections of the South are beginning to call one or more qualified Negroes for jury service. No unfavorable results have been observed. Negroes naturally feel that in this way their interests in the courts are better protected, and the white people concerned seem to recognize the fairness of this procedure.*

THE REAL QUESTION

In essence, all these civic problems reduce down to just two: (1) That of doing justice to a minority group, and (2) that of serving the best interests of all. The American people would like to do both, of course. Is it possible to do both at the same time, or must we sacrifice one to accomplish the other? That is the real question that future citizens must face.

There are some who think it necessary to deny the rights of the minority, to limit their opportunities, and "keep them down," in order to advance the welfare of the majority.

There are others who feel sure that no good can come from injustice, that in keeping others down we degrade ourselves, and that the best interests of all will be served by the highest welfare of each.

The former view is the theory of autocracy against which our Revolutionary forefathers revolted.

The latter is the theory of the American democracy which they established.

Which shall we follow in reference to 11,000,000 colored Americans?

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* As a matter of fact Negroes are often at a disadvantage in the courts. Their guilt is more likely to be taken for granted, and they are sometimes convicted on insufficient evidence, merely because of this presumption of guilt. They are likely to get heavier sentences than white men convicted of similar offenses, and far more likely to be sent to the electric chair. A white man who steals a hundred thousand dollars has a much better chance of escaping punishment than a Negro who steals a hog. This is a well known weakness of American courts that ought certainly to be corrected.

MATERIALS FOR STUDY OF SOUTH'S POPULATION PROBLEMS

For several years a large number of representative Southern educators, meeting annually as the Conference on Education and Race Relations, have been emphasizing the need of a sound educational approach to the peculiar problems incident to the South's biracial population.

Since preparation for intelligent citizenship is an essential function of education, and since the most serious problems of citizenship in the South are connected with the interracial situation, they are convinced that schools and colleges can render the South a vastly important service by preparing future citizens to understand these problems and to solve them in wisdom and justice.

Of late, official curriculum study groups in many of the Southern states are recommending that units of teaching based on this problem be prepared for use in classes in American history, literature, education, civics, and sociology, and be made available for all the schools.

"Population Problems in the South" has been prepared in response to that suggestion, for use in classes in civics and American problems. It is available in quantity at thirty cents per dozen, or $2.00 per hundred. Other material available for the development of such a unit are:

"America's Tenth Man," a sixteen-page survey of the Negro's contribution to American civilization. More than 150,000 copies have been used in clases in American history. Samples free on request; $1.50 per hundred.

"Singers in the Dawn," a brief anthology of American Negro poetry. Sketches of forty poets, with selections from their work. 24 pages and attractive cover. Ten cents per copy. Quantity price to schools quoted on request.

"Southland Spirituals," sixty-four of the best known Negro melodies, words and music. All the old-time favorites. 64 pages and cover. Twenty-five cents.

"Songs of the South," an abridged edition of the above, containing seventeen of the most popular spirituals, words and music. Good paper, substantial cover. Ten cents per copy, $1.00 per dozen.

Envelope assortment, ten pamphlets, all different, four to sixteen pages each. The entire assortment, 86 pages, 10 cents.

For above materials or further information, write

CONFERENCE on EDUCATION and RACE RELATIONS

R. B. Eleazer, Secretary

710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Ga.

COPY

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

May 241

Mr. John Doe
2 Bay Street
New York City.

Dear Sir:

During World War I Negroes made some substantial gains in things social and economic. Many of these gains were lost during the twenty years that followed. During the current war Negroes are registering gains that can be conserved only through struggle and some careful planning. Judging from the interracial tension that is everywhere manifest, opposition to Negro advance demands serious attention. So pronounced is this opposition becoming that An Interested White Southerner writes, "I want Negroes to get as much recognition as citizens-full fledged-as possible; I want them to hold as much of the gains made in this field as possible after the war. It is at the latter point that my concern arises. Unless Southern white people agree that this gain must be preserved, I am afraid for the future of Southern Negroes. Now and for the duration is our opportunity to convince the white South that the obvious minima of citizenship must be accorded during peace as well as for successful war. White and Negro leaders of the South should agree on ultimate goals, immediate objectives and strategy. When we have done this, we can work jointly and separately in carrying out our objectives."

This "Interested White Southerner" has suggested that a meeting of a few Negroes be called say, in Atlanta, where they could formulate proposals stating in concrete terms just what they desire of the White South. After Negroes themselves had agreed, a meeting of Southern white men and women could be called the next day to consider and discuss the proposals which we submit. The meetings of both whites and Negroes are to be "All Southern".

This letter of inquiry revolves around three important questions namely, are you interested in such a meeting? Would you attend, if possible? Do you look with favor on such a meeting. This "feeling out" letter is going to only one other prominent Negro in your state besides yourself. In case sentiment favors such a meeting, we would issue the call to two other prominent Negroes of your state whose names please submit in your favorable reply. Will you let me hear from you by return mail?

Dr. P. B. Young of The Journal and Guide has been the only person contacted on the matter to date, and he was favorable towards it. He and I thought that this "sounding out" letter should precede any further efforts along this line. This letter goes to about twenty prominent Negroes of the South and upon their estimates of the possibilities the whole matter rests.

Very truly yours,

Gordon B. Hancock

GBH:m

P. S. Our Interested Southerner adds, "The initiative should be taken by Southern Negroes. I can promise you cooperation from Southern white people."

50

File 1
SRC - Historical Material

Organizations Committed To a Program of Education To Prevent Lynching

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Over 41,000 white women have repudiated lynching for any cause and have pledged themselves to educate against lynching in their communities. They come from the 13 Southern States and Missouri and West Virginia they live in 2,996 towns and small rural communities; they work in church societies and small clubs; they have secured the cooperation of 1,318 peace officers. Their number is steadily increasing.

"The great voice of America does not come from seats of learning. It comes in a murmur from the hills and the woods and the farms and factories and the mills, rolling and gaining in volume until it comes to us from the homes of common men." —WOODROW WILSON.

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

710 Standard Building

Atlanta, Georgia

October 1940

Third Edition, November, 1941

Organizations Committed to a Program of Education to Prevent Lynching

Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Southeast Regional Conference
Baptist, Southern Convention, Woman's Missionary Union
Disciples of Christ, International Convention
Episcopal Church, Fifty-first Triennial Convention, 1934
Episcopal Church, Executive Board of the Woman's Auxiliary
Episcopal Church, Woman's Auxiliary to the National Council
Federation of Women's Clubs
Jewish Women, National Council
Jewish Women, Southern Interstate Conference
Methodist Woman's Division of Christian Service
Presbyterian Church, U. S., Committee on Woman's Work
Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., Woman's Missionary Organizations
Temple Sisterhoods, National Federation
Young Women's Christian Association, National

Alabama

Episcopal Church, Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Alabama
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Alabama Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Alabama Conference
Methodist Church, North Alabama Conference
Temple Sisterhoods, Alabama-Florida-Georgia Federation

Arkansas

American Association of University Women, Little Rock Branch
Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Democratic Women's Clubs
Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Arkansas
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Little Rock Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Arkansas Conference
Methodist Church, Little Rock Conference

Florida

Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Catholic Women's Club of Jacksonville
Disciples of Christ, Florida Convention
Disciples of Christ, Women's Missionary Societies of Florida
Democratic Women's Association, Duval County
Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Florida
Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of South Florida
Episcopal Young People's Service League Diocese of Florida

Florida—(*Continued*)

Federation of Women's Clubs
Federation of Women's Clubs, Polk County
Methodist Church, Florida Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Florida Conference
Ministerial Alliance, Jacksonville
Religious Council of Jacksonville Women
Temple Sisterhoods, Alabama-Florida-Georgia Federation
Young Women's Christian Association, Jacksonville

Georgia

Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Disciples of Christ, Women's Missionary Societies of Georgia
Disciples of Christ, Georgia Convention
Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Atlanta
Federated Church women of Georgia
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Georgia Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, South Georgia Conference
Methodist Church, North Georgia Conference
Methodist Church, South Georgia Conference
Methodist Protestant Missionary Society of Georgia
Presbyterian Church, U. S., Committee on Woman's Work, Synod of Georgia
Temple Sisterhoods, Alabama-Florida-Georgia Federation
Woman's Christian Temperance Union

Kentucky

Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Disciples of Christ, Woman's Missionary Societies of Kentucky
Disciples of Christ, Kentucky Convention
Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Kentucky
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Kentucky Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Louisville Conference
Temple Sisterhoods, Kentucky Federation

Louisiana

Association of Peace Officers, 1934
Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Disciples of Christ, Woman's Missionary Societies of Louisiana
Disciples of Christ, Louisiana Missionary Society
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Louisiana Conference

Mississippi

Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Mississippi
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Mississippi Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Mississippi Conference
Methodist Church, North Mississippi Conference

MISSISSIPPI—(*Continued*)

Methodist Young People's Conference, North Mississippi Conference
Parent-Teacher Association
Temple Sisterhoods, Mississippi Federation
Woman's Christian Temperance Union

NORTH CAROLINA

Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Carolina Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Western North Carolina Conference
Methodist Church, Western North Carolina Conference
Methodist Church, North Carolina Conference
Society of Friends

OKLAHOMA

Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Oklahoma Conference
Presbyterian Church, U. S., Woman's Auxiliary, Synod of Oklahoma

SOUTH CAROLINA

Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, South Carolina Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Upper South Carolina Conference

TENNESSEE

Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Disciples of Christ, Woman's Missionary Societies of Tennessee
Disciples of Christ, Tennessee Convention
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Memphis Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Tennessee Conference
Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., Synodical Society for Missions

TEXAS

Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Central Texas Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Texas Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Northwest Texas Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Texas Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, West Texas Conference

VIRGINIA

Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Virginia Conference
Presbyterian Church, U. S., Woman's Auxiliary, Synod of Virginia

Item 11

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE ON RACE RELATIONS

Durham, N. C., October 20, 1942

Statement of Purpose

★

A Basis for Inter-racial Cooperation and Development in the South: A Statement by Southern Negroes

—*Sub-Committee Report*

★

A List of Those Who Attended the Conference

★

Press Comments

★

Other Comments on Conference Statement

P. B. YOUNG, *Chairman*

LUTHER P. JACKSON, *Secretary-Treasurer*

GORDON B. HANCOCK, *Director*

Statement of Purpose

By

GORDON B. HANCOCK

Director

If as has been said, there are some hours of more than sixty minutes and some minutes of more than sixty seconds, surely we have come upon such a great moment in the history of our race and nation. It is a moment of great possibilities and not a little surcharged with drama. Many things have been spoken for him and against him, to him and about him; but the Southern Negro is today speaking for himself. His laudable attempt should be a source of pride to the Negro and white South, and to the Negro and white North, East, and West. Oftimes the little we do for ourselves proves more meaningful than the great things others do for us, however praiseworthy what others do, may be.

The Inception Of The Conference

The inception of this conference hinges about the tragedy that took place at the close of World War I, when returning Negro soldiers were met not with expressions and evidences of the democracy for which they had fought and for which thousands of their fellow race-men had died. Instead there was a sweeping surge of bitterness and rebuff that in retrospect constitutes one of the ugliest scars on the fair face of our nation. Interracial matters were left adrift and tragic was our experience and distressing was our disillusionment. Today the nations are locked in mortal combat and the situation is desperate and dangerous, with the scales of fortune so delicately poised that we dare not predict what a day may bring forth; but this we know, that the Negro is again taking the field in defense of his nation. Quite significant also is the fact that whereas the pronounced anti-Negro movement followed the last war, it is getting under way even before the issues of war have been decided. In an hour of national peril, efforts are being made to defeat the Negro first and the Axis powers later. Already the dire threat to throw again the Negro question into the politics of the South is becoming more and more dangerous. This is a direct challenge to the Negroes of the South, who have most to gain if this threat is throttled and most to lose if it is fulfilled.

The Purpose Of The Conference

The purpose then of this conference is to try to do something about this developing situation. We are proposing to set forth in certain "Articles of Cooperation" just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation. Instead of letting the

demagogues guess what we want, we are proposing to make our wants and aspirations a matter of record, so clear that he who runs may read. We are hoping in this way to challenge the constructive cooperation of that element of the white South who express themselves as desirous of a New Deal for the Negroes of the South.

In our Articles of Cooperation we are seeking for a common denominator of constructive actions for Negroes and this group of whites who are doing many of the things we want done, and cannot do ourselves. In other words we are proposing to draft a New Charter of Race Relations in the South. The old charter is paternalistic and traditional; we want a new Charter that is fraternalistic and scientific; for the old charter is not campatible with the manhood and security of the Negro, neither is it compatible with the dignity and self-respect of the South. It ever leaves the South morally on the defensive! The Negro has paid the full price of citizenship in the South and nation, and the Negro wants to enjoy the full exercise of this citizenship, no more and no less.

No Cleavage Desired

The purpose of this conference then is not secessionist. We of the South know full well that any attempt of the Southern Negro to secede from Negroes of other regions will be even more fatal and abortive than the attempt in the 1860's. Our major objective is accession not secession. This conference is not isolationist. Science, religion and education have doomed isolation and isolationism forever. If the Nations separated by the seven seas cannot be isolated how much less can the Negroes of the South. We know that the Negro question of the South is a part of the great question throughout the nation and world. We know that before the question is settled anywhere it must be settled everywhere. But we also know that constitutional ailments may often be helped by local measures. This conference is not seditionist. We are not meeting clandestinely in bundist fashion; but rather as citizens of the South and nation and well within our Constitutional rights and prerogatives. We therfeore need not cringe and crawl, tremble or truckle or even tip-toe, as we deliberate on a possible way to relieve a pressure that is already becoming critical.

Task Delicate, But Not Impossible

To be sure, our task is a delicate one, but delicate tasks are never impossible, if performed by men who are not themselves delicate in spirit. More often the firm handling of delicate issues proves the wiser course. The matter handled in Fanuel Hall was delicate, but it was firmly handled and the world thereby was blessed. So in this historic meeting today, whatever advance step we may make in race relations will rebound to the advantage of the South and nation no less than to the advancement of the Negro race. Let us bear ever in mind that the soul of the South and nation are at stake no less than the fortunes of the Negro race. The greater tragedy of critical situations lies not in the impairment of circumstances and fortunes, but of spirits. Should our just demands be denied by the white South, we can still appeal to

the conscience of the nation; and failing here, we can appeal to the Supreme Court of History, before the Great White Throne of the Future. Oppressed groups of whatever persuasion have always the assurance that in their struggles for deliverance they have Time and Right and God on their side. As we enter upon our deliberations let us remember that not only is our manhood being weighed in the balance, but our statesmanship also.

The sponsors of this conference may not have fashioned the most well-wrought conference imaginable, but what they did was at a tremendous sacrifice; for none of them had the time and means to give as the cause demanded; but they did the best they could. We have brought to you a conference that is absolutely unfettered and unintimidated. There are no secret commitments, no secret understanding, no dotted lines, no secret financial underwritings. May God help us on this historic occasion to quit ourselves like men.

A Basis for Inter-Racial Cooperation and Development in the South

A Statement by Southern Negroes

—Issued December 15th, 1942, by a Sub-Committee of the Southern Conference on Race Relations

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

(1) Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

(2) Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

(3) The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns.

We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds, however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.

(4) We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.

(5) We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS

1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

b. The abolition of the white primary.

c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise.

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice we believe can and should be discontinued now.

3. a. Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

b. It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Ne-

gro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

INDUSTRY AND LABOR

Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.
2. There should be the same pay for the same work.
3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers, on a fair and equal basis.
4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar

Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts and other protective labor legislation.

5. It is the duty of local, state and federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.

6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.

7. We regard the wage-and-job-freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income job brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.

8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified. Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.

2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.

3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.

4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service

workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.*

5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories

We believe that these provisions will help to insure some intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve both the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

EDUCATION

As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes, and, indeed to all underprivileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education is better schools, which involves expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities; this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the under-privileged child, of whatever race, the same opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

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*In the present hysteria of many housewives who are losing poorly paid servants to better paying war industries, it seems desirable to emphasize that this proposal bears no relation to the fantastic and probably Axis inspired rumors of so-called "Eleanor Clubs."

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

AGRICULTURE

The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33 per cent of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:
   a. Written contracts
   b. Longer lease terms
   c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
   d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.
2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.
3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.
4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

MILITARY SERVICE

We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH

1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts even with improvement of their economic status As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Ngroes would include the following:

a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients;

b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practitioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals;

c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general as well as special group advantage The Federal government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength.

[Signed]

CHAS. S. JOHNSON
Chairman Sub-Editorial Committee
GORDON B. HANCOCK
F. D. PATTERSON
BENJAMIN E. MAYS
ERNEST DELPIT

RUFUS E. CLEMENT
HORACE MANN BOND
JAMES E. JACKSON
WM. M. COOPER
P. B. YOUNG
Conference Chairman

In Attendance at Southern Race Relations Conference

A complete list of those attending the Southern Conference on Race Relations held at the North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, October 20th, is as follows:

DR. CHAS. S. JOHNSON, Director, Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

DEAN R. O'HARA LANIER, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

DR. H. L. McCROREY, President, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N C.

DR. L. F. PALMER, Executive Secretary, Virginia State Teachers Association, Newport News, Va.

O. M. PHARR, Principal, Unity High School, South Carolina.

REV. J. A. VALENTINE, D.D., Durham, N. C.

DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, Department of Sociology, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

DEAN MOSES S. BELTON, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

WILLIAM M. COOPER, Director of Extension Work, Hampton Institute, Va.

ASBURY HOWARD, representing Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO), Bessemer, Ala.

DR. JOHN M. GANDY, President-Emeritus, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

L. H. FOSTER, Treasurer-Business Manager, and Acting President, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

PRESIDENT J. B. WATSON, A. and M. College, Pine Bluff, Ark.

CLARENCE A. LAWS, Executive Secretary, New Orleans Urban League, New Orleans, La.

DON A. DAVIS, Comptroller, Hampton Institute, Chairman Executive Committee, National Negro Business League, Hampton, Va.

REV. H. B. BULTER, President, Baptist State Convention, Hartsville, S. C.

PROF. J. B. BLANTON, Principal, Voorhees N. and I. School, Denmark, S. C.

WILLIAM Y. BELL, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Ga.

J. A. BACOATS, Vice President, Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.

MRS. R. E. CLAY, Bristol, Tenn.

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, Director, School of Social Work, Atlanta, Ga.

JESSE O. THOMAS, Staff Assistant, War Bonds and Stamps, Washington, D. C.

JAMES T. TAYLOR, Dean of Men, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

DR. AND MRS. J. G. STUART, Columbia, S. C.

ROBERT A. SPICELY, Director, Commercial Dietetics, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

C. C. SPAULDING, President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., and Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.

MRS. ANDREW W. SIMPKINS, Social Worker, Columbia, S. C.

DR. JAMES E. SHEPARD, President, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

REV. J. ALVIN RUSSELL, D.D., President, St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Lawrenceville, Va.

G. D. ROGERS, President, Central Life Insurance Company, Tampa, Fla.

DR. F. D. PATTERSON, President, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

ROSCOE C. MITCHELL, Associated Negro Press Representative, Richmond, Va.

JOHN W. MITCHELL, State Agent, A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C.

DR. BENJ. E. MAYS, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

JAMES G. MARTIN, JR., Business Agent and Financial Secretary, Carpenters' Local No. 544, Baltimore, Md.

DR. HORACE MANN BOND, President, Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga.

THEODORE MALLORY, Secretary-Treasurer, United Transport Service Employees of America, Member International Executive Board, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. AND MRS. D. K. JENKINS, Columbia, S. C.

DR. LUTHER P. JACKSON, Chairman of the Department of History, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

EDGAR P. HOLT, Vice President, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

WALTER J. HUGHES, M.D., State Board of Health, Raleigh, N. C.

JAMES E. JACKSON, Executive Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

J. W. HOLLY, President, Georgia Normal College, Albany, Ga.

K. W. GREEN, Dean, State A. and M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.

ERNEST DELPIT, President and Business Manager, Carpenters' Local, New Orleans, La. (A. F. of L.)

G. HAMILTON FRANCIS, M.D., Speaker House of Delegates, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

REV. JOHN E. CULMER, Rector, Episcopal Church, Miami, Fla.

DR. ROBERT P. DANIEL, President, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

A. B. COOKE, Business Agent, Local No. 815, Carpenters, Columbia, S. C.

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

D. G. GARLAND, Representative, American Federation of Labor, Winston-Salem, N. C.

MAJ. W. M. WHITEHEAD, Principal School for the Handicapped, Newport News, Va.

D. W. BYRD, M.D., Chairman, Health Commission, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

C. H. BYNUM, Field Secretary, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Dallas, Texas.

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, President, Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.

P. B. YOUNG, Editor-Publisher, Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

EDWARD MASON, representing Dining Car Cooks and Waiters, Houston, Texas.

REPRESENTED BY LETTER

C. A. SCOTT, Publisher, Atlanta Daily World, and Scott Chain of Weekly Newspapers, Atlanta, Ga.

CARTER WESLEY, Editor-Publisher, The Informer, Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel, Houston, Texas.

MRS. ZELLAR R. BOOTHE, Oklahoma City, Okla.

DEAN V. E. DANIEL, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

CLAUDE A. BARNETT, Director, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Ill.

Others who sent Telegrams endorsing the Conference were:

DR. J. R. E. LEE, President, Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Fla.

ATTY. J. LEONARD LEWIS, Jacksonville, Fla.

ATTY. J. R. BOOKER, Little Rock, Ark.

MRS. ORA BROWN STOKES, Washington, D. C.

PRESIDENT H. L. TRIGG, Elizabeth City State Teachers College, Elizabeth City, N. C.

PRESIDENT DAVID D. JONES, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

MRS. H. L. McCROREY, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. W. A. FOUNTAIN, President, Morris Borwn College, Atlanta, Ga.

BISHOP B. J. KING, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT JAS. BRAWLEY, Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT W. J. HALE, Tennessee A. and I. College, Nashville, Tenn.

DR. MARY BRANCH, President, Tillotson College, Austin, Texas.

DR. WILLIAM H. BELL, Alcorn A. and M. College, Alcorn, Miss.

WILEY A. HALL, Executive Secretary, Urban League, Richmond, Va.

DR. J. M. ELLISON, President, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

M. P. WHITAKER, President, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

★

Comments on the Conference Statement

DR. MORDECAI W. JOHNSON, President Howard University, Washington, D. C.

I am impressed at once with the fact that the statement is a judiciously worded address from southerners to southerners; that it includes representatives of labor, the press and many secular organizations, as well as the schools and the churches; and that the statement is designed to address itself to matters of immediate concern in which it is felt that substantial progress is possible now.

* * * *

DR. GUY B. JOHNSON, Research Professor, University of North Carolina.

I feel that this is a remarkable and a reasonable statement of aims upon which all intelligent people in the south should be willing to unite.

* * * *

DR. FLORENCE M. READ, President, Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga.

It is a statement that I think should have wide circulation.

* * * *

DR. W. A. FOUNTAIN, President, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia.

There is a great need for our taking steps to bring about improved relations between the races, and I am happy to have the privilege of serving in whatever capacity I can.

* * * *

JUDGE WILLIAM H. HASTIE, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War; Dean Howard University Law School.

I am impressed most of all with the fact that your detailed and

carefully worked-out statement shows the fundamental agreement of Negroes throughout the country upon the next steps which must be taken toward complete emancipation.

* * * *

DR. SAMUEL C. MITCHELL, University of Richmond.

That is a statesmanlike paper. It is able, candid and effective. It should mark an epoch in the cause of good-will between the races in the South.

* * * *

CLAUDE A. BARNETT, Director, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Illinois.

I am profoundly impressed by the statement which has been issued by the Southern Race Relations Conference. It is forceful, sane, practical and realistic.

* * * *

DR. BELLE BOONE BEARD, Department of Economics and Sociology, Sweet Briar College.

I have read every word of the statement with the greatest interest and want to congratulate the conference upon its action.

* * * *

LEWIS L. SCOTT, Attorney-At-Law, Columbia, Tennessee.

I wish to congratulate you and your associates on the very fine effort you have made in this movement to bring about an improvement in the much discussed race question. What you have said will not only contribute to the war effort but also to the making of a just peace.

* * * *

CARTER W. WESLEY, Editor-Publisher The Informer, Houston, Austin and Beaumont, Tex., Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel, and Fort Worth, (Tex.) Mind.

I think the conference statement is a historical achievement destined to play a large part in bringing about adjustments, and I believe it is a charter of Negro rights which all Negroes in the South can adhere to.

* * * *

FURMAN L. TEMPLETON, Racial Relations Adviser, Office of Civilian Defense, 3rd Civilian Defense Area, Baltimore, Md.

Although it was not my privilege to attend the conference in Durham, everything I have read about it leads me to believe that the work initiated there gives every promise of developing into an effective force for good. If there was ever a time when the country needed a clear-cut intelligent and objective statement of the problem of race relations, that time is now. It appears to me that the conference findings supply that need.

* * * *

DR. FRED M. ALEXANDER, Supervisor of Negro Education, State Board of Education, Richmond, Virginia.

I have read this pamphlet with great interest and feel that you have done an outstanding job.

WM. E. TAYLOR, Dean, School of Law, Lincoln University, St. Louis, Missouri.

The suggestions, proposals and recommendations seem to me unusually sound and forward looking. For quite a while now I have been convinced that unless some of the sensible leaders of our race step to the front and take a statesmanlike stand based upon realities and conditions as they exist rather than the Utophian possibilities of which we dream our race will suffer irreparable injury before the close of the present conflict.

• • • •

DR. JACKSON DAVIS, General Education Board, New York.

The report is straightforward and factual and the restraint of its phrases carries conviction. It reveals an understanding of the historical background of Southern life, as well as the social and economic processes through which the desired changes must be realized. To my mind it is one of the most constructive steps ever taken for better race relations in the South. I hope it will meet with the support that it deserves.

• • • •

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

The planning of programs to guide the future of the Negro in America has not been in vain. On the whole the Durham program is a pretty good document. I should have written it a little differently myself, but I would not be unwilling to sign it.

★

Press Comments

Richmond News-Leader

With at least 75 per cent of the declaration, every reasonable white man probably will find himself in complete accord. The plea for humanity and for economic justice, which is the basis of the statement, is the one that will produce more of agreement than ever has existed between races in the South.

• • • •

Newport News Daily Press

We commend to both whites and Negroes for careful consideration the Durham manifesto. It contains little that is not fundamentally sound—things which American citizens have a right to expect.

• • • •

Atlanta Constitution

It will be unfortunate if the South does not discuss calmly and intelligently the basis for inter-racial cooperation advanced recently by a group of southern Negroes.

If the southern Negro leaders, asking for the cooperation of the majority race, do not receive encouragement, then the South will have failed the first effort by southern Negro leadership along realistic lines.

Atlanta Daily World

We commend the work of the Conference. It is the result of serious study by able and yet conservative Negro leaders, whose sincerity of purpose and racial earnestness can hardly be questioned.

• • • •

Christian Science Monitor

Above the clamor of current racial discussion in America, a quiet, reasoned voice is now heard in behalf of interracial cooperation in the South, through a statement by the committee speaking for the recently founded Southern Conference on Race Relations.

Advancement in responsibility and rank in military service according to ability; equal salaries for Negro and white teachers on the basis of preparation and experience; additional education facilities; inclusion of Negro doctors on public hospital staffs to treat Negro patients; organization of Negro service workers into unions with recognized affiliations; abolition of the poll tax; effective enforcement of anti-lynch laws—these and other proposals seem to furnish a reasonable basis for consideration and action.

• • • •

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

Out of the Southern Conference on Race Relations that was held at Durham on October 20 has come a manifesto of historic importance. It is offered, on behalf of this conference by a drafting committee representative of the South's most responsible Negro leadership as a 'basis for interracial cooperation" with especial reference to the problems this cooperation presents in the Southern States. Its publication yesterday supersedes, as a declaration of principles and objectives in this field, the many diverse statements, Negro in authorship, by means of which the country has been made aware of the dimensions this problem has assumed during the last two years of war and preparations for war.

Almost without exception, the remedial, corrective and protective reforms that the present manifesto indorses, are reforms generally acknowledged as just in principle, or validated by our highest court, or actually in incipient application.

• • • •

Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch

There has come to the Ledger-Dispatch, along with many other newspapers, a report entitled A Basis for Inter-Racial Cooperation and Development in the South: a Statement by Southern Negroes. If our colleagues of the Southern press are affected by it as we are, they are profoundly disquieted.

For this report, let it be noted, is prepared by Southern Negroes, not by Northern Negroes . . . . The Ledger-Dispatch knows some of the men who prepared or collaborated on the preparation of this report, knows them to be men of quiet ability and of a natural conservatism, and it has no doubt that many of its colleagues knows a number of others.

It deserves, if it does not demand, reflection and study on the part of the White South—far more of both than is possible in an hour or two.

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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KENDALL WEISIGER
TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

August 6, 1943

To the Members of the Collaboration Committee
Atlanta Conference

Summer vacations have temporarily depleted our office force and instead of the personal letter I would like to write each of you I am sending you a report in this mimeograph form. The action of the continuing committee has been carried rather fully in the press. You may have missed it so I am giving you the high points of our meeting here in Atlanta.

There were sixteen of our group out of the twenty-four who were here and fifteen out of the nineteen of the Negro group. The statement made by us is enclosed.

You will notice especially the last paragraphs which embody the action taken.

The sub-committees on agriculture, work opportunities, education, and civil and political rights, health and public welfare, military status and post war planning met separately and drafted recommendations for action. Their reports were read to the committee of the whole and referred to the temporary officers, Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Dr. Howard Odum, for consideration after organization is perfected. The personnel of these committees is enclosed.

The question of the relation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation to the Southern Regional Council will doubtless be answered by the Commission at its annual meeting this fall. We have had the three statements, Durham, Atlanta and Richmond, printed in one pamphlet, a copy of which I am enclosing. You may have other copies for five cents apiece if you would like them.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

April 7, 1942

see April Southern Frontier attached

Mr. Gordon B. Hancock
Dean, Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

My dear Mr. Hancock:

Thank you for your editorial. I took you at you word and revised it enough to fit the subheads which I always use to break an article. I have learned that more people read a "broken" article than one of solid print.

The suggestion you make in the end appealed to me at the time. Now, since Dr. Patterson and Walter White have tangled, I am impelled to make a suggestion to you which I want you to consider. But, first, I must explain both my position on and my concern in the racial situation: I want Negroes to get as much recognition as citizens - full fledged as possible; I want them to hold as much of the gain made in this field as possible after the war.

It is at this latter point that my concern arises. Unless Southern white people agree that this gain must be preserved, I am afraid of the future for Southern Negroes. This side of a dictatorship, thoroughly sympathetic with minority groups, I can see no great hope in holding gains against stubborn opposition on the part of the white South. Now and for the duration is our opportunity to convince the white South that the obvious minima of citizenship must be accorded for enduring peace, as well as for successful war.

White and Negro leaders of the South should agree on ultimate goals, immediate objectives and strategy. When we have done this, we can work both jointly and separately in carrying out our purposes. We should include in our program the economic field in industry, agriculture and domestic service; in the

educational field in salaries, equipment, free and equal educational advantages on all levels; in the field of civil rights, in unrestricted franchise, equality before the courts, petty and state; in the social field, in health and hospitalization, parks, playgrounds, generally, and housing. These four divisions can be added to and all sub-divided even more than I have stated. If we would hold war won gains, and we must, without violence and bloodshed then we must look ahead and plan now.

This is my suggestion. Could you and two or three other Negro leaders from the Deep South invite into conference a dozen others not dependent upon the Federal Government for their living and discuss the problems as you see them and come to some general working agreement on what you want white people to do to help. Then or later invite a small number of Southern white persons, men and women, to join with you in working out the strategy to be followed.

You may think that we ought or would want to sit in at the first conference. If you do, I would say that in my judgment we should not. There could be a few conferences with a few white people before your large meeting is called if the conveners desired. Any other procedure would in my opinion leave the whole plan open to attack by members of your race on the grounds that "Bourbon" white people of the South were already planning to re-enslave Negroes. An additional advantage would accrue by excluding white people until you had worked out your program: The white South would know what Southern Negroes want and what they would expect to get in cooperation with the white South. We do respond more spontaneously to our colored fellow citizens.

I need not say to you that no publicity should be given to this if it is carried. What, if any, publicity should be given after the meeting would be one of the items decided by the strategy adopted.

I think there is value in this idea. It is unimportant whether or not you accept the plan as it is outlined here. But it is important that something be planned and begun now. The initiative should be taken by Southern Negroes. I can promise you cooperation from Southern white people.

Very sincerely yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

WHITE WOMEN IN A BIRACIAL SOCIETY

by

EDWIN L. CLARKE

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, ROLLINS COLLEGE
WINTER PARK, FLORIDA

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN FOR THE
PREVENTION OF LYNCHING
710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

First Edition—January, 1942
Second Edition—April, 1942

White Women In A Biracial Society

By Edwin L. Clarke

Most of us are religious people. We hold in reverence the Book in which appear the clear words of the prophet Micah, "*What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?*" Too frequently, as we hear these words, they slip lightly from our minds. On the other hand, we may think of those words with an uneasy conscience. "*To do justly.*" Are we doing justly, when our state spends perhaps twice as much on the education of the white child as of the Negro child? "*To love kindness.*" Is it kindness that moves us to augment the weekly low wage we pay our full-time maid by the gift of a skirt or a pair of shoes we no longer want; that makes us say, "Well, a Negro doesn't need as much to live on as a white person does"? "*And to walk humbly with God.*" Is it humility which makes us think and say, "The white race is the greatest race on earth. This is a white man's country"?

Most of us bear the name and sign of Jesus. It was our Master who said, "*Thou shalt love thy neighbor.*" How much? "*As thyself.*" Whatever you want for yourself, that you must want equally for your neighbor. "*And who is my neighbor?*" "*He that fell among thieves.*" He that is in distress. So, if we stand for the principles of our Lord, we must want for our handicapped brethren, black, red, yellow, brown, a chance to attain such things as we ourselves enjoy. Good homes, schools, medical care, jobs at good pay, all the other advantages that make life worth living.

Of course, we can explain Jesus away, but if we do then dare we continue to claim the name of Christian and pray in the name of Christ? Well, all philosophy and religion aside, what difference does it make how we Americans treat our minorities? It makes a great difference in important ways.

First, in personal security. Criminals come from slums far more than from good homes. We can better protect our homes from burglars, our purses and our persons from bandits, our bodies from contagious disease, by working for the abolition of slums—Negro slums, white slums, Mexican slums—than we can by adding men to the police force.

Second, in national security. On December 9, 1941, the President of the United States said, "We are now in this war. We are all in it—all the way. Every single man, woman and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking in our American his-

tory." Mr. Roosevelt did not say, "every white man, woman and child." Black people are partners in the war effort, just as much as are whites.

Still some folks in America think that our Negroes are not good enough to be enlisted as fighting men in the army and navy. They believe that skilled Negro mechanics are not good enough to work at making ships, tanks and planes, even though industry is crying desperately for trained men. Whether they know it or not, such folks are slowing up our war effort and are giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

Before the war some of our Negroes often likened the treatment which they received to the treatment given to Jews in Germany. We should give the Negro no occasion for any such feeling now.

America will be strong as it has the enthusiastic support of a full hundred per cent of its people. How will that come to pass? "To make us love our country we must have a lovely country." Today, in the face of the Nazi threat, every prejudice that stands in the way of making an America that looks lovely to every man, woman, and child, black as well as white, should be swept aside for the sake of total national defense.

Third, in economic power. Tomorrow our country will compete for the markets of the world with the producers of other continents. Success will depend upon our efficiency in turning out goods more cheaply than other nations can. We cannot hope to get cheap production by cutting wages. We do not want our workers to descend to the biting poverty of India, China and Japan. Low wage countries are wretched countries. We can get cheap production by increasing to the full the skill of every one of our workers. That means vocational training and opportunity to use that education for every one of our youth, Negro and white alike. At this point we may well quote the query which James Weldon Johnson addressed

TO AMERICA

How would you have us, as we are?
  Or sinking 'neath the load we bear?
Our eyes fixed forward on a star?
  Or gazing empty at despair?

Rising or falling? Men or things?
  With dragging pace or footsteps fleet?
Strong, willing sinews in your wings?
  Or tightening chains about your feet?

Fourth, in national recognition. America aspires to be a leader at the council tables of the world, to help the nations find the way to a new era. We have fair words of leadership. Alas, our brave words count for little in the face of our actions. Peoples in other countries receive our suggestions coldly. Men in backward lands are well acquainted with our lynchings and our discriminations. Our enemies take pains to let them be known, in the interior of China, in the heart of Africa. Often humble folks say quietly to our missionaries, "We think you had better put your own country in order before you come to preach to us." By our conduct at home we support or block the work of men and women we have sent abroad to teach the Gospel.

Fifth, in new experience. Those persons who undertake to work for justice, kindness and humility often have rare adventures. They have the thrill of meeting and working with representatives of the handicapped peoples in exciting ways. They discover intelligent minds, generous spirits and brave hearts, in the persons of fellow workers of other races. A whole new realm of interesting living is opened to them, as they strive for better schools, housing, hospitals, jobs for the underprivileged peoples of America.

Sixth, in affection. Workers for justice receive the generous and warm affection of many of their colored associates. These men and women have too few champions among the privileged. They are profoundly thankful for all help that is given them in their efforts for advancement. One can hardly have too many friends, especially grateful friends.

Why Is This Woman's Work?

But why, one may ask, is this matter put up to women, rather than men? For four good reasons:

First, more than men, many women have an abundant leisure which they can devote to work for social betterment. A large body of women in the business and professional class have enough time and influence at their disposal to put a lever under the mass of tradition which blocks the path of our minorities, and to move it from their path.

Second, women are primarily responsible for the education of the young children, both in school and in the home. Women have opportunity to condition children in favor of justice, kindness and humility. They can set boys and girls high on the solid rock of fact and principle, safe from the waves of prejudice.

Third, when women stand for justice between races they meet less opposition than men do. They are less likely to be attacked and condemned as seditious persons, bent on upsetting the social order. They are almost completely safe from the personal violence which at times is visited upon those men who dare to speak for the handicapped.

Finally, women are themselves the excuse for some major wrongs. Men drive hard wage bargains, that their wives and children may live in luxury. Men in mobs take the lives of wretched people who are merely charged with crime, denying to them the elementary American right of a fair trial in a court of law. When such men are confronted with the savagery of their offense their last word is that it is necessary for the protection of Southern womanhood. Only women can most effectively answer this fiction by repudiating the chivalrous defense of the mob. As a matter of fact, less than one in four of the victims of lynchings are even charged with offenses against women.

What can women do to help with race relations? What can they not do! We have space to suggest only a few elementary things.

As employers they can treat their maids, their yardmen, their other employees, as they themselves would like to be treated. Thereby they not only do justice, they also teach their children in the most effective way possible, by force of example.

As parents they can teach their girls and boys that we are all children of one Father. *"God hath made of one blood all nations of men."* We should treat each other as brothers and sisters. Mothers can make plain that this is no idle figure of speech. It is the very heart of religion.

As voters women can support for office those who have generous principles regarding minorities, and can oppose others who are indifferent or hostile to the welfare of Negro people.

As citizens they can speak a good word for the handicapped. They can commend the mayor, city council, school superintendent, police, who do their work without race discrimination. They can make plain to those who fail in their duty that they must mend their ways or feel the indignation of liberal citizens at the next election.

There are in America some 15,000,000 people, black, red, yellow, and brown,—men and women like ourselves,—but still our nation's stepchildren. Of this host only a small minority are educated and prosperous. The great majority are ignorant and poor,

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

handicapped by lack of opportunity. Many are hungry. They suffer from malnutrition, the result of poverty and ignorance. Many are ill and lack suitable medical care. Clinics are not available for them. They cannot afford to call a physician. Many are in prison, such prisons as you would be shocked to see, because they grew up in slums that make criminals as surely as good homes make good children.

In an ancient Book we read of One who said, "*I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.*" For the people of America, and most of all for ourselves, let us pray that for the future such words may never be said. Rather may the judgment be, when our years are as a tale that is told, "*Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me.*"

(Address delivered before the Florida Council, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, at Orlando, Florida.)

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
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SRC-Historical Materials

THE ROLE OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION IN WAR AND PEACE

WILLIAM E. COLE
University of Tennessee

I. APPRAISAL

AN APPRAISAL of the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation is not an easy task. There are no similar agencies with which comparisons of accomplishments might be made. Much of the work of the Commission has been done through other organizations. Many of its efforts have been in the field of education, specifically functioning in the attempt to change traditional racial attitudes, to improve interracial cooperation, and to increase understanding between races. These areas of knowledge and endeavor do not lend themselves readily to scientific measurement or objective appraisal. The entire culture of a people ties in so closely in shaping attitudes and in influencing action patterns that it is very difficult to segregate and to examine the influence of any single agency or institution from that of other institutions or the mass impact of the total culture.

Method of Appraisal. Irrespective of these limitations, it is worth while to appraise as carefully as possible the work of the Commission. This has been done through interviews and correspondence with some 300 persons (1942), most of whom have observed or participated in the work of the Commission, have served on state or local interracial committees, or have shown an interest one way or another in race problems or southern problems. In addition, there has been consultation with Commission personnel and a somewhat detailed scrutiny of the publications and official minutes of the Commission.

From these collective sources, there is evidence and testimony to the following accomplishments of the Commission:

1. THROUGH THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION, THE INTERRACIAL ORGANIZATION AND MEETING HAVE BECOME STANDARD TECHNIQUES DESIGNED FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF INTERRACIAL COOPERATION IN THE SOUTH

One of the difficulties of the racial situation in the past has been that there was almost no contact between white and colored leaders in the South. The annual meeting of the Commission, itself, the more frequent meetings of its Board of Directors, and the state and local interracial groups which have grown out of the efforts of the staff and the members of the Commission have built up points of contact between the leaders of the two races in the South which did not exist prior to the inception of the Commission. From these meetings have been discovered ways through which misunderstanding could be removed and by which cooperation could be secured.

Cooperation of Leaders. Through the interracial organization, responsible white and Negro leaders have been brought together in such a way as not only to become an example for other interracial groups but to provide a natural exchange of ideas. These meetings have had a normalizing effect upon interaction between white and Negro groups. Out of this interracial exchange has certainly come a furthering of the understanding and a broadening of the sympathies between the Negro and the white races, as well as the formulation of action programs designed to be of service to one or both of the races.

The Commission Born Out of Conflict and Suspicion. At the time that the Commission was conceived (April, 1919), the Nation, and more especially the South, faced widespread racial suspicion, distrust, and overt racial conflict. The founders of the Commission felt that there could be brought into being organizations in which problems between the two races could be fully discussed and action programs formulated. This was done and

early took the form of "about 800" state and local interracial committees or "commissions." Not only was the racial crisis of the post-war period of the first World War passed with less friction and conflict than was anticipated, but over the years the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and state and local interracial organizations have constituted perhaps the greatest single technique for preserving interracial peace, for discussing interracial problems, for increasing racial understanding, and for instituting action programs on behalf of the southern Negro.

2. THE COMMISSION HAS IMPROVED RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF BI-RACIAL EDUCATION

To this end, the Commission has been instrumental in formulating, synthesizing, and distributing information on the status and conditions of Negro life in the South and upon problems such as tenancy, education, enforcement of justice, and the like, which affect directly the welfare of both whites and Negroes.

Race Relations Kept before the Public. Certainly in the South the Commission has done more than any other agency to keep the issue of race relations before the public mind. As the president of one of the southern State colleges phrases it, "The Commission has done much to capitalize sentiment in favor of a square deal for Negroes in the South." Another outstanding southerner remarks,

> The studies that have been published, the publications that have been issued and sent out, the conferences which have been held, the point of view and attitude which have been maintained, the steady but quiet pressure that has been exerted on law enforcement officers and upon newspapers—all these things have given the Commission a place not filled by any other agency.

Widening the Scope of Racial Understanding. Able pieces of research on race problems and conditions have been sponsored by the Commission. Some of the research has been the product of field studies which provided original information on race problems or other problems of the South.

For years the Commission has maintained contacts with the leading editors of the South through conferences, personal visitation, and a news service which has reached 2,000 secular and religious newspapers and periodicals. Its own news letter, *The Southern Frontier*, is widely read and widely quoted. Clippings of the Commission press releases are on file from approximately 1,000 newspapers and magazines which have an aggregate circulation of about twenty million.

On the basis of recent interviews with leading editors of the South, it is apparent that newspaper editors and publishers have become increasingly sympathetic and intelligent in matters involving Negroes. Both their news and their editorial policies have changed definitely for the better in the last twenty years. The majority of editors can now be depended upon for constructive and intelligent cooperation in the field of racial adjustment. This change has come about to a considerable degree because of the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

The Commission has distributed more than five million pages of literature for classroom use and for study groups. About eighty colleges now offer courses in race relations, while some 400 other colleges and around 1,000 high schools integrate race relations topics into courses in sociology, ethics, civics, history, literature, journalism, and other subjects.

Race Relations Included in State Education Programs. Most of the southern State departments of education have put into their suggested State programs of studies units for the study of race problems, some of these being rather elaborate. While these have not functioned as the Commission staff members would like to see them, they do indicate that a more or less official stamp of approval has been placed upon studies and curriculum content which a few years ago would have been taboo and which the state of public opinion then in existence would not have stood for.

Cooperation with the Church. In its work toward improved education and toward creating a more wholesome public opinion between the two races, the Commission has worked very closely with the church. In the first place, the church has been liberally recognized on the membership of the Commission and in the composition of state and local interracial groups. From the inception of the Commission, its staff members have presented their work at church conferences, conventions, synods, to schools of religion, and through publications of religious bodies. The interest of hundreds of church leaders in the racial problem has been enlisted. This, in turn, has led to much local church leadership in interracial matters, to more liberal church declarations on race problems, to local attacks upon race problems, and to the inclusion of race relations topics in church literature and the curricula of training school programs for

church leaders. It was, in the main, church women who refuted the traditional idea that lynching was necessary for the protection of southern womanhood.

Through the leadership of the Commission, the Woman's Missionary Council of the M. E. Church, South, set up in 1920 a Commission on Race Relations and provided for the organization of a subsidiary committee on each of its 6,000 auxiliaries. About the same time, the Federal Council of Churches created an interracial Commission on the Church and Race Relations, which in turn has organized numerous interracial committees in the East, the North, and the Middle West. In the early twenties, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, carried the story of the Commission to South Africa, with the result that able leaders there inaugurated a similar movement with excellent results.

3. THE COMMISSION HAS CONSTITUTED A CONSULTATION CENTER IN RACIAL PROBLEMS FOR THE SOUTH AND FOR THE NATION

Certainly the great over-all southern source to which individuals and organizations might turn for information on racial problems and for aid in organizing interracial organizations and study groups has been the Commission. This consultation service has, of course, been ably supplemented by the great Negro universities and colleges of the South and the divisions of Negro education in the State departments of education. Likewise, the Urban League and the NAACP have been sources of aid, the latter especially of legal aid, to Negro groups where problems of discrimination, injustice, etc., have been involved. Perhaps none of the agencies mentioned has shown as wide a scope of services as has the Commission.

4. THROUGH PERFORMANCE AND SPONSORSHIP, THE COMMISSION HAS MADE A WORTHWHILE CONTRIBUTION TO RESEARCH ON RACE PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTH AND TO THE CREATION OF MORE COMPREHENSIVE LITERATURE ON THE SUBJECT

Mention might be made of the publications treating the status of the Negro in American society,[1] which have been very valuable in giving a general picture of the Negro in the Nation. The subject of lynching has been well covered by the Commission in its research publications[2] and in more general popular documents.[3] Certainly these publications constitute the best collection of materials on lynching which are available. They have been widely used by study groups, students of race problems, and editors.

Woofter's early comprehensive study of *Negro Problems in Cities*[4] was inspired and financed by the Commission.

The compilations and analysis of data on the comparative status of Negro and white educational facilities, finances, and opportunities have been regularly issued by the Commission's staff,[5] and have no doubt done much toward lessening the gap between educational differentials in the South.

Problems of Agriculture and Labor. The recent outstanding work on sharecroppers by Raper and Reid[6] was financed largely by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and Atlanta University. At this point, mention should be made of earlier studies on farm tenancy sponsored by the Commission, summary of which was published in *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*, by Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, and W. W. Alexander, University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Somewhat later, a study was made of the Negro in the iron, steel, meat-packing, and railroad car industries. This study, sponsored by the Commission, was made by Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, and their findings are reported in *Black Workers and the New Unions*, published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1939.

The above publications are only a few of the research documents prepared either by staff members of the Commission or by non-staff persons chosen especially to do the studies.

The Commission has never posed as a research

[1] Such as *America's Tenth Man*, of which about 250,000 copies have been printed.

[2] Arthur Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933); *Mississippi and the Mob* (1924); *Lynchings and What They Mean* (1931); *The Mob Still Rides* (1936); Jessie Daniel Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching* (Atlanta Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., 1942).

[3] As, for example, *Toward Lynchless America* (1940).

[4] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1928).

[5] For example, *The South—Child Rich—Dollar Poor* (1942). Data on education are frequently published in *The Southern Frontier*.

[6] Arthur Raper and Ira deA. Reid, *Sharecroppers All* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940).

organization, but has operated first of all as an educational, and secondarily as an action, agency, giving such attention to pieces of research as would contribute to these ends or to the mitigation of critical problems affecting southern Negroes and southern whites.

Mention should be made at this point of the effective assembling of information on state race problems by some of the state interracial committees. The committees of Georgia,[7] Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia have done effective work in giving the people of their respective states sound information on interracial problems within these States.

5. THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION HAS CONTRIBUTED MUCH TO THE MITIGATION OF LYNCHING AND TO THE REDUCTION OF OTHER FORMS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH

The president of one of the great southern universities for Negroes is strong in his conviction

> that much of the advancement which has been made in race relations, including the drastic reduction in lynching, interracial violence, and ill feeling, has been due to the patient and persistent efforts which the Commission has made.

This expresses the opinion of many other persons questioned in connection with the study.

Conflict Prevented Through Contact. Numerous examples have been encountered where the work of staff members of the Commission or of State Councils of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching,[8] or local committees have been instrumental in preventing lynchings or other forms of violence. This has been accomplished largely through direct contact with law enforcement officers, or through getting influential citizens in the conflict area to get in touch with local law enforcement officials. Under such pressure, even when feeling runs high, local officials usually make an attempt to enforce the law. Of course, the speed with which a lynching may occur sometimes makes it impossible for the conflict situation to be known to the members of the State Council before it takes place.

Effective Leadership in Preventing Lynching. An important part of the Commission's program to reduce lynching has been the publication of statistics, cases, and other data on lynching.[9] These have produced some degree of embarrassment among public officials and have been instrumental in achieving improved enforcement of the law. One of the most encouraging aspects of the anti-lynching campaign has been the wholehearted cooperation of leading southern newspapers.

Lynching has been justified in the past on the ground that it was necessary for the protection of white women. The work of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching has helped to undermine and discredit this supposition. Through the Association, nearly 45,000 women and 1,318 peace officers pledged themselves to work for the eradication of lynching and to impress upon the South that lynching is unnecessary for the protection of southern women.

Since the period 1916–1920, when the Commission was organized (1919), lynchings decreased from 300 to 189 in 1920–1925; to 88 during the period 1925–1930; to 84 from 1930 to 1935; to 30 from 1935 to 1940; to 4 in 1941; and to 5 in 1942.[10]

Reduction of Lynching a Cooperative Achievement. No thesis is presented bearing the claim that the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation or the work of local and State interracial organizations has been entirely responsible for the great decrease in lynching. The New Deal, with its sympathetic attitude toward minorities, the growth of State highway patrols; better communication, such as radio; the far-reaching influence of the churches; the activities of Tuskegee Institute; the work of the NAACP and the Urban League, all have made their contribution to an effective reduction in lynching.[11] Above the efforts of any single agency operating in the South to reduce lynching, the work of the Commission seems to emerge as singularly significant.

Legal Aid and Court Action. From time to time the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has inspired court action or has cooperated in court action where there was violence, miscarriage of

[7] For example, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has devoted issues of the *Georgia Observer* to the following topics: "Georgia Problems" (1938); "Health Needs of the Negroes in Georgia" (1940); and "Economic and Social Conditions of Negroes in Georgia" (1940).

[8] This Association was set up by the Commission in 1930.

[9] *A Statement from Governor Hugh M. Dorsey as to the Negro in Georgia* (Atlanta, April 22, 1921).

[10] Jessie Daniel Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching*, p. 11.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 14–19.

justice, or where the people were aroused over a racial situation.[12] An important, appropriate illustration was the recent appeal of the case of Ira Taylor of Hancock County, Georgia, financed by the Commission to test the "peonage laws" of Georgia. After going through the state courts, the case was carried to the United States Supreme Court by two Georgia lawyers, one of whom served without compensation, and on January 12, 1942, the law was declared unconstitutional. Another illustration, some years back, was the celebrated "Williams Case," involving peonage on a plantation in Jasper County, Georgia, where eleven of the important witnesses were murdered in order to cover up evidence. The Commission pushed this case and obtained convictions for the principals involved. Other less spectacular instances of court action might be cited.

6. THE COMMISSION HAS INFLUENCED LEGISLATION AND MOVEMENTS DESIGNED TO ALLEVIATE SOUTHERN PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY THE PROBLEMS OF NEGROES, AND TO IMPROVE THE STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE SOUTH

In its early studies of lynching, the Commission found that lynching was closely tied in with submarginal areas and with substandard conditions of people. This pointed the way to the possibilities which might be inherent in preventing lynching and in improving race relations by improving social, economic, and educational conditions of the people. As a result of these observations, the vision of the Commission's approach to race problems was greatly enlarged.

Leadership in Legislation. The President and Director of the Commission were active in obtaining a grant to study the effect of the AAA program upon the Negro. The results of this study, presented to the public in a number of releases and reports, were embodied in *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*, which was drawn upon extensively in developing the program of the Farm Security Administration. Leaders of the Commission played an important part in shaping the legislation which established this agency. The Commission, with State and local interracial committees, was an effective influence in the passage of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, the development of a non-discriminatory federal policy on the employment of Negroes in war industries, and the broadening of the principles governing the mobilization of Negroes in the armed forces. Numerous instances are reported where state and local interracial groups have been influential in getting public funds for improved edicational programs, in breaking down teacher-salary differentials, and in getting better facilities for education.

7. THE COMMISSION IS CONTRIBUTING TO THE MITIGATION OF RACIAL PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF PRESENT WAR CONDITIONS

A definite step was taken in this direction in the late spring of 1942, when State interracial workers were assembled in Atlanta to discuss race problems arising out of the mobilization of manpower and industry in the war effort.

Definite Plans Developed. At this conference definite steps were taken toward getting at least one semipermanent Negro chaplain[13] and recreational director in each camp housing Negro military units of any size. Through these, the interracial committees would work with the military police and with civil authorities in handling local interracial problems. Steps were taken also toward organizing interracial committees in towns near camps in which Negro soldiers were quartered and in towns where defense industries were creating problems of population pressures, either of white upon Negro communities or of Negro upon white communities.

At the Atlanta conference, pamphlet material on racial good will and national unity was outlined. Plans were also made to exchange information on successful techniques in the handling of local biracial problems during the emergency and to

[12] The Commission has had only limited funds for this work and has confined itself to cases involving changes in the fundamental law or those particularly significant because of their effect on public opinion. There is a very great need for some form of legal aid for the masses of both white and colored people who are, as a rule, too poor and too ignorant to avail themselves of protection under the law. Into this general field the limited finances of the Commission have never permitted it to go.

Two very important documents on the legal status of Negroes have been financed by the Commission: J. H. Chadburn, *Lynching and the Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933); and Charles S. Mangum, Jr., *The Legal Status of the Negro* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940).

[13] The plan called for keeping at least one chaplain in a camp on a semipermanent basis as a means of giving some continuity to the religious, recreational, and social program.

publicize the progress of Negroes in the armed forces and in defense industries. Programs have been worked out for the use of local groups which are faced with problems of transportation, administration of justice, employment, and the spread of rumors which cause tensions during the war and post-war periods.[14] In certain problem areas "listening posts" have been established to record the pulse of the community on racial attitudes, and in others interracial groups have been organized.[15] In some camps, away from centers of population, recreational "day rooms" have been provided for Negro soldiers. Some of these have been sponsored by State and local interracial bodies. Local organizations, especially in the Norfolk, Virginia, and Jacksonville, Florida, areas, have been able to arrange for special transportation facilities for Negro soldiers and defense workers.

Work Unfinished. While this work of the Commission, designed to soften the impact of war and post-war conditions upon race relations, is not in its finished stages, it bids fair to reach considerable proportions and to be accompanied by some success. With many agencies concerned about such problems and with the scene of the problems shifting rapidly, the extent of the success of the work is difficult to estimate at this stage. It is sufficient to say that it is wise to perfect machinery and organizations now to deal with whatever racial problems may arise out of the war and post-war conditions.

II. THE CASE FOR THE CONTINUATION OF A SOUTHERN INTERRACIAL ORGANIZATION[16]

It is clear that the arguments for the continuation of a privately operated interracial commission not only must present a background appraisal of the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation to date (Part I of this report), but also must consider the work which the Commission performs, or may perform, against an appraisal of the work of other agencies now concerned with race problems and with the condition and status of minority elements in the population.

Private Initiative and Governmental Endeavor. One of the most difficult problems which might be tackled first is the question of whether there is need for a private agency, such as the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, in a social picture so dominated by government as the present one.

It is, of course, true that almost from the beginning of the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933) a great interest in the problem of minority groups has been shown by many leaders of the Federal government. Numerous commissions, agencies, and pieces of legislation have been created, and statements of policy have been issued which have had a bearing upon racial status, interracial relationships, improvement of economic conditions of minorities, and the utilization of minorities in the total war effort.

Toward achieving a greater security for American minorities and to the end of improving the relationship between races, mention might be made of the enactment into law of the Farm Security Administration; the passage of the Jones-Bankhead tenancy bill; the establishment of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices (established by Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941);[17] a more liberal policy on the part of the Army and Navy toward the acceptance and recruitment of Negroes; the employment of staff members with the Special Service Division of the War Department to work with Army staff officials in the area of race relations; and the setting up of a Division of Special Service to Minority Groups as part of the program of mobilizing human resources toward the prosecution of the total war effort.

Dependence Upon Government. There are those who believe that government can deal with all

[14] These study outlines are prepared under the title *What About It?* The one referred to here bears the subtitle, "National Unity and Civilian Morale."

[15] For instance, in the South Carolina counties bordering Georgia.

[16] For purposes of definition, the South, as used in this article, refers to the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Limited assistance is given to a few States outside this area.

[17] Two paragraphs of Executive Order 8802 indicate the present position of the Federal government toward the full participation of all races in the defense program, to wit:

"1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

"2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin."

aspects of the racial problem and who visualize that the pressure which Negroes and interested white prople exert upon government will be ample to force Federal governmental action at all times. There is no guarantee, it seems, that this is true. On the other hand, however, there is no immediate visible guarantee that the present interest of the Federal government in minorities will greatly decrease; on the contrary, it is likely to increase. However, a more conservative and reactionary national administration like the one at the end of the first World War might not only wreck what has been done to date, but might also fail to provide effective substitutes. The recent national elections (1942) indicate a trend in this direction. In short, we must place our confidence partially in faith when we say that the great American racial issues and problems will be taken care of by the Federal government. The reaction of government to pressure makes it difficult to legislate in favor of minorities when they do not represent more than 10 percent of the population, and where, in composition, they are below the majority in political and economic strength.

Developing Danger Signals. At the end of the first year of this Nation in the second World War, there still creeps out in this country evidence of a rather strong element of isolationism. This was given concrete expression in the recent national elections. There are some who believe that this could easily develop into a form of racialism involving not only Negroes but other minorities, especially Jews. Should this develop, there would be a critical need, if national security and international safety are to be preserved, for effective private agencies to develop a counter-attack to minimize the effect of such a movement.

Visualized at its best, a pattern of relations between two or more races held together by governmental pressure, by Federal statute, and by police powers would be far less satisfactory to the races concerned than one in which mutual respect, regard, and equality of opportunity were, in part at least, the products of an enlightened opinion and cooperative will, aside from whatever laws might be necessary to maintain such rights or opportunities. Patterns of race relations which are not, in part, the result of the cooperative will of the folk and which are held together by governmental pressures are likely to develop powerful counter results at any time.

Methods of Government and the Commission Complementary. Methods likely to be used by government in improving the patterns of racial relationship in this country will, doubtless, include subsidies, legislation, or governmental pressure of one type or another. There is little assurance that the government may undertake the task of educating groups in racial understanding and in the peaceful arbitration of differences. The exceedingly important task of organizing interracial groups to consider problems which affect both races is likely to continue to remain the problem of private endeavor for many years to come. In spite of all that government might do, there appears to be a definite place for the voluntary agency doing the type of work which the Commission on Intraracial Cooperation has been doing in the past or may do in the future.

Post-War Tendency to Decentralize. Following World War II, there is likely to be the usual movement to decentralize many powers of the Federal government delegated to it from necessity during the period of the war, and to abolish some of these powers and return others to the States and local communities. The prospect of decentralization of Federal power holds poor possibilities for greatly improved race relations via the route of the Federal government. Then, too, whatever the role of the Federal government in race relations, we must remember that it is a long way from Washington to racial conflict situations in central Georgia, western Mississippi, western Louisiana, or eastern Texas.

Whatever the implications for democracy, efforts of the Federal government to aid minorities through its various service programs have been most effective where the Federal government has carried these services directly to the people. Where the aid has been channeled through local and State governmental bodies, it has not been difficult for these units and local communities to divert such aid away from Negroes and other minorities. Thus, there is indicated a need for agencies to work in the changing of local attitudes and practices. Then, too, many of the problems in race relations are those involving local police; local health conditions and resources; local educational and welfare systems; local farm labor and industrial practices; and local attitudes—things local, which the Federal government can not touch, or can touch only remotely.

Numerous individuals have suggested that the governors of the various states be prevailed upon

to appoint State interracial commissions, which might function within the States. In view of the attitude which certain southern governors have recently shown toward racial issues, it seems clear that any State action which some of the States would undertake could not possibly be satisfactory and would likely suffer political infanticide, and that it is perhaps better that a private agency take the lead in the organization of such groups.

Still a Need for Private Initiative. The consensus seems to be that there does not exist in the Federal and State governments a program of racial welfare and interracial cooperation adequate to cope with the racial issues and problems of this country, and that the work which government performs in this field does not constitute an adequate substitute for what the Commission has been doing in the past or may do in the near future. In spite of all that the governmental units are likely to accomplish, there will still be a job for private agencies to do.

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COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.
710 STANDARD BLDG.
ATLANTA, GA.

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Sec origins
& Themes

THE DURHAM STATEMENT

October 20, 1942

THE ATLANTA STATEMENT

April 8, 1943

THE RICHMOND STATEMENT

June 16, 1943

Published by
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Ga.

A group of Southern Negroes, acting as individuals but holding positions of influence in their race, held a conference in Durham, N. C., October 20, 1942. They met to discuss the Southern Negroes' status and the changes which, in their opinion, would benefit not only Negroes themselves but the South and the Nation. In December, the results of this meeting were given to the public in a statement which has become known as the "Durham Statement."

Since only Southern Negroes had participated in the conference and in the drafting of the statement, Southern white people could not ignore it. Whether or not there was agreement on their part with what the statement contained, they were impelled to make some formal reply. This reply, signed by more than three hundred Southern white people, was prepared at a conference in Atlanta, April 8, by a hundred and fifteen citizens of ten states. Like the Negroes, they spoke only as individuals, though each held some position of influence in Southern life. Their reply is known as the "Atlanta Statement."

Out of these two conferences grew a third. This one differed from its predecessors in that it was bi-racial in character and composed of delegated individuals. The "Richmond Statement" was made by the Collaboration Committee of Negro and white delegates of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences meeting in Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943.

The demand for these statements has become so great that for the convenience of the public, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., with the permission of the drafting Conferences has brought them together in this single pamphlet. They may be obtained, singly or in quantity, for five cents a copy.

A BASIS FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH*

A STATEMENT BY SOUTHERN NEGROES

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

(1) Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

(2) Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

(3) The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns.

We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds, however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.

(4) We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.

(5) We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS

"1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

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*Statement of Negro leaders attending Southern Conference on Race Relations, Durham, N. C., October 20, 1942.

b. The abolition of the white primary.

c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise.

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice we believe can and should be discontinued now.

3. a. Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

b. It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Negro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

INDUSTRY AND LABOR

"Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.
2. There should be the same pay for the same work.
3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers, on a fair and equal basis.

4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts and other protective labor legislation.
5. It is the duty of local, state and federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.
6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.
7. We regard the wage-and-job-freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income job brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.
8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

"Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified. Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.
2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.
3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.
4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.*
5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories.

We believe that these provisions will help to insure some intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve both the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

EDUCATION

"As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken

*In the present hysteria of many housewives who are losing poorly paid servants to better paying war industries, it seems desirable to emphasize that this proposal bears no relation to the fantastic and probably Axis inspired rumors of so-called "Eleanor Clubs."

to insure an equality of education to Negroes, and, indeed to all underprivileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education is better schools, which involves expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities; this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the under-privileged child, of whatever race, the *same* opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

AGRICULTURE

"The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33 per cent of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:
   a. Written contracts
   b. Longer lease terms
   c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
   d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.
2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.
3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the

Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.

4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

MILITARY SERVICE

"We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH

"1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts even with improvement of their economic status. As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Negroes would include the following:

a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients;
b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practitioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals;
c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general as well as special group advantage. The Federal government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength."

[Signed]

GORDON B. HANCOCK
F. D. PATTERSON
BENJAMIN E. MAYS
ERNEST DELPIT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
HORACE MANN BOND
JAMES E. JACKSON
WM. M. COOPER
P. B. YOUNG
CHAS. S. JOHNSON
Chairman Sub-Editorial Committee

IN ATTENDANCE AT SOUTHERN RACE RELATIONS CONFERENCE

A complete list of those attending the Southern Conference on Race Relations held at the North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, October 20th, is as follows:

DR. CHAS. S. JOHNSON, Director, Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

DEAN R. O'HARA LANIER, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

DR. H. L. McCROREY, President, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. L. F. PALMER, Executive Secretary, Virginia State Teachers Association, Newport News, Va.

O. M. PHARR, Principal, Unity High School, South Carolina.

REV. J. A. VALENTINE, D.D., Durham, N. C.

DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, Department of Sociology, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

DEAN MOSES S. BELTON, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

WILLIAM M. COOPER, Director of Extension Work, Hampton Institute, Va.

ASBURY HOWARD, representing Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO), Bessemer, Ala.

DR. JOHN M. GANDY, President-Emeritus, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

L. H. FOSTER, Treasurer-Business Manager, and Acting President, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

PRESIDENT J. B. WATSON, A. and M. College, Pine Bluff, Ark.

CLARENCE A. LAWS, Executive Secretary, New Orleans Urban League, New Orleans, La.

DON A. DAVIS, Comptroller, Hampton Institute, Chairman Executive Committee, National Negro Business League, Hampton, Va.

REV. H. B. BUTLER, President, Baptist State Convention, Hartsville, S. C.

PROF. J. B. BLANTON, Principal, Voorhees N. and I. School, Denmark, S. C.

WILLIAM Y. BELL, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Ga.

J. A. BACOATS, Vice President, Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.

MRS. R. E. CLAY, Bristol, Tenn.

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, Director, School of Social Work, Atlanta, Ga.

JESSE O. THOMAS, Staff Assistant, War Bonds and Stamps, Washington, D. C.

JAMES T. TAYLOR, Dean of Men, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

DR. AND MRS. J. G. STUART, Columbia, S. C.

ROBERT A. SPICELY, Director, Commercial Dietetics, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

C. C. SPAULDING, President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., and Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.

MRS. ANDREW W. SIMPKINS, Social Worker, Columbia, S. C.

DR. JAMES E. SHEPARD, President, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

REV. J. ALVIN RUSSELL, D.D., President, St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Lawrenceville, Va.

G. D. ROGERS, President, Central Life Insurance Company, Tampa, Fla.

DR. F. D. PATTERSON, President, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

ROSCOE C. MITCHELL, Associated Negro Press Representative, Richmond, Va.

JOHN W. MITCHELL, State Agent, A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C.

DR. BENJ. E. MAYS, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

JAMES G. MARTIN, JR., Business Agent and Financial Secretary, Carpenters' Local No. 544, Baltimore, Md.

DR. HORACE MANN BOND, President, Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga.

THEODORE MALLORY, Secretary-Treasurer, United Transport Service Employees of America, Member International Executive Board, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. AND MRS. D. K. JENKINS, Columbia, S. C.

DR. LUTHER P. JACKSON, Chairman of the Department of History, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

EDGAR P. HOLT, Vice President, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

WALTER J. HUGHES, M.D., State Board of Health, Raleigh, N. C.

JAMES E. JACKSON, Executive Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

J. W. HOLLY, President, Georgia Normal College, Albany, Ga.

K. W. GREEN, Dean, State A. and M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.

ERNEST DELPIT, President and Business Manager, Carpenters' Local, New Orleans, La. (A. F. of L.)

G. HAMILTON FRANCIS, M.D., Speaker House of Delegates, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

REV. JOHN E. CULMER, Rector, Episcopal Church, Miami, Fla.

DR. ROBERT P. DANIEL, President, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

A. B. COOKE, Business Agent, Local No. 815, Carpenters, Columbia, S. C.

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

D. G. GARLAND, Representative, American Federation of Labor, Winston-Salem, N. C.

MAJ. W. M. WHITEHEAD, Principal School for the Handicapped, Newport News, Va.

D. W. BYRD, M.D., Chairman, Health Commission, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

C. H. BYNUM, Field Secretary Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Dallas, Texas.

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, President, Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.

P. B. YOUNG, Editor-Publisher, Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

EDWARD MASON, representing Dining Car Cooks and Waiters, Houston, Texas.

REPRESENTED BY LETTER

C. A. SCOTT, Publisher Atlanta Daily World, and Scott Chain of Weekly Newspapers, Atlanta, Ga.

CARTER WESLEY, Editor-Publisher, The Informer, Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel, Houston, Texas.

MRS. ZELLAR R. BOOTHE, Oklahoma City, Okla.

DEAN V. E. DANIEL, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

CLAUDE A. BARNETT, Director, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Ill.

Others who sent Telegrams endorsing the Conference were:

DR. J. R. E. LEE, President, Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Fla.

ATTY. J. LEONARD LEWIS, Jacksonville, Fla.

ATTY. J. R. BOOKER, Little Rock, Ark.

MRS. ORA BROWN STOKES, Washington, D. C.

PRESIDENT H. L. TRIGG, Elizabeth City State Teachers College, Elizabeth City, N. C.

PRESIDENT DAVID D. JONES, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

MRS. H. L. McCROREY, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. W. A. FOUNTAIN, President, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.

BISHOP B. J. KING, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT JAS. BRAWLEY, Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT W. J. HALE, Tennessee A. and I. College, Nashville, Tenn.

DR. MARY BRANCH, President, Tillotston College, Austin, Texas.

DR. L. H. BELL, Mississippi State College, Alcorn, Miss.

WILEY A. HALL, Executive Secretary, Urban League, Richmond, Va.

DR. J. M. ELLISON, President, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

M. F. WHITAKER, President, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

STATEMENT OF CONFERENCE OF WHITE SOUTHERNERS ON RACE RELATIONS*

Atlanta, Georgia
April 8, 1943

In October, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves "to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework."

Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate.

We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future cooperative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand the facilities for safety, comfort and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as sewers, water, housing, street and sidewalk paving, playgrounds, public health and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern states. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

In the economic field, unquestionably procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

*Conference of White Southerners on Race Relations, Atlanta, Georgia, April 8, 1943.

Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents, and supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary

All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which unless checked will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and the colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

We agree with the Durham Conference that it is "unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life." We agree also that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government."

It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect.

(Signed)

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THOMAS W. CURRIE,* Austin, Tex. Dec.
VIRGINIUS DABNEY, Richmond, Va.
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FRANK R. DODSON, Athens, Tenn.
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CAREY E. HAIGLER, Birmingham, Ala.

*Deceased April 22, 1943

FRED S. HALL, Winter Park, Fla.
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MISS EMILY WOODWARD, Vienna, Ga.
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WILLIAM F. YUST, Winter Park, Fla.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE COLLABORATION COMMITTEE*

Richmond, Virginia

June 16, 1943

This is a day of great differences, strong feelings, and epochal conflicts throughout the world. Yet the world's greatest need and hope is to find common ground for universal action and balanced harmony among all peoples. Manifestly, such a goal must be reached through cooperative approximation to the largest measure of agreement in line with the largest number of values and the largest number of people.

We face, therefore, the double crisis of standing firm for the conservation and preservation of human rights; yet to seek these ends by the way of peace and planning rather than by conflict and revolution.

In America, and particularly in the South, we face the problem of readjustments to meet the demands of present and post-war conditions with reference to the Negro and the future development of a great region of the Nation. This, exclusive of the war, is the great crisis of the South and Nation.

This is the problem of two great peoples caught up in the midst of transition between the powerful heritage of the past and the mighty pull of the future. For here is the white South, a *great* people often doing little things and good people often doing *bad* things. And here is the Negro South, caught as always between the upper and nether millstones of conflicting forces and also paying the price of extraordinary transition from level to level of cultural achievement, and needing plenty of understanding and cooperation. And here is the white South inexorably conditioned by cultural complexes, suffering terribly, too, and needing sympathy and help as few peoples have ever needed in the annals of man. And, even more important, the two, white South and black South, are part and parcel of the Nation, whose people need scarcely less than the two regional peoples the sense of time and wisdom.

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status and the welfare of the country as a whole.

This is a rare challenge to the leadership of the South: to the white leadership to find new ways of cooperation and to justify increased confidence of the Negro leadership in the white South; to the Negro leadership, to sense the difficulties involved and to meet increasing demands, without slowing down their essential efforts.

As evidence of the promise of this leadership, two recent Southern conferences on race relations, one at Durham, under the auspices of Negro leadership, and one in Atlanta under the auspices of white leadership, have blazed new trails. As a follow-up of these and with the above problems and backgrounds in mind, we, a group of Southern whites and Negroes, representing both the Durham and Atlanta groups, meeting as a collaboration committee at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, and following the general trend of the Atlanta group, urge the general adaptation of the Durham statement entitled "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South," which has had extraordinary nation-wide endorsement.

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*Joint committee of representatives of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences.

The framers of this covenant, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, have included adequate and searching analysis of the principal issues involved, duly interpreted in their proper perspective. The problems so featured include political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health.

In the area of political and civil rights: the essential problems featured were those of franchise and the ballot, jury service, personal security, services in public carriers, the elimination of violence, within and without the law, the elimination of lynching, and the employment of an increasingly larger number of Negroes in the public service.

In the area of work opportunities: the increased training for all skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and opportunity for employment; the readaptation of labor union policies both for the best interests of Negroes and labor unions; the problems of dual standards of pay; support of, but guarding against discrimination in, local, state, and federal procedures; special problems of service workers and standards of living.

In the area of education: equalized opportunities in all aspects but especially including institutions of higher learning, professional training, and equal salaries.

In the area of agriculture: adequate opportunity for the Negro farmer, including a sound system of tenancy, adequate state and federal assistance, increased opportunity for farm ownership, fair farm wages, and the wider employment of Negro farm and home agents.

In the area of military service: along with the obligation to serve, the opportunity for full participation and advancement in the war activities and a continuing better adjustment of unsatisfactory situations.

In the area of social welfare and health: adequate provisions for safeguarding the public health, for training physicians and nurses, and for their employment. Also, the erection of low-cost housing and other facilities for improving community life.

We recognize now the importance of affirmative action, without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities. To this end, we direct that the continuing committee, as appointed by the two groups now consolidated in this larger collaboration committee, be charged with the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach. We urge especially that efforts be begun to prepare the post-war world for a wise and successful reception of our returning soldiers and to prepare both our soldiers and the people for attitudes and procedures adequate to carry the great load of post-war needs. In all these, we urge the public to a new sense of the meaning of these needs as they accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy.

Signed: Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Virginius Dabney
A. W. Dent
William G. Gehri
Archdeacon B. W. Harris
S. S. Morris
Josephine Wilkins*
Howard W. Odum, Chairman

SRC historical file

Reprinted from SOUTHERN FRONTIER, AUGUST, 1943

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IS ORGANIZED

. . . *Outgrowth of Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences*

A group of Southern Negroes, acting as individuals but holding positions of influence in their race, held a conference in Durham, N. C., October 20, 1942. They met to discuss the Southern Negroes' status and the changes which, in their opinion, would benefit not only Negroes themselves but the South and the Nation. In December, the results of this meeting were given to the public in a statement which has become known as the "Durham Statement."

Since only Southern Negroes had participated in the conference and in the drafting of the statement, Southern white people could not ignore it. Whether or not there was agreement on their part with what the statement contained, they were impelled to make some formal reply. This reply, signed by more than three hundred Southern white people, was prepared at a conference in Atlanta, April 8, by a hundred and fifteen citizens of ten states. Like the Negroes, they spoke only as individuals, though each held some position of influence in Southern life. Their reply is known as the "Atlanta Statement."

Out of these two conferences grew a third. This one differed from its predecessors in that it was bi-racial in character and composed of delegated individuals. The "Richmond Statement" was made by the Collaboration Committee of Negro and white delegates of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences meeting in Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943.*

The Collaboration Committee appointed twenty-two white persons and nineteen Negroes to act for them in deciding the next step to be taken. This committee meeting in Atlanta, August 4, recognizing that conditions growing out of the war called for a new approach to the problems of the South's bi-racial society, resolved itself into the Southern Regional Council and instructed the Co-Chairmen, Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Dr. Howard W. Odum, to proceed immediately to perfect the organization. Something of the policy and the philosophy of the Southern Regional Council is found in the resolution adopted unanimously by the committee.

*These three statements printed in one pamphlet may be procured for five cents by writing to the *Southern Frontier*.

Resolution Launching the Southern Regional Council

We are gathered together here in solemn assembly, conscious of our heritage and opportunity. In the name and spirit of America and all her resources and institutions we covenant together in harmony and unanimity to make this day, or what this day should bring to pass, epochal in a new purpose, a new understanding, and a new fellowship.

In the name and spirit of America's science and education we seek to find and to tell the truth. In the name and spirit of America's democracy we seek the way of equal opportunity. In the name of America's patriotism, we strive for loyalty to the American dream, for leadership to guide, and for statesmanship adequate to carry the burden of the new America. In the name and spirit of America's Christianity, we search for the new faith of fellowship. In the name of humanity, we propose to substitute the measures of the good society for the old biological struggle for physical survival. In the name and spirit of all these and the living reality of a complex world, we dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

Four ways there are, and perhaps more, of approaching these laudable and attainable ends. First, we agree upon a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society. We recognize fully that in the present crisis this covenant is as important as the earlier compacts of the forefathers, and that the framework within which we covenant together must comprehend a concept and a charter which guarantees equality of opportunity for all peoples. This means more specifically as bearing upon the burden of our present counseling that the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has within the framework of the American democratic system of government.

Second, we dedicate ourselves unswervingly to the successful achievement of this task. Since in the order of all nature and creations and of the growth and development of the people and society there are always certain features peculiar to each society; since in the order of democracy there are certain elemental principles of self-government that are inherent in each folk and regional society; and since in both the physical and cultural heritage of the South there are certain cumulative and tragic handicaps that represent powerful factors in the situation, we appeal to the Nation, in covenant with the South, to exercise a wisdom and maturity through which methods, procedures, and rates of change may be worked out in the spirit of, and in conformity with, the principles of our American democracy.

Third, to the end that there will be actual realistic accomplishments rather than mere words and that there may be possible ways and means of actually insuring progress in all approaches to these goals of equal opportunity, we urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life and especially with a similar national group when established.

Fourth, since the crisis is not only southern but national, not only for whites but for Negroes and other races as well, and since the central purpose of the new council is cooperation and the building of active good will, we urge the formation of a National Committee on race and regional development, constituted of representatives of all races and of public and private groups. Such a committee, subscribing to the declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all available agencies and individuals in private and public life.

We recognize the sweep and power of the emotions in time of war and crisis and the rights and tendencies in the democratic way of life for thousands of individuals and groups to agitate, organize, and promote their own peculiar programs. This is and must be the essence of a democracy. But it is also the way of democracy to focus upon fundamentals and to give opportunity to responsible leadership through the orderly agencies of government and of private citizens. To this end no greater service can be rendered to the Nation than to covenant together in responsible organizations, to provide leadership and clearing house, and to avoid conflicts, waste and overlapping, on the one hand, and, on the other, to minimize the harmful influence of irresponsible forces in this great hour of need for good will and for effective ways of doing what is needed. We feel that in these councils may be approximated needs more nearly than in any other ways that now appear.

The Nation is committed now to what is generally called, both in private business and in public life, post-war planning to the end that we may be ready for the demobilization and reintegration of our millions of returning soldiers into the best possible American way of life. Recognizing that the problems of the folk and of race constitute a more difficult problem than that of physical planning, by the same token we urge all the more the obligation to apply to this great area of our democracy the best the sciences, social sciences, the humanities, and religion can do in the realistic working out of next steps.

To this end, the present membership of the Continuation Committees of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences is hereby constituted the nucleus of the new Council; and the officers are authorized (1) to take immediate steps for the legal incorporation of the Council; (2) to appoint immediately the necessary staff personnel to implement this program, and (3) to enlarge the present membership in order to make it fully representative of all the interests encompassed by this program.

It is also respectfully urged that the President of the United States appoint a National Committee such as is suggested above.

do YOU *want?*

A GROUP OF SOUTHERNERS

representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations got together in 1943 . . .

and decided . . .

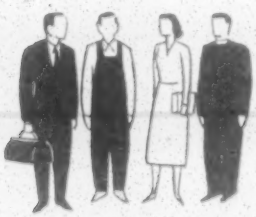
IT'S UP TO US, as Southerners, to join together, face up to the South's problems honestly, and work to solve them . . .

That's how the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was born

SRC belongs to its members. It is non-profit, non-denominational, non-political. It is Southern in its make-up and its work.

SRC is **not,** however, an "isolationist" movement to separate the South's problems from the Nation's. It welcomes support and understanding from all sincere people, wherever they are. But voting membership is limited to persons living in the South.

SRC members include people from all walks of life — white and Negro, city and country, men and women, church people, businessmen, educators, labor men, and plain everyday citizens.



SRC BELIEVES that the South can be prosperous and healthy, freed of poverty, prejudice, and fear . . .

It believes in the ideals of democracy for which this Nation was founded . . .

It believes — in the name of democracy, Christianity, and common decency — that the Negro must have equal opportunity in the schoolroom, on the job, and at the polls . . .

SRC BELIEVES THAT DEMOCRACY IS SAFE ONLY WHEN EVERYBODY CONTRIBUTES TO IT AND EVERYBODY SHARES IN IT.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS *THROUGH* - - -

★ **Its local groups.** SRC has State Divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern States, and smaller groups in communities over the South . . .

★ **Its Regional Office.** SRC's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, guides the work of the local groups, advises private and official agencies, issues timely statements and publications . . .

★ **A monthly bulletin.** NEW SOUTH keeps members and friends of SRC informed about Southern problems and progress . . .

★ **Special pamphlets.** These give the facts, based on careful study of the region, in simple, illustrated form . . .

★ **Public opinion.** SRC helps create a better climate of opinion through newspapers, radio, speakers . . .

★ **Cooperating groups.** SRC works with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and other groups to bring about wholesome improvements . . .

★ **Home Town Self-Surveys.** SRC helps local groups organize to collect the facts about their communities—and to **follow through** with corrective action.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS *FOR* - - -

★ **Better understanding between the races.** SRC helps lessen the violence that has plagued the South by providing a meeting ground where people of good will, white and colored, can come together, air their common problems, achieve honest solutions . . . When trouble brews, SRC members know whom to reach and what to do . . .

★ **Equal justice.** SRC watches the courts . . . points out injustices . . . works for fair police practices . . . has successfully urged the hiring of Negro policemen in towns and cities throughout the South . . .

★ **Equal public services.** SRC works to get a square break for ALL our people in —

HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL CARE

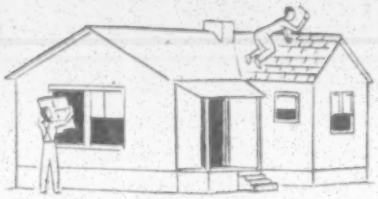
SCHOOLS

JOBS

FARMING OPPORTUNITIES

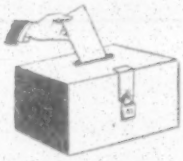
VETERANS SERVICES

HOUSING



★ **Full citizenship** for everyone in

VOTING



JURY SERVICE

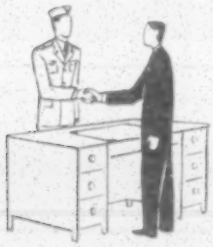
REPRESENTATION ON OFFICIAL BODIES

★ **State government for ALL the people.** SRC works for the day when our States will serve all citizens equally.

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - - -

Supplied the basic facts in successful campaigns to secure Negro policemen in Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville, Conway (S.C.), and other cities.

During 1945-1947 helped smooth the path for the returning veteran by a widespread field program. Nine World War II veterans — eight of them Negroes — made personal visits to veterans servicing officials in over a third of the counties in the South . . . acquainted them with the needs of Negro veterans . . . taught veterans the full range of services they could get . . . spent $75,000 on this project alone.



Sponsored the 1948 Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights at which four hundred community leaders, representing both races and every Southern State, devised ways to strengthen basic rights at the local level.

★

At strategic times during the past year, vigorously urged upon each Southern governor a positive program to assure the civil rights of the Southern people.

★

Persistently advocated the same course for newspapers, church bodies, and other influential groups in the region.

★

Got the facts into newspapers over the South about health, housing, education, voting, law-enforcement.

THROUGH STATE DIVISIONS AND AFFILIATES - - -

Aroused public opinion against the Ku Klux Klan and played an active part in getting local ordinances passed curbing the activities of such terroristic groups.

★

Persuaded numerous white churches throughout Georgia to be hosts to interracial meetings.

★

Served as technical consultant to the steering committee of the Jacksonville, Fla., Self-Survey, which has brought about more than seventy concrete improvements in the Negro community.

★

Played a leading part in bringing about the establishment of the State Training School for Negro Girls in Texas.

★

Was largely responsible for the creation of Negro community centers in Macon, Savannah, and other Georgia cities . . . Helped secure a modern, well-equipped Negro Boys' Club for Atlanta.

★

Aided the Florida Citizens Committee on Education in drawing up recommendations to the General Assembly which would provide equal education for ALL children.

★

Took the lead in getting Kentucky's Day Law amended to permit Negroes to receive medical and nursing education in institutions formerly open to white students only.

TO DO THESE THINGS

and more, the Southern Regional Council needs YOUR support. Here are three things you can do to help:

1 **Join SRC and work actively with other members in your community**

2 **Contribute to SRC's operating funds**

3 **Get your friends to work with you and SRC**

THE SOUTH'S PROBLEMS ARE *Our* PROBLEMS — YOURS and MINE
TOGETHER WE CAN BUILD A MORE PROSPEROUS, DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

★

What They Say About Southern Regional Council —

"An organization of responsible white and colored citizens . . ."
— Birmingham NEWS AND AGE-HERALD

"The sort of organization which makes . . . progress possible, and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."
— Richmond TIMES-DISPATCH

"The most widely respected interracial group in the South."
— Asheville TIMES

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."
— NEW YORK TIMES

"A voice from the informed and moderate South."
— CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."
— CHATTANOOGA TIMES

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."
— THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"One of the best sources for materials on the South today is the publications of the Southern Regional Council. . . . Its inexpensive publications provide information on every aspect of life in Southern United States."
— CURRENT EVENTS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

☐ **A Member.** (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Dues $3.00.

☐ **A Member jointly with husband or wife.** (Both have full membership rights and jointly receive a copy of all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Joint dues $4.00.

(Note: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate [non-voting] Members.)

☐ **A subscriber** to monthly publication New South. Subscription $1.50.

☐ **A Contributor** to SRC's operation funds.

Dues for one year are enclosed . . . . . $_____

Contribution is enclosed in the amount of . . . . . $_____

Subscription to New South as non-member . . . . . $_____

Total Enclosed . . . . . $_____

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STREET_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

OCCUPATION_____

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name_____

Street_____

City_____ State_____

TEAR OUT ALONG THIS LINE AND MAIL

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1943

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Meeting of the Continuation Committee

The Continuation Committee of the Southern Regional Council met in the Conference Room of the Administration Building, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:30 o'clock Saturday morning November 27, 1943. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Co-Chairman, presided. The following were present:

Charles S. Johnson) Co-Chairmen
Howard W. Odum)
Will W. Alexander
Horace M. Bond
Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Louis E. Burnham
Rufus E. Clement
Virginius Dabney
A. W. Dent
C. H. Gillman
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Mrs. Henry Havens
R. B. Herbert
Luther P. Jackson
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T. James McNamara
Edmund M. Preston
Ira DeA. Reid
J. McDowell Richards
Philip Shulhafer
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Forrester B. Washington
Carter Wesley
Goodrich C. White

Meeting Setting up SRC

At the request of the Chairman, Msgr. McNamara offered the opening prayer.

Dr. Odum proposed that Dr. Alexander and the two Executive Directors be asked to select a National Advisory Committee, composed of representatives of national organizations and interests, whose advice the Council might seek whenever it seemed advisable, and that not more than 100 honorary Fellows (men and women between the ages of 25 and 50, who would subscribe to the program of the Council and would agree to undertake special work for the Council in the states when needed) be elected.

Dr. William E. Cole and Dr. Ira DeA. Reid presented statements outlining a suggested program for the Council. Dr. Cole explained that they had tried not only to conserve as much as possible of the good which was in the program of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, but to go beyond that.

Messages were read from the following who were unable to be present: Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Mr. Ernest Delpit, Dr. Edgard G. McDowell, and Dr. F. D. Patterson.

The Chairman requested Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, who was instrumental in calling the Durham Conference, to give his views on the plan of organization suggested for the Council. Dr. Hancock assured the group that the statements read

by Dr. Cole and Dr. Reid included what he had in mind - that the Council be composed of committees on agriculture, industry, etc., and that state and county committees be set up.

In discussing the suggested program, Dr. Alexander said that he would like to have emphasis put on the police and law enforcement officials, as it was his opinion that improvement in the whole police set-up in our society is an immediate need. Some cities, he said, are already at work on this. Dr. Washington said that we must get life and objectivity into the Council, and to do this it will be necessary to select as members men and women who are not interested in race per se, but in the whole problem of Southern development.

Mr. Shulhafer asked whether this group would compose the Board of Directors of the Council, or whether a new Board would be elected. Dr. Odum replied that this is an ex officio Board, but that the authorization of the Council is official, since the Commission had voted that the officers and Executive Committee should set up the new Council as soon as they were ready to do so.

Dr. Johnson requested Dr. Odum to report for the informal committee which had been working with some of the sources of funds. Dr. Odum said that a minimum of $35,000 had been secured on which to begin, with the prospect of a larger amount as the program develops.

Dr. Alexander said he felt that a vigorous effort should be made to get an additional $15,000, or a total of $50,000, with which to begin to operate the first year, and that the finance committee should continue to explore areas of special interest.

The meeting rose for lunch, to reconvene at 2:30 P. M.

Afternoon Session - 2:30 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Dr. Johnson.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the governing body of the Council be composed of not exceeding 75 members, entitled Board of Directors, and that approximately one-third of those be selected from the fields of business, industry, labor, agriculture, public service, and the professions of law and medicine.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the Continuation Committee meeting in Atlanta on August 4 and November 27, including Ralph McGill, Chairman of the Atlanta Conference, be named as the Board of Directors of the Council and that they be empowered as the temporary governing board to take such action as may be necessary to inaugurate the Council's work.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that this Board as at present constituted recommend the election of Dr. William E. Cole as Executive Director and Dr. Ira DeA. Reid as

Associate Executive Director of the Council; that after they are elected by the pro forma Executive Committee, or Steering Committee, they be authorized, together with the Executive Committee, to set up the organization as rapidly as possible.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that a temporary Steering Committee be appointed, composed of the Atlanta members together with Doctors Alexander, Odum, and Johnson, who will serve also as a temporary Executive Committee upon incorporation, and that counsel for the Council be asked to give advice as to the proper method of handling this so as to do away with the necessity for a Board meeting in order to attend to the formalities of incorporation.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the directors and the Steering Committee be authorized to explore the advisability of nominating a National Advisory Committee, and that they be requested to bring to the full meeting, to be held in February, recommendations and nominations.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the Steering Committee and the Executive Directors be requested to explore the desirability of this Board's recommending the election of not more than 100 honorary Fellows in the South, and to report back to the main Board meeting in February both the advisability of this and names to be considered.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that temporarily we define the South as the following states, within which the Council will operate: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Directors be requested to bring in recommendations as to membership of the Council.

The Directors were asked, also, to bring to the February meeting recommendations as to what will be expected of members of the Council in their local communities - whether there will be local groups and, if so, whether these groups will have the same general objectives as the Council.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the purpose of the Southern Regional Council be described in the charter as: "A regional council for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South," with such changes as Mr. Leonard Haas, the attorney who is preparing the charter, may deem it necessary to make to conform with Georgia law.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the Co-Chairmen of the Council be constituted Co-Chairmen of the Steering or Executive Committee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee be authorized to do any and all things necessary to incorporate the organization.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Alexander be elected a member of the Council and of this temporary governing Board.

Dr. Johnson remarked that he was very much impressed with the importance of labor in this whole field and asked Mr. Gillman whether he had any general observations which he would like to make that would be helpful to the Council.

Mr. Gillman replied that the CIO is very much interested in bettering the economic standards of the people, and the members realize, he said, that this can be done only by improving the standards of underprivileged people, regardless of race. He further stated that, if given an opportunity to function with this Council, labor can be of tremendous help in the various states. He was convinced that most of the CIO members would be more than willing to do everything they possibly can to advance the program outlined at this meeting.

Dr. Alexander referred again to the $35,000 budget, which he was sure was inadequate. Dr. Reid remarked that he and Dr. Cole had recommended a minimum budget of $47,500. Dr. Alexander said that he thought those who had been working on finances should now be instructed to endeavor to find an additional $15,000 before February 1, so as to provide for a budget of $50,000 this first year.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the committee which has been working on finances be instructed to find additional money for the initial budget.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the cooperation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation be requested in such steps as are necessary in achieving the ends suggested at this meeting.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the Steering Committee be instructed to secure quarters for the Council as soon as they are legally qualified to do so.

Dr. Klement said that Atlanta University would be glad to be host for meetings of the Council. The committee expressed appreciation of his offer, and it was agreed that a two-day meeting of the full membership should be held at Atlanta University in February 1944.

Dr. Mays asked that, as the Council membership is built up, we keep in mind the fact that more able women in the South should be added.

Mrs. Tilly expressed the fear that there will be some loss to the work unless the proper announcement is made of the fact that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation is merging into something bigger. She urged that carefully planned publicity be given out at the proper time.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

C H A R T E R

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

January 6, 1944

STATE OF GEORGIA,
FULTON COUNTY.

TO THE SUPERIOR COURT OF SAID COUNTY:

The Petition of DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH MCGILL, BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON AND DR. HOWARD W. ODUM respectfully shows:

1.

That they desire for themselves, their associates and successors, to be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewal at the expiration thereof, and from time to time, as is now or may hereafter be provided by law.

2.

The principal office and place of business of said Corporation shall be located in the City of Atlanta, County of Fulton, State of Georgia. The Corporation desires the privilege of establishing branch offices elsewhere, either within or without the State of Georgia, as may be desired.

3.

Said Corporation shall not be organized or operated for pecuniary gain or profits to its members, and shall have no capital stock.

4.

The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in

the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

5.

The Corporation shall have the right to receive donations, endowments, devises and bequests, and shall enjoy all rights and powers, and be subject to all limitations, of the Corporation Act of the State of Georgia, approved January 28, 1938, and all Amendments thereto, which may hereafter be adopted, excepting those rights, powers and limitations relating to capital stock, and other matters not pertinent to its organization.

6.

The membership of said Corporation shall be self-perpetuating, and shall be composed of the Incorporators, and such others as said Incorporators shall, at any time after the organization of said Corporration, designate, according to such Rules and By-Laws as may be adopted by said Corporation. The Incorporators, and such other members as may be elected at the first Incorporators Meeting, shall be designated as "Charter Members" of the Corporation.

7.

The rights of any member in the Corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, and his rights shall cease with his death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

8.

All corporate meetings, whether of the members or of the Board of Directors or of any other bodies established by the Corporation, may be held either within or without the State of Georgia.

9.

The Corporation may at any time, by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Corporation, amend either in form or in substance, its By-Laws and Charter, or either of them, and for any reason, approved by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Corporation, sell and dispose of any or all of its assets, and dissolve and liquidate its affairs.

10.

The name and post office address of each of the Incorporators are as follows:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia,
Mr. Ralph McGill, 3399 Piedmont Rd., N. E., Atlanta, Georgia,

Bishop Arthur J. Moore, 1976 North Decatur Rd., Atlanta, Georgia,
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee,
Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill,
North Carolina.

11.

If and when said Corporation, for any reason whatever, shall liquidate or cease to exist as a body corporate, or to function as an eleemosynary organization, the title to all property, money and effects, of whatever kind or character, of such Corporation, after discharging its own obligations and liabilities, shall vest in some organization having ideals and a program similar to those of said Corporation, such organization to be designated by said Corporation before its dissolution.

WHEREFORE, Petitioners pray to be incorporated under the name and style aforesaid, with all the powers, privileges and immunities herein set forth, and as are now, or may hereafter be, allowed a Corporation of similar character under the laws of Georgia.

HAAS, LYONS & HURT

Attorneys for Petitioners,
601 Haas-Howell Building, Atlanta, Ga.

file - S.R.C. origins - Lions

THE DURHAM CONFERENCE STATEMENT

(On October 20, 1942, a group of Negro Southerners met in Durham, North Carolina, to discuss their problems and the changes which, in their opinion, would benefit not only Negroes themselves but the South and the Nation. A committee was instructed to prepare a statement embodying the thinking of the Conference. In December, 1942, the following document was given to the public. It was entitled: "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South; a Statement by Southern Negroes.")

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common-sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of Southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

1. Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

2. Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

3. The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns. We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds; however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.

4. We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.

5. We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

Political and Civil Rights

1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting
b. The abolition of the white primary
c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice, we believe, can and should be discontinued now.

3. (a) Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

(b) It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Negro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling, to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

Industry and Labor

Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed

to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.

2. There should be the same pay for the same work.

3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized, and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers on a fair and equal basis.

4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts and other protective labor legislation.

5. It is the duty of local, State, and Federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.

6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.

7. We regard the wage-and-job freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.

8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

Service Occupations

Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified. Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.

2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.

3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.

4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.

5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories.

We believe that these provisions will help to insure more intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

Education

As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes and, indeed, to all underprivileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education is better schools, which involves expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities; this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us

to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the underprivileged child, of whatever race, the same opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between Southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

Agriculture

The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33 per cent of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on Southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group, and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:

a. Written contracts
b. Longer lease terms
c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.

2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.

3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.

4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy-making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

Military Service

We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation, and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

Social Welfare and Health

1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family, and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts, even with improvement of their economic status. As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Negroes would include the following:

a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients
b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practicioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals
c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general, as well as a special, group advantage. The Federal Government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

* * * * *

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength.

THE ATLANTA CONFERENCE STATEMENT

(On April 8, 1943, a group of white Southerners met in Atlanta, Georgia, to consider the statement which had been issued by the Durham Conference. The results of their deliberations were made public in the following document.)

In October, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves "to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework."

Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will that we gladly agree to cooperate.

We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future cooperative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination

between the races in the allocation of school funds, in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel, where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand the facilities for safety, comfort and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as sewers, water, housing, street and sidewalk paving, playgrounds, public health and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern States. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

In the economic field, unquestionably, procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self-respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents, and supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary.

All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which, unless checked, will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and the colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

We agree with the Durham Conference that it is "unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life." We agree also that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government."

It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect.

THE RICHMOND CONFERENCE STATEMENT

(On June 16, 1943, a Collaboration Committee, composed of delegates from the Durham Conference and the Atlanta Conference, met in Richmond, Virginia. The following statement was issued by the Richmond Conference.)

This is a day of great differences, strong feelings, and epochal conflicts throughout the world. Yet the world's greatest need and hope is to find common ground for universal action and balanced harmony among all peoples. Manifestly, such a goal must be reached through cooperative approximation to the largest measure of agreement in line with the largest number of values and the largest number of people.

We face, therefore, the double crisis of standing firm for the conservation and preservation of human rights, yet to seek these ends by the way of peace and planning rather than by conflict and revolution.

In America, and particularly in the South, we face the problem of readjustments to meet the demands of present and post-war conditions with reference to the Negro and the future development of a great region of the Nation. This, exclusive of the war, is the great crisis of the South and Nation.

This is the problem of two great peoples caught up in the midst of transition between the powerful heritage of the past and the mighty pull of the future. For here is the white South, a great people often doing little things and good people often doing bad things. And here is the Negro South, caught, as always, between the upper and nether millstones of conflicting forces and also paying the price of extraordinary transition from level to level of cultural achievement, and needing plenty of understanding and cooperation. And here is the white South, inexorably conditioned by cultural complexes, suffering terribly too, and needing sympathy and help as few people have ever needed in the annals of man. And even more important, the two, white South and black South, are part and parcel of the Nation, whose people need scarcely less than the two regional peoples the sense of time and wisdom.

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negr status and the welfare of the country as a whole.

This is a rare challenge to the leadership of the South; to the white leadership, to find new ways of cooperation and to justify increased confidence of the Negro leadership in the white South; to the Negro leadership, to sense the difficulties involved and to meet increasing demands, without slowing down their essential efforts.

As evidence of the promise of this leadership, two recent Southern conferences on race relations, one at Durham, under the auspices of Negro leadership, and one in Atlanta under the auspices of white leadership, have blazed new trails.

As a follow-up of these and with the above problems and backgrounds in mind, we, a group of Southern whites and Negroes, representing both the Durham and Atlanta groups meeting as a collaboration committee at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, and following the general trend of the Atlanta group, urge the general adaptation of the Durham statement entitled "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South," which has had extraordinary nation-wide endorsement.

The framers of this covenant, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, have included adequate and searching analysis of the principal issues involved, duly interpreted in their proper perspective. The problems so featured include political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health.

In the area of political and civil rights, the essential problems featured were those of franchise and the ballot; jury service; personal security; services in public carriers; the elimination of violence, within and without the law; the elimination of lynching; and the employment of an increasingly larger number of Negroes in the public service.

In the area of work opportunities: the increased training for all skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and opportunity for employment; the readaptation of labor union policies, both for the best interests of Negroes and labor unions; the problems of dual standards of pay; support of, but guarding against discrimination in, local, State, and federal procedures; special problems of service workers and standards of living.

In the area of education: equalized opportunities in all aspects, but especially including institutions of higher learning, professional training, and equal salaries.

In the area of agriculture: adequate opportunity for the Negro farmer, including a sound system of tenancy, adequate State and federal assistance, increased opportunity for farm ownership, fair farm wages, and the wider employment of Negro farm and home agents.

In the area of military service: along with the obligation to serve, the opportunity for full participation and advancement in the war activities and a continuing better adjustment of unsatisfactory situations.

In the area of social welfare and health: adequate provisions for safeguarding the public health, for training physicians and nurses, and for their employment. Also, the erection of low-cost housing and other facilities for improving community life.

We recognize now the importance of affirmative action, without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities. To this end, we direct that the continuing committee, as appointed by the two groups now consolidated in this larger collaboration committee, be charged with the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach. We urge especially that efforts be begun to prepare the post-war world for a wise and successful reception of our returning soldiers and to prepare both our soldiers and the people for attitudes and procedures adequate to carry the great load of post-war needs. In all these, we urge the public to a new sense of the meaning of these needs as they accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy.

THE ATLANTA RESOLUTION

(On August 4, 1943, a Continuation Committee, appointed by the Richmond Conference, met in Atlanta to consider ways and means of implementing the recommendations of the preceding Conferences. The Committee resolved itself into the nucleus of the Southern Regional Council and elected Dr. Howard W. Odum and Dr. Charles S. Johnson as Co-Chairmen. The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Committee.)

We are gathered together here in solemn assembly, conscious of our heritage and opportunity. In the name and spirit of America and all her resources and institutions we covenant together in harmony and unanimity to make this day, or what this day should bring to pass, epochal in a new purpose, a new understanding, and a new fellowship.

In the name and spirit of America's science and education we seek to find and to tell the truth. In the name and spirit of America's democracy we seek the way of equal opportunity. In the name of America's patriotism, we strive for loyalty to the American dream, for leadership to guide, and for statesmanship adequate to carry the burden of the new America. In the name and spirit of America's Christianity, we search for the new faith of fellowship. In the name of humanity, we propose to substitute the measures of the good society for the old biological struggle for physical survival. In the name and spirit of all these and the living reality of a complex world, we dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

Four ways there are, and perhaps more, of approaching these laudable and attainable ends. First, we agree upon a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society. We recognize fully that in the present crisis this covenant is as important as the earlier compacts of the forefathers, and that the framework within which we covenant together must comprehend a concept and a charter which guarantees equality of opportunity for all peoples. This means more specifically as bearing upon the burden of our present counseling that the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has within the framework of the American democratic system of government.

Second, we dedicate ourselves unswervingly to the successful achievement of this task. Since in the order of all nature and creations and of the growth and development of the people and society there are always certain features peculiar to each society; since in the order of democracy there are certain elemental principles of self-government that are inherent in each folk and regional society; and since in both the physical and cultural heritage of the South there are certain cumulative and tragic handicaps that represent powerful factors in the situation, we appeal to the Nation, in covenant with the South, to exercise a wisdom and maturity through which methods, procedures, and rates of change may be worked out in the spirit of, and in conformity with, the principles of our American democracy.

Third, to the end that there will be actual realistic accomplishments rather than mere words and that there may be possible ways and means of actually insuring progress in all approaches to these goals of equal opportunity, we urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life, and especially with a similar national group, when established.

Fourth, since the crisis is not only Southern, but national, not only for whites, but for Negroes and other races as well, and since the central purpose of the new council is cooperation and the building of active good will, we urge the formation of a National Committee on race and regional development, constituted of representatives of all races and of public and private groups. Such a committee, subscribing to the declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all available agencies and individuals in private and public life.

We recognize the sweep and power of the emotions in time of war and crisis and the rights and tendencies in the democratic way of life for thousands of individuals and groups to agitate, organize, and promote their own peculiar programs. This is and must be the essence of a democracy. But it is also the way of democracy to focus upon fundamentals and to give opportunity to responsible leadership through the orderly agencies of government and of private citizens. To this end no greater service can be rendered to the Nation than to covenant together in responsible organizations, to provide leadership and clearing house, and to avoid conflicts, waste and overlapping, on the one hand, and, on the other, to minimize the harmful influence of irresponsible forces in this great hour of need for good will and for effective ways of doing what is needed. We feel that in these councils may be approximated needs more nearly than in any other ways that now appear.

The Nation is committed now to what is generally called, both in private business and in public life, post-war planning, to the end that we may be ready for the demobilization and reintegration of our millions of returning soldiers into the best possible American way of life. Recognizing that the problems of the folk and of race constitute a more difficult problem than that of physical planning, by the same token, we urge all the more the obligation to apply to this great area of our democracy the best the sciences, social sciences, the humanities, and religion can do in the realistic working out of next steps.

To this end, the present membership of the Continuation Committees of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences is hereby constituted the nucleus of the new Council; and the officers are authorized (1) to take immediate steps for the legal incorporation of the Council; (2) to appoint immediately the necessary staff personnel to implement this program; and (3) to enlarge the present membership in order to make it fully representative of all the interests encompassed by this program.

It is also respectfully urged that the President of the United States appoint a National Committee such as is suggested above.

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

(On February 16, 1944, just before the opening of the Charter Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta and passed the following resolution merging the Commission with the Council.)

It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation:

It was, upon motion duly made and seconded--Resolved that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.

CHARTER OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

STATE OF GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

I, John B. Wilson, Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify that

"SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC."

was on the 6th day of January, 1944, duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia by the Superior Court of Fulton County for a period of thirty-five years from said date, in accordance with the certified copy hereto attached, and that a certified copy of the charter of said corporation has been duly filed in the office of the Secretary of State and the fees therefor paid, as provided by law.

(SEAL)
STATE OF GEORGIA
1776

In testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 7th day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-four and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth.

JOHN B. WILSON
Secretary of State, Ex-Officio Corporation Commissioner of the State of Georgia

Bac original

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Incorporators

The meeting of the incorporators of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., after due and legal notice thereof to all the incorporators, was held at the headquarters of the Council, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia, on the 11th day of February, 1944, at 12 o'clock noon.

There were present in person and by proxy at the meeting the following incorporators: Rufus E. Clement, Charles S. Johnson, Arthur J. Moore, and Howard W. Odum.

Dr. Clement was chosen as Chairman and Miss Emily H. Clay as Secretary of the meeting.

The proxies were examined and reported to be in due and legal form. Upon motion duly seconded and unanimously carried:

IT WAS VOTED that the proxies be accepted.

The charter of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., as granted by order of the Superior Court of Fulton County, Georgia, on the 6th day of January, 1944, was read. On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried:

IT WAS VOTED that the charter be accepted.

A certified copy of the charter was ordered filed, and it was further ordered that a copy be spread upon the minutes of this meeting, as follows:

"STATE OF GEORGIA,
"FULTON COUNTY.

"TO THE SUPERIOR COURT OF SAID COUNTY:

"The Petition of DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH McGILL, BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, AND DR. HOWARD W. ODUM respectfully shows:

1.

"That they desire for themselves, their associates and successors, to be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewal at the expiration thereof, and from time to time, as is now or may hereafter be provided by law.

2.

"The principal office and place of business of said Corporation shall be located in the City of Atlanta, County of Fulton, State of Georgia. The Corporation desires the privilege of establishing branch offices elsewhere, either within or without the State of Georgia, as may be desired.

3.

"Said Corporation shall not be organized or operated for pecuniary gain or profits to its members, and shall have no capital stock.

4.

"The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

5.

"The Corporation shall have the right to receive donations, endowments, devises and bequests, and shall enjoy all rights and powers, and be subject to all limitations, of the Corporation Act of the State of Georgia, approved January 28, 1938, and all Amendments thereto, which may hereafter be adopted, excepting those rights, powers and limitations relating to capital stock, and other matters not pertinent to its organization.

6.

"The membership of said Corporation shall be self-perpetuating, and shall be composed of the Incorporators, and such others as said Incorporators shall, at any time after the organization of said Corporation, designate, according to such Rules and By-Laws as may be adopted by said Corporation. The Incorporators, and such other members as may be elected at the first Incorporators Meeting, shall be designated as 'Charter Members' of the Corporation.

7.

"The rights of any member in the Corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, and his rights shall cease with his death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

8.

"All corporate meetings, whether of the members or of the Board of Directors or of any other bodies established by the Corporation, may be held either within or without the State of Georgia.

9.

"The Corporation may at any time, by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Corporation, amend, either in form or in substance, its By-Laws and Charter, or either of them, and for any reason, approved by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Corporation, sell and dispose of any or all of its assets, and dissolve and liquidate its affairs.

10.

"The name and post office address of each of the Incorporators are as follows:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Ralph McGill, 3399 Piedmont Road, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, 1976 North Decatur Road, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

11.

"If and when said Corporation, for any reason whatever, shall liquidate or cease to exist as a body corporate, or to function as an eleemosynary organization, the title to all property, money and effects, of whatever kind or character, of such Corporation, after discharging its own obligations and liabilities, shall vest in some organization having ideals and a program similar to those of said Corporation, such organization to be designated by said Corporation before its dissolution.

"WHEREFORE, Petitioners pray to be incorporated under the name and style aforesaid, with all the powers, privileges and immunities herein set forth, and as are now, or may hereafter be allowed a Corporation of similar character under the laws of Georgia.

"HAAS, LYONS & HURT
"Attorneys for Petitioners,
"601 Haas-Howell Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.

"Filed in office, this the 6th day of January 1944.

"D. W. Brown
"Deputy Clerk"

"O R D E R

"The foregoing Petition of Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Ralph McGill, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, praying that they be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,

having been presented to the Court, and it appearing that the Application is legitimately within the purview and intention of the laws of this State, and that the name of the proposed Corporation is not the name of any other existing corporation registered on the records of the Secretary of State,

"IT IS ORDERED AND ADJUDGED that the Application of said Petitioners be granted, and that the said Petitioners, and their successors and assigns, be, and they hereby are, made and constituted a body corporate under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewals, and with all the rights, powers, privileges, and immunities allowed corporations by the laws of this State.

"This 6th day of January, 1944.

"Frank A. Hooper, Jr.
"Judge Superior Courts Atlanta Circuit."

The following resolution was offered:

RESOLVED, That, subject to residence in the area of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., all persons who participated actively in one or more of the Durham, Atlanta, or Richmond conferences which led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and all members of the temporary Board of Directors of the Council, shall, upon acceptance of their election, be designated as Charter Members of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried:

IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

The Secretary was directed to deliver the certified copy of the charter of the corporation, and the minutes of this meeting, to the members at the first meeting of the charter members of the corporation to be held on February 16-17, 1944.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

_____
Chairman

Emily S. Clay
_____
Secretary

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Charter Meeting

The charter meeting of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., convened at 2:30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon February 16, 1944, in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library Building. The following were present in person or by proxy:

Theodore F. Adams
Will W. Alexander
Mrs. L. W. Alford
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
R. B. Atwood
W. R. Banks
Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett
Noble Y. Beall
W. A. Bell
Wm. H. Bell
Wm. Y. Bell, Jr.
George C. Bellingrath
Moses S. Belton
Albert D. Betts
J. E. Blanton
H. M. Bond
J. Max Bond
J. R. Booker
Mrs. Z. L. Boothe
Dr. Mary E. Branch
Theodore D. Bratton
Stanley R. Brav
James P. Brawley
Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Mrs. J. L. Brock
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Wilson M. Brown
A. R. Buhrman
Louis E. Burnham
A. C. Burttram
H. H. Butler
J. S. Clark
Mrs. R. E. Clay
Mrs. George C. Clement
Rufus E. Clement
Charles Clingman
William E. Cole
Wm. M. Cooper
Robert L. Cousins
W. H. Crawford
John E. Culmer
J. L. Cuninggim
Virginius Dabney

Mrs. Andrew Dale
Robert P. Daniel
V. E. Daniel
M. S. Davage
Don A. Davis
Mrs. George E. Davis
Miss Mary C. DeBardeleben
Ernest Delpit
A. W. Dent
F. M. Dickenson
J. C. Dixon
Henry M. Edmonds
R. B. Eleazer
J. M. Ellison
Mark Ethridge
Grady Farley
Clark Foreman
R. L. Foreman, Jr.
L. H. Foster
W. A. Fountain, Jr.
G. Hamilton Francis
D. S. Freeman
Fred C. Frey
John M. Gandy
S. Hughes Garvin
Mrs. Nathaniel Gist Gee
William G. Gehri
Mrs. Harry M. Gershon
C. H. Gillman
Benjamin A. Green
K. W. Green
Robert E. Gribbin
Leonard Haas
Carey E. Haigler
Wiley A. Hall
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Gordon B. Hancock
Mrs. John M. Hanna
Julian LaR. Harris
Mrs. E. B. Harrold
Mrs. Henry Havens
F. Clyde Helms
W. G. Henry

W. G. Henry, Jr.
W. C. Henson
R. Beverly Herbert
Mrs. R. T. Hollis
Asbury Howard
Giles A. Hubert
Walter J. Hughes
Mrs. H. A. Hunt, Sr.
R. L. Hunt
John W. Inzer
Luther P. Jackson
W. C. Jackson
Howard E. Jensen
Charles S. Johnson
Guy B. Johnson
Smith L. Johnston
David D. Jones
M. Ashby Jones
Thomas E. Jones
Bernard J. Kane
Lloyd N. Killam
Willis J. King
Ryland Knight
R. O'Hara Lanier
J. R. E. Lee
J. Leonard Lewis
Mrs. G. W. Long
Nat G. Long
Z. Alexander Looby
J. R. McCain
Frank McCallister
Mrs. Mary M. McCoy
H. L. McCrorey
Ralph McGill
Mrs. Clelia P. McGowan
T. James McNamara
Edward G. Mackay
William H. Maraion
Mrs. Attwood Martin
David Marx
Miss Lucy R. Mason
Armand May
Benjamin E. Mays
Haskell M. Millar
Mrs. J. W. Mills
William Mitch
Roscoe C. Mitchell
Samuel C. Mitchell
Arthur J. Moore
Josiah Morse
Mrs. Audley Morton
Edward F. Murphy, S. S. J.
N. C. Newbold
Mrs. Bertha P. Newell
Howard W. Odum
Gerald P. O'Hara

L. F. Palmer
F. D. Patterson
Raymond R. Paty
J. M. Payne
A. M. Pennybacker
J. W. Perry
E. C. Peters
E. M. Preston
Hubert Quillian
Arthur Raper
Homer P. Rainey
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Miss Florence M. Read
Ira DeA. Reid
J. Calvin Reid
J. McD. Richards
James L. Robb
G. D. Rogers
J. Alvin Russell
R. L. Russell
C. A. Scott
James E. Shepard
Philip E. Shulhafer
Mrs. A. W. Sinkins
W. A. Smart
C. C. Spaulding
Mrs. Alex W. Spence
Robert A. Spicely
Ludd M. Spivey
Edgar B. Stern
Mrs. A. H. Sterne
Mrs. J. Morgan Stevens
J. G. Stuart
Willis A. Sutton
Henry H. Sweets
James T. Taylor
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
H. Councill Trenholm
Harold L. Trigg
H. St. George Tucker
Mrs. R. L. Turman
Mrs. W. A. Turner
J. A. Valentine
King Vivion
A. T. Walden
John Moore Walker
Forrester B. Washington
W. D. Weatherford
Kendall Weisiger
Carter Wesley
Goodrich C. White
W. M. Whitehead
M. F. Whittaker
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mrs. M. R. Wilkinson
F. C. Willcoxon

Miss Fannie C. Williams
John Page Williams
C. B. Wilmer
John D. Wing
W. H. Wiseman
P. B. Young

The meeting was called to order by Dr. Howard W. Odum, who reported that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, at a meeting held during the morning, had voted to merge with the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

At the request of the Chairman, Dr. M. Ashby Jones offered the opening prayer.

The Secretary was asked to read the resolution voted at the Commission meeting, as follows:

> It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation:
>
> It was, upon motion duly made and seconded-
>
> RESOLVED that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.

Dr. Odum addressed the members briefly, saying that in his opinion the Council represents the most united group that has approached the greatest problem America has outside of winning the war - "A problem that has no limit outside ourselves."

At the suggestion of Dr. Odum and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. F. D. Patterson be elected temporary chairman.

After taking the chair, Dr. Patterson said that it seemed appropriate to have a statement from one who had much to do with the development of the Durham Conference. He then introduced Dr. Gordon B. Hancock and invited him to make any statement which he wished to make at this organization meeting.

Dr. Hancock responded, saying that he felt that the time had come "to redeem interracialism, to destroy race prejudice, and to save the soul of this Nation." To do

the job right, he said, we must have moral courage.

Dr. Patterson invited Mrs. Ames, General Field Secretary of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, to speak on the transition period between the Commission and the Southern Regional Council.

Mrs. Ames urged the Council to establish democratic processes within its own body and to make a study of Negro-White woman relationships.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson and Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Executive Director and Associate Executive Director, respectively, spoke with reference to the suggested structure and program of the Council, which eventually will be conducted through five Commissions: Race (Human) Relations, Economic Affairs, Community Life and Welfare, Public Affairs, and Cultural Development. It was agreed that attention should be centered on the Commission on Race (Human) Relations during this first year.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

2. IT WAS VOTED that Miss Emily H. Clay be elected temporary secretary.

At the request of the Chairman, the Secretary read the minutes of the incorporators' meeting, after which the charter of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., was presented to the members.

A consideration of the suggested by-laws followed.

ARTICLE I. NAME AND AREA.

Section 1. Name.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

Section 2. Area.

After discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS.

Section 1. Members.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

6. IT WAS VOTED that the classification of associate membership be provided for those who may not qualify as active members of this organization.

It was suggested by Dr. Robb, who offered the motion, that the details of working out this vote be left to the Board of Directors.

Mr. Rogers, who seconded the motion, explained that he had in mind providing for those outside the region to participate. There are people out of the region, he said, who have interests, financially and otherwise, in the region and who would be glad to contribute toward the program.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

7. IT WAS VOTED that persons living outside the region may be elected by the Board of Directors to associate membership in the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE II (Continued)

Section 2. Annual Meetings.

Section 3. Special Meetings.

Section 4. Notice of Meetings.

Section 5. Quorum.

Section 6. Voting.

On motions duly seconded and unanimously carried-

8. IT WAS VOTED that the sections above be adopted as read.

ARTICLE II (Continued)

Section 7. Proxies.

After discussion, on motion duly seconded-

9. IT WAS VOTED that the section be amended to read as follows:

Any member entitled to vote at any meeting of members may vote either in person or by proxy. All proxies shall be given to members of this body, only, and shall designate the name of the member or members who shall act as proxy. Every proxy shall be in writing, subscribed by the member, or his duly authorized attorney, and dated, but need not be sealed, witnessed, or acknowledged. Proxies shall be delivered to the Secretary of the corporation before such meeting or to the inspectors at the meeting.

ARTICLE III. FELLOWS AND AFFILIATES.

Section 1. Fellows.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, with the following amendment:

Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Board may direct.

Section 2. Affiliates.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

The meeting recessed, to reconvene at 7:30 P.M.

EVENING SESSION

The meeting was called to order at 7:30 P. M., February 16, by the temporary chairman, Dr. F. D. Patterson.

A resolution was offered by Dr. Clement, expressing thanks to Dr. Alexander, Dr. Ashby Jones, and Mrs. Ames, in the name of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and of the Southern Regional Council, for the services which they have rendered over the years in the interest of better race relations in the South.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

12. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

The Chairman appointed the following to serve on the Committee on Nominations: Rufus E. Clement, Chairman, Virginius Dabney, P. B. Young, Forrester B. Washington, and William E. Cole.

The discussion of the by-laws was continued.

ARTICLE IV. BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Section 1. Election and Powers. (Later amended - following consideration of Section 6, Article VI.)
Section 2. Regular Meetings.
Section 3. Additional Regular Meetings.
Section 4. Special Meetings.
Section 5. Place of Meetings.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

13. IT WAS VOTED that the sections above be adopted as read.

Section 6. Notice of Meetings.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read "not less than ten (10) days," instead of "at least two days" before the meeting.

Section 7. Quorum.
Section 8. Vacancies.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

15. IT WAS VOTED that the sections above be adopted as read.

Section 9. Removal.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

16. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read "any director may, by a majority of votes cast, be removed from office for cause," instead of "with or without cause."

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES.

Section 1. Executive Committee.

Dr. Robb raised the question of whether the Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director should be members of the Executive Committee and, after discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

17. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read as follows:

The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members, with the President, Vice President, and Secretary-Treasurer as ex officio members.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson called attention to the fact that since the Secretary of the Council is also a paid employee it is illogical to say that the Secretary shall be a member of the Executive Committee when the two Executive Directors are excluded from membership. After discussion, therefore-

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

18. IT WAS VOTED that Section 1, Article V, be reconsidered.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

19. IT WAS VOTED that this section be amended to read as follows:

The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members, with the President and one or more Vice Presidents as ex officio members.

Section 2. Meetings of the Executive Committee.

After discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

20. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read "but not fewer than four (4) members," instead of "five (5) members."

Section 3. National Advisory Committee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

21. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read "establish" as a substitute for the words "authorize the selection of."

Section 4. Other Committees.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

22. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

ARTICLE VI. OFFICERS.

Section 1. Executive Officers.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

23. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read as follows:

The executive officers of the corporation shall be a President, one or more Vice Presidents, an Executive Director, an Associate Executive Director,

Secretary, and a Treasurer. The President and the Vice Presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director need not be members at the time of their election, but, by virtue of their office, shall become members of the corporation and of the Board with all the privileges of Board members, except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board. The Secretary and the Treasurer need not be members, and the offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be held by the same person. The executive officers shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of members, and each such officer shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year and until his successor shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until he shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Section 13 of this Article VI. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Board of Directors, at any regular or special meeting.

ARTICLE VI (Continued)

Section 2. President.
Section 3. First Vice President.
Section 4. Additional Vice Presidents.

On motions duly seconded and unanimously carried-

24. IT WAS VOTED that the above sections be adopted as read.

Section 5. Executive Director.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

25. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read "and shall be responsible directly to the Board of Directors."

Section 6. Associate Executive Director.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

26. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

Dr. Clement asked for a reconsideration of Section 1, Article IV, calling attention to an inconsistency in the section as adopted. After discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

27. IT WAS VOTED that Section 1, Article IV, be reconsidered and that the sentence which reads, "No director shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each," be amended to read:

No director shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each, with the exception of the Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director, whose membership on the Board of Directors shall be co-terminus with their tenure of office.

Section 7. Secretary.
Section 8. Treasurer.
Section 9. Controller.
Section 10. Counsel.
Section 11. Assistant Officers.
Section 12. Subordinate Officers.

On motions duly seconded and unanimously carried-

28. IT WAS VOTED that the above sections be adopted as read.

Section 13. Removal.

After discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

29. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

ARTICLE VII. FINANCES.

Section 1. Checks, Drafts, etc.
Section 2. Fiscal Year.
Section 3. Board of Trust.

On motions duly seconded and unanimously carried-

30. IT WAS VOTED that the sections be adopted as read.

ARTICLE VIII. SUNDRY PROVISIONS.

Section 1. Seal.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

31. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

Section 2. Bonds.

After discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

32. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read:

The Board of Directors may bond any officer, agent, or employee of the corporation, conditioned upon the faithful discharge of his duties, with one or more sureties and in such amount as may be satisfactory to the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Audit of Books.
Section 4. Amendments.

On motions duly seconded and unanimously carried-

33. IT WAS VOTED that the sections be adopted as read.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

34. IT WAS VOTED that the Committee on Nominations be instructed to bring in nominations for three vice presidents.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

35. IT WAS VOTED that the by-laws as amended be adopted as a whole.

The meeting adjourned, to reconvene at 10 o'clock Thursday morning.

MORNING SESSION - FEBRUARY 17

In the absence of Dr. Patterson, temporary Chairman, the meeting was called to order at 11 o'clock Thursday morning, February 17, by Dr. Rufus E. Clement.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

36. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr., be elected to serve as temporary Chairman.

Mr. Bridges took the chair.

The following nominations of additional charter members were read by Dr. Guy B. Johnson: Louis I. Jaffe, Norfolk, Virginia; Miss Mildred R. Mell, Decatur, Georgia; Lorimer D. Milton, Atlanta, Georgia; George S. Mitchell, Atlanta, Georgia; John Garland Pollard, Jr., Somers, Virginia; John H. Wheeler, Durham, North Carolina; T. Wilson Wilmer, Richmond, Virginia.

The following nominations were made from the floor: Lillian Smith, Clayton, Georgia; Glenn Rainey, Atlanta, Georgia; B. H. Hampton, Athens, Tennessee; John A. Griffin, Atlanta, Georgia; Rabbi A. O. Feibleman, New Orleans, Louisiana; Rev. B. H. Gayles; Frank McCallister, Atlanta, Georgia; Ralph P. Bridgman, Hampton, Virginia; Rev. Thomas C. Allen, Richmond, Virginia; Carl D. Brorein, Tampa, Florida; Alonzo Moron, Atlanta, Georgia; Herbert N. Davidson, Daytona Beach, Florida; Peter Bryce Hamilton, Mobile, Alabama; Lester Rumble, Atlanta, Georgia; Wallace Rogers, Atlanta, Georgia. (Note: Glenn Rainey, John Griffin, Frank McCallister, and Lester Rumble, as signers of the Atlanta Statement, have received invitations to become members of the Council.)

The members were asked to hand their nominations, with full addresses, to the Secretary.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

37. IT WAS VOTED that we elect to charter membership, subject to their acceptance and payment of dues, all who signed the Atlanta Statement following the meeting of white Southerners on April 4 1943.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

38. IT WAS VOTED that the seven persons nominated by Dr. Guy B. Johnson be elected as charter members and that the other persons nominated at this meeting, or nominated by charter members in the next thirty days, be eligible for charter membership, the Board to decide whether to elect them as charter members or as regular members.

The report of the Nominating Committee was read by Dr. Rufus E. Clement, as follows:

President: Bishop Arthur J. Moore; Vice Presidents: P. B. Young, Homer P. Rainey, Carter Wesley; Secretary-Treasurer: Emily H. Clay.

Board of Directors: Will W. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Horace M. Bond, Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Louis E. Burnham, Wilson Brown, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Rufus E. Clement, William E. Cole, Virginius Dabney, Ernest Delpit, Louis I. Jaffe, Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Gordon B. Hancock, Mrs. Henry Havens, R. B. Herbert, Luther P. Jackson, Charles S. Johnson, F. A. McDowell, T. James McNamara, Benjamin E. Mays, Howard W. Odum, Gerald P. O'Hara, F. D. Patterson, Raymond R. Paty, John Garland Pollard, Jr., Edmund M. Preston, James L. Robb, G. D. Rogers, Philip Shulhafer, Edgar B. Stern, J. G. Stuart, Harold L. Trigg, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Forrester B. Washington, Goodrich White, Miss Josephine Wilkins, F. C. Willcoxon, T. Wilson Wilmer, with the recommendation that the Board of Directors be increased at its first session by the addition of the following six (6) persons: A. W. Dent, Lorimer D. Milton, George S. Mitchell, R. L. Russell, John H. Wheeler, and Miss Florence Sytz.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

39. IT WAS VOTED that the report be adopted.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

40. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Charles Gillman be added to the Board of Directors.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

41. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Ryland Knight be added to the Board of Directors.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

42. IT WAS VOTED that, in case any of the persons nominated are unable to accept membership, the Board be authorized to fill the vacancies.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

43. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Ira DeA. Reid be instructed to prepare a press release, to be sent to the AP, ANP, and UP and to certain papers in addition, reporting on this meeting; that this be the official release, and there shall be a time limit on the release.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

44. IT WAS VOTED that the consent of Bishop Moore to serve as President of the Council be secured before any public announcement is made of his election.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

45. IT WAS VOTED that Julian Harris, P. B. Young, and C. A. Scott be asked to confer with Guy B. Johnson and Ira DeA. Reid on the preparation of the official release.

Mr. Shulhafer asked for an expression from the Executive Directors as to what is to be done with the regional groups set up in the various states by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Dr. Johnson assured the members that this is one of the important "first things" to be undertaken, and that every effort will be made to conserve the state interracial bodies.

The members of the Board of Directors were asked to meet in the Exhibition Room immediately following the close of the meeting of the Council.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

-ABLISO

Historical file

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OR

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Charter Meeting

The charter meeting of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., convened at 2:30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon February 16, 1944, in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library Building. The following were present in person or by proxy:

Theodore F. Adams
Will W. Alexander
Mrs. L. W. Alford
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
R. B. Atwood
W. R. Banks
Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett
Noble Y. Beall
W. A. Bell
Wm. H. Bell
Wm. Y. Bell, Jr.
George C. Bellingrath
Moses S. Belton
Albert D. Betts
J. E. Blanton
H. M. Bond
J. Max Bond
J. R. Booker
Mrs. Z. L. Boothe
Dr. Mary E. Branch
Theodore D. Bratton
Stanley R. Brav
James P. Brawley
Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Mrs. J. L. Brock
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Wilson M. Brown
A. R. Buhrman
Louis E. Burnham
A. C. Burttram
H. H. Butler
J. S. Clark
Mrs. R. E. Clay
Mrs. George C. Clement
Rufus E. Clement
Charles Clingman
William E. Cole
Wm. M. Cooper
Robert L. Cousins
W. H. Crawford
John E. Culmer
J. L. Cuninggim
Virginius Dabney
Mrs. Andrew Dale
Robert P. Daniel
V. E. Daniel
M. S. Davage
Don A. Davis
Mrs. George E. Davis
Miss Mary C. DeBardeleben
Ernest Delpit
A. W. Dent
F. M. Dickenson
J. C. Dixon
Henry M. Edmonds
R. B. Eleazer
J. M. Ellison
Mark Ethridge
Grady Farley
Clark Foreman
R. L. Foreman, Jr.
L. H. Foster
W. A. Fountain, Jr.
G. Hamilton Francis
D. S. Freeman
Fred C. Frey
John M. Gandy
S. Hughes Garvin
Mrs. Nathaniel Gist Gee
William G. Gehri
Mrs. Harry M. Gershon
C. H. Gillman
Benjamin A. Green
K. W. Green
Robert E. Gribbin
Leonard Haas
Carey E. Haigler
Wiley A. Hall
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Gordon B. Hancock
Mrs. John M. Hanna
Julian LaR. Harris
Mrs. E. B. Harrold
Mrs. Henry Havens
F. Clyde Helms
W. G. Henry

Name	Address	Length of Service
Deer, Rev. Lewis H.	Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, Arkansas	1951-53
Delpit, Ernest	3631 2nd Street, New Orleans, Louisiana	1944-48
Dent, A. W.	Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana	1944-Present
Doggett, Rev. Caxton	376 N. E. 90th Street, Miami, Florida	1956-Present
D'Orlando, Albert	New Orleans, Louisiana	-56
Duncan, O. D.	Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Okla.	1944-55
Dunlap, Davisson	Barnett Building, Jacksonville, Florida	1952-55
Eason, P. H.	Department of Education, Jackson, Miss.	1945-47
Ellison, J. M.	Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.	1948-Present
Evans, Rev. Claude	P. O. Box 867, Columbia, South Carolina	1955-Present
Finner, Paul	930 West Park, Tallahassee, Florida	1955-56
Foreman, Clark	Atlanta, Georgia	1944-49
Foster, Luther H.	Tuskegee Institute, Alabama	1955-Present
Foster, Richard J.	Greenville, South Carolina	1954-55
Friedman, S. Thomas	Houston, Texas	1953-Present
Gibbs, William W.	816 Ingraham Building, Miami, Florida	1951-52
Gillman, Charles H.	95 Merritts Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia	1944-51
Golden, Harry L.	P. O. Box 2505, 1229 Elizabeth Ave., Charlotte 1, North Carolina	1955-Present
Gomillion, Charles G.	Tuskegee Institute, Alabama	1953-Present
Goode, H. D.	405½ N. de Williers, Pensacola, Florida	1944-48
Griffin, John A.	Emory University, Georgia	1945-Present
Haas, Leonard	Haas-Howell Building, Atlanta, Georgia	1944-Present
Hamilton, Mrs. Grace T.	239 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia	1944-54
Hammer, Philip	Atlanta, Georgia	1954-Present
Hancock, Gordon B.	Box 6056, Richmond, Virginia	1944-Present
Harris, M. Lafayette	Little Rock, Arkansas	1955-Present
Havens, Mrs. Henry	2845 Corinthian Ave., Jacksonville, Fla.	1944-49
Haworth, D. Swan (Rev.)	Lumberton, North Carolina	1949-52
Henderson, Jacob R.	816 Playlane, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia	1945-49
Herbert, R. B.	Palmetto Building, Columbia, South Carolina	1944-47
Hunter, Rev. Duncan	Alexander City, Alabama	1955-Present
Jackson, Luther P.	(Deceased) Petersburg, Virginia	1945-49
Jackson, Rev. Maynard	(Deceased) Atlanta, Georgia	1945-49
Jaffe, Louis I.	(Deceased) Norfolk, Virginia	1944-50
Jemison, Rev. D. V.	(Deceased) Selma, Alabama	1946-50
Johnson, A. L.	Prentiss N & I Institute, Prentiss, Miss.	1955-Present
Johnson, Charles S.	Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee	1944-Present
Johnson, Guy B.	Box 652, Chapel Hill, North Carolina	1951-Present
Jones, David D.	(Deceased) Greensboro, North Carolina	1946-50
Kidd, A. L.	Florida A & M University, Tallahassee, Fla.	1955-Present
Knight, Ryland (Rev.)	Atlanta, Georgia	1944- ?
Lanier, R. O'Hara	Houston, Texas	1953-55
Larkins, John R.	Bd. of Charities and Social Welfare, Raleigh, North Carolina	1955-Present
Lee, J. R. E. (Deceased)	Tallahassee, Florida	1944- ?
Lewis, Dr. Alsie	Tennessee A & I University, Nashville, Tenn.	1955-Present
Long, Rev. John	Southern Christian Institute, Edwards, Miss.	1949-52
Looby, Z. A.	419 4th Avenue, N., Nashville, Tennessee	1944-48 1953-Present

Name	Address	Length of Service
Mantinband, Rabbi Charles	808 Mamie Street, Hattiesburg, Mississippi	1949-56
Marmion, Rev. W. H.	Birmingham, Alabama	1947-50
Matherly, Walter J.	University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.	1944- ?
May, Armand	American Assoc. Companies, Atlanta, Georgia	1945-53
Mays, Benjamin E.	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia	1944-Present
Milner, Clyde	Guilford College, North Carolina	1948-55
Milton, Lorimer D.	212 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia	1944-Present
Mitchell, Arthur W.	Box 670, Petersburg, Virginia	1950-53
Mitchell, George S.	Atlanta, Georgia	1944-55
Moore, Bishop Arthur J.	63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia	1944-53
Moron, Alonzo G.	Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia	1949-Present
Mynders, Albert	Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tennessee	1945-54
McCann, John	New Orleans, Louisiana	1953-Present
McDowell, E. A.	Southeastern Seminary, Wake Forest, N. C.	1944-Present
McNamara, Msgr. T. J.	222 E. Harris St., Savannah, Georgia	1944-51
Newbold, N. C.	N.C. Department of Education, Raleigh, N.C.	1944-53
O'Connell, Rev. V. J.	St. Louis Church, St. Paul, Minnesota	1949-52
Odum, Howard W.	(Deceased) Chapel Hill, N. C.	1945-53
O'Hara, Most Rev. Gerald P.	222 E. Harris St., Savannah, Georgia	1944-50
Palmer, E. W.	(Deceased) Kingsport, Tennessee	1948-53
Parrish, C. H.	University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.	1945-55
Patterson, F. D.	Tuskegee, Alabama	1944-53
Paty, Raymond	T. V. A., Knoxville, Tennessee	1944-50
Paul, Mrs. Marion	2324 Washington Street, Columbia, S. C.	1953-Present
Penick, Rt. Rev. E. A.	802 Hillsboro Street, Raleigh, N. C.	1945-Present
Perry, W. H.	2320 West Chestnut Street, Louisville, Ky.	1955-Present
Pollard, J. G.	Somerset, Virginia	1944-53
Preston, Edmund M.	(Deceased) Richmond, Virginia	1944-45
Rainey, Dr. Homer P.	Stephens College, Missouri	1945-47
Rainey, Glenn	120 3rd Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia	1949-53
Raper, Arthur	Arlington, Virginia	1948-52
Ratliff, Mrs. W. H.	Sherard, Mississippi	1947-51
		1956-Present
Rowland, Mrs. Elsie Whitman	203 Woolsey Building, Lake Charles, La.	1956-Present
Rousseve, Numa J.	4636 Willow Street, New Orleans, Louisiana	1955-Present
Ray, Edgar W.	Tampa Times, Tampa, Florida	1946-50
Rayzor, Mrs. J. Newton	3207 Groveland Lane, Houston, Texas	1951-Present
Reddix, Jacob L.	Jackson College, Jackson, Mississippi	1944-Present
Reid, Ira De A.	Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania	1944-48
Richards, J. McDowell	Decatur, Georgia	1953-Present
Richardson, Rev. Harry V.	Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia	1948-Present
Rinehart, Hollis	Miami, Florida	1955-Present
Robb, James L.	63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia	1944-45
Robinson, Mrs. E. U.	125 5th Avenue S., Franklin, Tennessee	1950-Present
Rogers, G. D.	(Deceased) Tampa, Florida	1944-51
Russell, Rev. Leon	Jarvis Memorial Church, Greenville, N. C.	1949-53
Russell, Rev. R. L.	(Deceased) Atlanta, Georgia	1944-50
Sanders, Irwin T.	Univ. of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky	1954-55
Schaeffer, Rev. H. Brent	1525 Robinson St., Jackson, Mississippi	1950-52
Seabrook, J. W.	Fayetteville, North Carolina	1945-49
Shaw, Charles A.	Houston, Texas	1953-Present
Shean, Very Rev. Maurice W.	Box 895, Rock Hill, South Carolina	1953-Present
Shulhafer, Philip E.	2636 Dellwood Drive, N.W., Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50
Smith, C. Emerson	Richmond, Virginia	1949-55

Introductory Statement by
Edwin R. Embree in opening
Conference on Race Relations
Chicago, March 21 and 22, 1944

This meeting is called for a very definite reason. We who have called it want help. Mr. Field, as publisher of two liberal newspapers, Doctor Johnson, as student and consultant on social problems, I, as officer of a foundation and chairman of a mayor's committee, are being deluged by questions and calls for help on race relations from cities throughout the North and West, by church groups, labor organizations, individuals and agencies of every sort. Calls on the Rosenwald Fund alone during recent months have taken one or two or three of our officers for periods of from one day to three weeks to city groups in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, Toledo, Evansville, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Paul, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Church bodies - especially Methodists, Congregationalists, Jews, Catholics, and the Federal Council of Churches - are besieging us for information and guidance. Special calls come from school officials, teachers, labor leaders, and local officials.

Other agencies seem to be feeling the same stress. Urban Leagues, the NAACP, Civil Liberties Committees, social agencies have joined in city after city in calling for new and more effective means of meeting the new levels of interest and action.

Mr. Field, Doctor Johnson and I called this conference as individual citizens. It is true that each of us is connected with one or another foundation, and the calls that have poured in upon us have been in large part because of our institutional connections. But we must make this perfectly clear. If there are questions of financing this or that project, so far as we are concerned those questions must be taken up in regular course with our respective foundations. Our presence here - as yours - is not as

delegates of any organization but as citizens deeply concerned with democracy.

We sense a new ferment in the whole matter of harmonious and effective living together. While repressive forces are striving to defeat at home what we are fighting to win abroad, many other forces are eager as never before to create a fully functioning democracy.

We need help in meeting the multitudinous calls, and we feel in these very pressures an opportunity for some fresh advance. So we have called together this representative group, including persons from many important agencies working in this field, to take an over-all view, to discuss the issues, and to plan ways to give cohesion and momentum to all this new interest in race relations.

It is not to be expected that so large and distinguished a group as this will meet for two days without exuding wisdom on various topics, some of them perhaps more important than the subjects we have in mind. We have no desire - and certainly no power - to limit the discussion. But we believe we will accomplish most, both in the discussion itself and in the results that may grow out of it, if we concentrate our major attention on a definite subject.

<u>We have called this conference to discuss what can be done to bring minority groups, especially Negroes, into fuller participation in American democracy, especially in the North and West.</u>

We recognize that there are many fronts to the battle for democracy. And various agencies are making the fight on various sectors: labor, social security, religous freedom. Each of these segments is a part of the whole. Victory on any one front helps toward the common goal. Without discounting the other aspects, we have called to this conference persons who have special

knowledge of one phase, who are in a position to plan wisely and act effectively on the specific problem of race relations.

Negroes are the largest of the disadvantaged minorities in America - one tenth of the entire nation. They have suffered the cruelest hurts throughout our history and even today suffer peculiar discriminations. The treatment of Negroes is the most glaring discrepancy between American practice and the American creed. Unless we can bolster democracy at this point, the whole structure is liable to crumble. It may be proper, in our discussions and plans, to keep in mind the whole realm of minority problems. But for effectiveness we suggest concentration on Negro participation in democracy.

Let us be perfectly clear about our motives. We have not come together out of charity for some lowly brethren, but out of a common concern. Every one in this room has an equal stake in this battle. There may be a difference among us in the timing of the penalties. Negroes today are the chief victims of discrimination, along with the Mexicans and Orientals. Jews are already singled out for persecution, if and when the more vulnerable colored groups are attended to. Catholics are not very far behind. And against labor huge forces are eager to go into battle - a battle that will be easier if the labor front can be kept broken by racial and religious schisms. Whether we recognize ourselves as members of any special minority or not, we will all go down if the democratic way of ife is scuttled. No man - and no race - is an island. All are a part of the main. If the bell tolls the knell of the rights of any group, "never send to know for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee."

We suggest that we concentrate our discussions and our planning on race relations in the North and West.

Negroes are no longer massed wholly in the South. Today over four million are living in the North and West - one third of the whole group of slightly less than 13 million. New York State, in the 1940 Census, ranked ninth among the states in Negro population, standing just below Virginia and well above Tennessee and Florida and Arkansas. Chicago today has 335,000 Negroes, twice the number in any southern city. Negroes make up fully one tenth of such industrial cities as Philadelphia, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland. Even the new city of Los Angeles reported 64,000 Negroes in the 1940 Census and is estimated to have over 100,000 today. In three swift years war industry has swelled San Francisco's old and well-adjusted Negro colony of 2500 into ten times its number: 25,000 teeming, jostling, far-from-assimilated Brown Americans. With these numbers, northern cities must give attention to race relations.

Not only attention, but a new kind of attention. Too long the racial attitudes of the whole nation have been set by the traditions of a single small section. This conference is called to consider a new Declarationof Independence - independence to build our human relations not on the basis of southern feudalism but of American democracy. All these years certain Southerners have been saying, "Yankees, keep out. This is our problem. We will handle Negroes in our own way." It is now time for the rest of the country to say to the South, "We are going to do our social engineering in <u>our</u> way."

In emphasizing our interest in the problems of the Negroes of the North and West, we do not express or imply any lack of interest in the fate of any American anywhere. Whatever happens to any citizen - in the North, in the West or in the South - must be of concern to all groups who have at

heart the welfare and social health of the American democracy. We propose to concentrate on areas outside of the South solely because in the past the mores and traditions and legal limitations which prevail in the South have been used to delay or halt progress in other parts of the country with the consequence that the Southern pattern threatens to become the national pattern. There will be occasions, of course, when the probelms of the South will demand our attention. We believe, however, that a centering of attention on the areas where the social habits have not crystallized to the same extent will better serve not only those areas but eventually the South itself.

In order to make effective use of the wisdom and power of this assembly, I think we will have to submit to some pretty stern regulations and scheduling. I suggest, for example, that we omit certain ceremonies that are often a part of such conferences.

1. Formal resolutions on specific topics. To get anything like unanimity on any resolution by such a body as this would probably require hours of debate and revision, and might fritter energy on specifics that should go into discussion and planning on a broad front.

2. Attempts to formulate explicit details of any proposed procedures. The most such a conference as this can do is to survey the field as thoroughly and accurately as possible and plan the general types of effort that seem wise. Details of operation and personnel will best be left to a small continuation committee of this conference or to some continuous working body.

What we hope to do in these two days is

(1) explore the position f Negroes and of race relations, especially in the North and West,

(2) discuss definite procedures and methods that may be most effective in the years immediately ahead,

(3) plan what instrumentalities can best meet the new demands and the fresh opportunities of this emergency.

Questions presented by
Marshall Field at Conference
on Race Relations, Chicago,
March 21, 1944

These questions assume that many essential factors in race relations have to do with federal regulations and federal action: such as segregation in the armed forces; full employment of minorities in war industries, government agencies; etc. But this group seems to me in a position to give most useful answers on questions which have a bearing on local problems throughout the North and West.

1. What are the conditions of the 4 million Negroes now living in the North and West? What are the chief bars to their full participation in American democracy? What are the chief tension areas in race relations in the northern cities?

2. What can be done to build up democracy from the grass roots in order to give substance to interracial cooperation throughout the country?

3. Recognizing that there are problems peculiar to the South that require special attention - can a movement be initiated and implemented for building democratic patterns in race relations in the North and West, independent of the traditions of the South?

What can be done specifically to meet the new demands and fresh opportunities of this emergency?

a. What help and guidance can be given to the many city and state committees that have come into being in recent months, in such matters as housing restrictive covenants, civil rights, schools, and other specific problems?

b. What stimulus or assistance can be given to the various church bodies to bring their vast influence to bear on these problems?

c. What can be done through cooperation with labor and industry and through local programs to insure to minorities a fair share of available economic opportunities?

d. What can be done by way of popular education to create appreciation for the diverse contributions to America and to develop a sense of fair play?

e. How can materials be created and methods introduced into the schools to educate future citizens to apply democracy to all racial and cultural groups?

FOURTH ANNUAL
REPORT

THE VOTING STATUS OF NEGROES IN VIRGINIA 1943

VIRGINIA VOTERS LEAGUE
133 Harrison Street
Petersburg, Va.
March, 1944

The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

VOL. V | MARCH, 1944 | NUMBER 3

The Southern Regional Council

Its Organization

On October 4, 1940, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., instructed its Executive Committee "to take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the development of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South.

On January 6, 1944, after many months of work, and following the developments and instructions growing out of the conference of Southern Negroes, held in Durham, N. C. October 20, 1942, the conference of Southern whites held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 8, 1943, and the conference of Negroes and whites held in Richmond, Va., June 16, 1943, the Southern Regional Council was incorporated. At the meeting of the incorporators of the Southern Regional Council (Dr. Howard W. Odum, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Bishop A. J. Moore, and Mr. Ralph McGill), held in Atlanta, Georgia, February 11, 1944, charter members of the SRC were designated: all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and all active participants in one or more of the conferences leading to the formation of the Southern Regional Council.

On February 16, 1944, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta at a special meeting and took the following action:

> It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation:
>
> It was, upon motion duly made and seconded—*Resolved* that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.

On the same date the charter members of the Southern Regional Council met in Atlanta, adopted by-laws, elected officers, and formulated the initial policy of the organization, stating as their purpose the

(*Continued on Page 2*)

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Its Program and Methods

The Southern Regional Council will operate in all of the states of the South in an effort to improve the region's economic, civic, social and racial conditions.

It proposes to promote greater unity among people and agencies in all efforts for regional and racial adjustment; to attain through research and action, progress and equal opportunity for all people; to reduce race tensions, misunderstanding, distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of national, regional and racial development. These are its long-time goals.

For its immediate objectives the SRC proposes to perfect its organization, to conserve and enlarge the scope of work now being done by the local and state interracial bodies; to take the preliminary steps necessary to bring about a realization of the long-time goals mentioned above, and to give immediate attention to war and postwar problems in the South.

The SRC plans to operate through several commissions in the fields of human relations, economic affairs, community welfare, public affairs, and cultural development.

The programs under these commissions will be sponsored with the aid of approximately 100 elected Fellows of the SRC, selected from the several states, and with the cooperation of local and regional religious, social, and economic groups.

One of the chief purposes of the SRC will be the development of new techniques and strategies for meeting constructively the problems of the region. To achieve this end the SRC will encourage the development of action groups at local, state and regional levels; recruit and develop leadership; develop necessary research through the universities and colleges of the region; seek to remold and articulate public opinion through the radio, press, speakers and publications; cooperate with and stimulate action in the region from Federal, state and local governments; conduct special experiments and programs in an effort to effect desirable changes in the South; render such specialized services as may be necessary in this connection; render such emergency services as may be necessary; hold technical conferences to promote fuller participation in [illegible] processes in the South; and [illegible] effec-

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, MARCH, 1944

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

This is a most opportune time for launching the Southern Regional Council. In a sense, the eyes of the nation are upon the South today. The war has focused a spotlight upon democracy, revealing as never before her strength and her weakness. Here in the South democracy has been leading a double life. It has not yet squared itself with the problem of race and color, and that problem may well be the greatest one of the next century. What we do here in the South, then, has the most intimate kind of connection with the fortunes of democracy and the future of race relations, not only in this nation but in the entire world.

We have dedicated ourselves to the building of a better South, and we must not falter. History does not make itself. It is always made by people and their ideas. It can just as easily be made by people with good ideas as by people with bad ideas, if the people with the good ideas are willing to work hard enough. Somebody has to do more hard thinking and constructive work on this problem of race relations than has ever been done before, and it is up to the white and Negro leaders of the South to do it.

But how shall we define our problem in more specific terms? The very least we can do in order to square our habits with our democratic ideals is to try honestly and courageously to take the inequalities and inequities out of the biracial civilization of the South. If we devote our very best statesmanship and untiring energy for the next twenty years to the realization of this goal, we shall have served our generation well. We should not pretend to believe that this alone will solve the race problem, because we know that this problem is not so easily solved. But we can believe that it covers the next stage in the unfolding process which may lead to the ultimate solution of the race problem.

We in the Southern Regional Council are establishing a blue-print for the shape of things to come. We are building for the future—not one year, not five years, but for all the centuries that may lie ahead. Who knows but that the work we are undertaking here and now represents a turning point in the history of the South? If we, through this Council and its cooperating agencies, can bequeath our children a more democratic, a more abundant South, we shall have done our part toward the fulfillment of the great American dream. But, if we falter and fail, our children must bear a yoke of social handicaps greater than we have ever known.

South Carolina Incident

On February 29 the South Carolina House of Representatives passed a resolution which has attracted a great deal of attention. Introduced by Mr. John Long of Union, a lawyer and one-time private secretary to U. S. Senator Cole Blease, the resolution said, in part:

"We indignantly and vehemently denounce the intentions, utterances and actions of any person or persons and of all organizations seeking the amalgamation of the white and Negro races by a comingling of the races upon any basis of equality, as being destructive to the identity and characteristics and integrity of both races, and as being un-American and hostile to the existence and preservation of the American union of states . . .

"We reaffirm our belief in and our allegiance to established white supremacy as now prevailing in the South, and we solemnly pledge our lives and our sacred honor to maintaining it, whatever the cost, in war and in peace."

"That insofar as racial relations are concerned, we firmly and unequivocally demand that henceforth the damned agitators of the North leave the South alone."

This being the open season for political buncombe, one need not be greatly surprised by such a resolution, and one can take it with the proverbial grain of salt. The time was when such things were allowed to pass unchallenged, but times are changing. The South Carolina resolution was promptly challenged by two groups of South Carolinians, one a group of Negro citizens and the other a group of white citizens. In a letter to Representative Long, the Negro Citizens' Committee of South Carolina said: "Your resolution . . . is astonishing to the Negroes of South Carolina, especially in times like these. . . . Negroes throughout South Carolina disclaim any idea of amalgamation of whites and Negroes. . . . They are asking for full justice in the courts, . . . for the right to exercise their franchise in primaries where candidates are chosen to serve in public offices, and the denial of such rights is un-American and undemocratic. . . . The fight for such rights, whether instituted by an individual or an organization, if such fight is through the courts, state and federal, cannot be blasted as one of agitation and hostile to the existence and preservation of the American union of states."

Twenty influential white South Carolinians also issued a statement. They felt that it was time "to let our colored citizens know that the better element of white people in South Carolina do not think or feel as the House of Representatives," and they called for "a drastic revision in our attitude toward our colored citizens." Their statement went on to point out the following disadvantages which the Negro suffers: (1) denial of equal opportunity; (2) retarded economic status; (3) fixed status as a servant and menial; (4) inferior educational facilities; (5) frequent denial of justice in the courts; (6) discrimination in civic improvements; (7) lack of participation in his own government. Furthermore, the statement pointed out some constructive steps which need to be taken: (1) serious study of the race problem by white groups; (2) inclusion of Negroes on juries and other public bodies administering the laws; (3) better educational opportunities; (4) better mutual understanding between white and Negro workers; (5) fair wages and better working hours for domestic workers; (6) use of the ballot box by all qualified voters.

"Social equality," said these white citizens, "is not a part of the Negro problem in South Carolina," since "social life is of individual making." As for "white supremacy," they express the belief that "The only white supremacy which is worthy of the name is that which exists because of virtue, not of power."

This statement by white South Carolinians might well serve as a model for the citizens of other states who are weary of the agitation of the race issue by our own home-grown variety of demagogues. Lee Morris, in the St. Petersburg *Independent*, puts the matter this way: "Let's remember that white supremacy is as ugly a phrase as Negro supremacy, and for the same reason. We have a nation of human beings. Let them live together separately, as races, if you wish; let them marry separately, as races; but never let one race deny freedom and justice and opportunity and humanity again to the other."

SRC—Its Organization

(*Continued from Page 1*)

following directive from the charter of the organization:

> . . . the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

An American Dilemma

Through a grant made by the Carnegie Corporation, Gunnar Myrdal, economic advisor to the Swedish government, and a member of the Swedish Senate, made a comprehensive study of the Negro problem and modern democracy in the United States. No mere review could encompass or interpret the wide range of this significant study designed to contribute to the general "advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding." (*An American Dilemma*, Gunnar Myrdal, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1944. 2 vols. $7.50.)

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA offers a basic challenge to the American people. Speaking of "America's Opportunity," Dr. Myrdal says:

● In the present phase of history this is what the world needs to believe. Mankind is sick of fear and disbelief, of pessimism and cynicism. It needs the youthful moralistic optimism of America. But empty declarations only deepen cynicism. Deeds are called for. If America in actual practice could show the world a progressive trend by which the Negro became finally integrated into modern democracy, all mankind would be given faith again—it would have reason to believe that peace, progress and order are feasible. And America would have a spiritual power many times stronger than all her financial and military reserves—the power of the trust and support of all good people on earth. *America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity.* pp.1021-1022.

The two volumes merit extensive study. Here are a few comments, expositions and challenges pertinent to that section of the United States of which Dr. Myrdal has written:

● The pro-slavery theory of the antebellum South is basic to certain ideas, attitudes, and policies prevalent in all fields of human relations even at the present time . . . churchmen, writers, and statesmen of the South came out against the principle of equality as formulated in the Declaration of Independence. This principle came to be ridiculed as a set of empty generalities and meaningless abstractions. Indeed, it was "exuberantly false, and aborescently fallacious." p. 86-87

● Southern conservatism is a unique phenomenon in Western civilization in being carried to an established pattern of illegality. . . . In the South we have, however, the unmatched political spectacle that the liberals are the party of law and order, while the conservatives are the habitual transgressors. The party which works for change has the established law on its side, or rather, wants to enforce it, but has not the political power; the party which stands for the *status quo* has the power but not the law. . . . In the South a veritable reversal of the usual order of democracy has established itself. pp. 440-441

● Thus the opportunistic disrespect for law, order and public morals has a complicated causation and a deep-rooted history in the South. The tradition is today still part of the way of life and as such is often patriotically cherished as distinctively Southern. It is certainly one of the most sinister historical heritages of the region. It spells danger for a democratic society and involves serious maladjustments. p. 451

● There is an amazing avoidance of issues in Southern politics. The South votes for men—Democratic men—but rarely ever for issues, unless the issue is defined in black and white. We have to remember that in a measure this is a characteristic of all American politics. But in the South, it is driven to its extreme. p. 453

● . . . Keeping the Negroes disfranchised in the face of the clear-cut constitutional Amendments allows Southern conservatism nothing more than a pretense of respect for the law. On this most crucial point it is doomed to insincerity. p. 446

● It would generally be inexplicable why the South, with all its traditions of inequality and illegality, is so definitely on the way toward social democracy and law observance, and why it is not headed the other way. The conservative Southerner is not so certain as he sometimes sounds. He is a split personality. Part of his heart belongs to the American Creed. And if one argues that this is mere hypocrisy, he is entirely missing the point. The Southern conservative white man's faith in American democracy, which he is certainly not living up to, and the Constitution, which he is circumventing, are living forces of decisive dynamic significance. p. 462

● When attempting to map the political opinions of white Southern liberalism, it must first be recalled that the region is exceptional in Western nonfascist civilization since the Enlightenment in that it lacks nearly ever trace of radical thought. In the South all progressive thinking going farther than mild liberalism has been practically nonexistent for a century. p. 469.

● As far as the cultural and social adjustment of the Negroes is concerned, the Southern police system is undoing much of what Northern philanthropy and Southern state governments are trying to accomplish through education and by other means. p. 450

● The South, particularly, needs a stress on the preventive aims and the peace-working functions of the police. p. 545

● In principle, the average white Southerner is no longer prepared to defend racial inequality of justice. p. 546

● Probably the most effective means of bringing the Southern courts more fully to acquire a fixed pattern of [illegible] and equity would be the setting up of legal aid agencies everywhere in the South which, manned by high class professional lawyers, would be instructed not to work for any new legislation, but to assist poor whites and Negroes to enforce their rights under existing laws in civil and criminal cases. p. 556

● Court decisions are increasingly exposing the Southern statutes backing the system of institutional segregation as unconstitutional. This system is thus gradually losing its legal sanctions and increasingly depending upon extra-legal or illegal sanctions. p. 629

● "Social equality" is still a terribly important matter in the region. But it is not as important as it was a generation ago. p. 662

● The Negro hates the Negro role in American society, and the Negro leader, who acts out this role in public life, becomes the symbol of what the Negro hates. p. 774

● The Interracial Commission has not fulfilled the promises it once gave. . . . The respectability the Commission has built up for interracial work in the South is a form of capital, but as such it is of no use at all if it is not invested, and even risked, in new ventures. p. 849

● The post-war crisis in the South will not be minor. p. 849

● The South is far from having achieved the Commission's aims, and the liberal forces of the region are weak. p. 845

● It seems justifiable to predict a growing tension between the two regions, one which will not be restricted to the Negro issue. There is not going to be civil war, of course. The South has been, and is, changing rapidly, and Southern liberalism has been coming to be a force though it was practically nowhere in political power and today is fearfully timid on the Negro issue. p. 1015

● In planning for future race relations in the South the factor of personal intimacy and friendliness between individual whites and Negroes upon the old patriarchal principle should be left out entirely as lacking in practical importance. p. 649

● The great majority of Southern conservative white people do not see the handwriting on the wall. They do not study the impending changes; they live again in the pathetic illusion that the matter is settled. They do not care to have any constructive policies to meet the trends. They think no adjustments are called for. The chances that the future development will be *planned* and *led* intelligently and that, consequently, it will take the form of cautious, forewished reforms instead of unexpected, tumultuous, haphazard breaks, with mounting demands and expectations in its wake—are indeed small. p. 19-20

It Does Happen Here

○ The U. S. Navy announces the appointment of 14 Negroes as Ensigns and Warrant Officers. Negro staff officers in the Navy are expected to be commissioned from civilian life.

○ It was called a "Race Equality Book." It did not matter that there was no discussion of race equality in it. Someone said it was that. We refer to *The Races of Mankind* by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. It is illustrated by Joseph Reinhardt. This is a ten-cent pamphlet, No. 85 in a series issued by the Public Affairs Committee. The USO banned it. The United States Army refused it for the use of our soldiers, who are of all races of mankind. . . . Most of the book contains hard, scientifically valid fact. Some times there is philosophy and social fact. Here is what is said about race prejudice:

> Race prejudice is, after all, a determination to keep a people down, and it misuses the label "inferior" to justify unfairness and injustice. Race prejudice makes people ruthless; it invites violence. It is the opposite of "good character" as it is defined in the Christian religion—or in the Confucian religion, or in the Buddhist religion, or the Hindu religion, for that matter.

○ The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee reports that during the last six months of 1943 there was satisfactory compliance with 359 orders to cease discrimination against employees on account of their race, religion or alien origin. During this period 208 cases were dropped because of insufficient evidence, 250 were dropped for lack of merit, 127 were withdrawn by the complainant; and 36 were dismissed for lack of committee jurisdiction. Race was the basis for most of the discrimination, involving 716 cases. Cases arising out of religious discrimination numbered 127 during the period.

○ The 93rd Air Squadron is the second unit of Negro fliers to see action in the European-African war theatres. The officers are Negroes.

○ In an effort to offset the recent efforts of Negro school teachers to secure equalization of pay in South Carolina, the Charleston *News-Courier* proposes that one way of handling the matter would be to "classify by state legislation all professors and teachers in the public schools as public officers and elect them in the white primaries."

○ The Twenty-fourth Regiment of the United States Army became the first Negro combat unit to go into action in the South Pacific. The War Department reports that the Regiment "gave a good account of itself in jungle warfare."

Opinion

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER wants expressions from its readers on how they feel about the approach it plans to make in connection with a social action program in the South. It invites correspondence on matters that are close to the hearts and minds of Southern and Northern people. Through this channel of opinion it may be possible to arrive at a common ground of thinking, from which we can move forward to a higher plane of action.

The following excerpts from a letter written by a retired minister indicate some of the challenges we face:

> It is one thing to believe and proclaim the absolute Right in race relations; it is quite another thing boldly to challenge racial conventions and defy bitter prejudice and to ride roughshod to our goal, regardless.
>
> I speak from long experience—something painful. In pulpit and press I have declared for a treatment of colored peoples based on recognition of the oneness of the race and the brotherhood of all men, urging the present glaring and dangerous injustice to the Negro, sometimes at the cost of persecution from the whites—and having to conclude that I'd have got farther toward the goal by slowing my pace—and crying, "O Lord, how long!"

SRC—Program and Methods

(*Continued from Page 1*)

tiveness the untapped resources of the region.

Full instructions for interracial bodies wishing to affiliate with the Southern Regional Council will be issued during April. Meanwhile, *any agency or organization willing to subscribe to the principles of the Council may apply for affiliated membership with all the rights and privileges granted such membership by the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council.*

The Southern Regional Council was not initiated to deter, retard, limit or defend the South. Its organization and promotion were contrived in sheer necessity. It welcomes the cooperation of all people, all agencies, everywhere, who are willing to make the sacrifices and take the initiative needed to make democracy a reality in the region.

The Southern Regional Council is opposed to the demagogic handling of the South's problems by Northerners or Southerners, be they white or black. It sees the problems of the South as a special phase of the problems of our democracy. It believes that a more intensive application of the principles of democracy within the region will yield a people better able to apply the principles of democracy extensively throughout the nation and the world. It believes that a quarter of a century's experience in race relations has provided the South with the opportunity to meet the problems of democracy and citizenship in a bigger, more social way than ever before. It dedicates its program to doing those things in the best way possible—here and now.

Books of the Month

Elsewhere in this issue we have presented excerpts from *An American Dilemma*. No one with a sincere interest in the problems of race and color can afford to be unfamiliar with these volumes, not so much for the facts they present as for the interpretation given these facts.

Characteristics of the American Negro (Otto Klineberg, Editor) is the last volume in the Carnegie Foundation series of studies on the American Negro. This volume contains analyses of some of the more argumentative aspects of race relations—intelligence, personality, race attitudes, intermarriage, and passing. (Harper and Brothers, $4.00.)

Strange Fruit is a novel by Lillian Smith, editor of *South Today*. We know of no work of fiction that has created such a stir in interracial circles since Carl VanVechten's *Nigger Heaven*. Many people do not like it; many more are buying it. Nevertheless, the reaction is interesting, for here is the first novel on the South which throws into bold relief, and in an interesting fashion, the five areas of Southern problems—race, religion, politics, sex and economics. Read it as Bacon advised three hundred years ago, "not to contradict and confute; not to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider." (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.75.)

13 Against The Odds by Julius Rosenwald Fund's President, Edwin R. Embree (Viking, $2.75), and *Rising Above Color* by Philip Henry Lotz (Association Press, $1.50), both deal with the careers of thirteen outstanding Negro personalities in the United States. If you like success stories of minority personalities you will find these two volumes interesting. Dr. Embree's character analyses are breezy, fresh, human, and up to date.

You might be interested in:

Ben Hecht's *A Guide For The Bedeviled* (Scribners, $2.50) because it is an exciting book on racial intolerance, particularly as it pertains to the problem of anti-Semitism.

Gerald W. Johnson's *American Heroes And Hero Worship* (Harper, $3.00) because one of the great ironies of Southern history is discussed in a chapter entitled "The Sons of Hagar."

Louis Fischer's *Empire* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $1.00) because he tells us why a large part of the world is tired of being "the white man's burden."

R. M. MacIver's *Towards An Abiding Peace* (MacMillan, $2.50) because it points out how the dreams of statesmen can be translated into the substance of earth.

Lucille B. Milner's "Our Jim Crow Army" in *The Nation* for March 13, 1944, because it tells the human stories of segregation and discrimination in our armed services.

The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

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S R C BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETS

Report of Special Meeting

Important business was transacted and the work of the Southern Regional Council was greatly facilitated by a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Council in Atlanta on April 28. The meeting was called by Dr. Howard W. Odum, President of the Council. The Board meeting was preceded by a meeting of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee formulated a number of recommendations for presentation to the Board. The major actions taken by the Board are summarized below.

Standing Committees

Under the authority granted by Article V, Section 4, of the Council by-laws, the Board created the following standing committees: Committee on Membership, Committee on Finance, Committee on Public Relations, Committee on Publications, and Committee on Fellows. The Chairman was instructed to appoint the committees. The complete personnel of the committees will be published in the next issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

Admission of New Members

Since the by-laws provide that members can be elected only by the members or by the Board of Directors, and since the Board of Directors, at its meeting just after the charter meeting in February, did not complete the details of a machinery for admitting new members in the intervals between meetings, the Board passed the following resolution defining the duties of the Committee on Membership: "The Committee on Membership shall have general supervision over questions pertaining to the election of members, shall receive nominations and requests for membership, and shall authorize the Executive Director or the Secretary to extend an invitation to membership to such persons as the Committee may approve, all such elections being subject to confirmation at the next meeting of members or of the Board of Directors." The Council is now able to enlarge its membership by bringing in some of the numerous persons who have been nominated by other members or who have requested the privilege of membership. The Committee on Membership will bring to the annual meeting in October some recommendations on the question of limited versus unlimited membership.

New Directors

The Board elected directors to fill three vacancies occasioned by the election of Dr. Odum to the presidency, the inability of one member to serve, and the death of Dr. J. R. E. Lee. It also voted to enlarge its membership in order to give better representation to several states. New directors who have already accepted election are: Charles W. Anderson, Jr., attorney and member of the Kentucky legislature, Louisville; O. D. Duncan, Department of Sociology and Rural Life, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater; Z. Alexander Looby, attorney, Nashville; Walter J. Matherly, Dean of the School of Business Administration, University of Florida, Gainesville; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Atlanta; N. C. Newbold, Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh; and Thomas S. Staples, Dean of Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas.

Proposed Changes in the By-Laws

The Board voted to recommend to the members of the Council that they amend the by-laws so as to permit the Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director to be members of the Executive Committee. At present the executives cannot be members of the Executive Committee. Mr. Leonard Haas pointed out that their presence is essential to the functioning of the Executive Committee and that it is in keeping with common practice and in the interest of efficiency for them to be members of the Committee. He also pointed out that the laws governing corporations prohibit any officer or employee from voting on matters affecting his own personal interests.

At present the Executive Committee has eleven members, seven elected and four ex-officio, and a quorum must consist of four of the seven elected members. Hence it is possible to have seven persons present, three elected and four ex-officio, and

(*Continued on Page 3*)

RESOLUTIONS

At its meeting in Atlanta on April 28, 1944, the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council unanimously adopted the following resolutions and voted that they be made public immediately.

1. The Race Issue in Politics

In the heat of current political campaigns in various parts of the South, the race issue has been raised by certain candidates or by their promoters. Vicious rumors have been circulated, and the spurious issues of "white supremacy," "social equality," and the like have been dragged forth in an attempt to arouse the passions and prejudices of voters.

We condemn all such tactics as unfair and destructive of the spirit of unity and cooperation which we need now as never before, and we appeal to all good citizens to consider carefully whether those persons who use such tactics are worthy of public trust.

2. The White Primary

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that the exclusion of Negroes from the Texas Democratic primaries is a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The Court has simply recognized the fact that primaries are effective instruments of government, and that the exclusion of the Negro voters from Democratic primaries in some of the Southern states is equivalent to denying them the right to vote on account of race.

This decision has far-reaching consequences, and we appeal to the people of the South to make these consequences positive and constructive rather than negative and destructive.

We deplore the statements of political leaders and others indicating a determination to disregard or nullify the decision of the Supreme Court, and we call on all fair-minded citizens of the South to respect the letter and the spirit of the Court's decision. Let us all, white and Negro, be calm and wise. Let us strive to serve the ends of justice and good government for all of the people of the South.

To allow Negro citizens to participate in the government under which they live

(*Continued on Page 3*)

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, MAY, 1944

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

Most of us have had the experience of dreading a trip to the dentist, or an operation which we know has to come, or an honest coming-to-grips with some personal moral problem. We worry, we procrastinate, we torment ourselves with terrible forebodings. Finally we get the thing over with in one way or another, and when we see that we are going to pull through all right, we say, "It wasn't so bad after all. What was I afraid of?"

Too many white Southerners are still in the worrying stage in their reaction to certain social issues which need to be met. Take the question of Negro voting in Democratic primaries, for example. They postpone it, they evade it, and when they begin to see that perhaps the thing is bound to come they work themselves into a frenzy by imagining that the whole social order is about to crumble. Most likely their fears are groundless, for they are based upon the very shaky assumptions that (1) every Negro of voting age will immediately rush to the ballot box and that (2) Negroes will vote as a solid racial bloc.

There is absolutely no evidence that Negroes will make a mass march on the ballot box. Fortunately or unfortunately, they have that same inertia and indifference toward political participation which white people have. A recent study in Virginia showed that although 32,000 Negroes paid their poll taxes in 1943, about 13,000 of them did not even bother to register. In Atlanta, in spite of the Georgia law which lowered the voting age to 18 (no poll tax is required until the age of 21) and in spite of an intensive campaign by Negro organizations to increase the registration of Negroes, the Fulton County Registrar announced at the close of registration that Negroes made up about 7 per cent of the total number of registered voters. Negroes form 31 per cent of the population of Atlanta. Whatever happens in this matter of Negro voting, we can be quite certain that it is not going to be a sudden "revolution" in the political habits of Negroes in the South.

Neither is there any good evidence that Negroes will vote as a solid bloc. White people are likely to overestimate the extent of Negro unity, perhaps because they feel that if *they* were in the Negroes' shoes they would stick together. As a matter of fact, Negroes divide upon political and other issues in much the same way as white people do. The Negro banker is likely to have more in common with the white banker than with the Negro janitor. The nearest the Negro will come to a solid race front will be to show a tendency in the long run to support his "friends" and to defeat his "enemies," but, like other voters, he will frequently have difficulty in deciding who is "friend" and who is "enemy."

At any rate, we shall find that after the dust has settled the earth remains. We shall find that the right to vote, whether that right is exercised to the fullest or not, gives a tremendous boost to the morale and civic responsibility of the Negro. We shall find that the surest way to rid the South of demagoguery and to take the "race issue" out of politics is to take the Negro voter into the fold and train him to use the ballot intelligently. And no doubt we shall say—unless we are so enamored of our worries that we refuse to part with them—"It wasn't so bad after all. What were we afraid of?"

The FEPC and Negro Manpower

The Region VII Office of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice has satisfactorily adjusted several cases which involved discrimination in training against Negroes. Two of those cases arose in Jacksonville, Florida, where the training facilities for Negroes were not comparable to those for whites, and these cases were adjusted by an arrangement that a training school for Negroes which will be adequate to accommodate 600 students will be established immediately in that city.

The national policy with respect to training is set forth in Executive Order No. 9346, in part, as follows:

> . . . The Committee (FEPC) shall also recommend to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission appropriate measures for bringing about the full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

As a result of recommendations made by the committee, on August 2, 1943, an Operating Agreement was entered into between FEPC and WMC. There it is provided:

> Procedures shall be established to assure that equal training facilities and opportunities are available to all trainees and prospective trainees without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. Special procedures shall be established where, because of State or local laws, special training facilities are required for trainees solely because of race.

Thereafter, on September 3, 1943, the WMC issued an instruction to all its regional offices in which it is provided that such offices "shall take steps to have the discriminatory features" removed from training programs. Since, however, State laws generally require separate facilities for education in this region, it has been necessary for the Regional WMC and Regional FEPC to take this fact into account in devising procedures by which the national policy may be effectuated.

The Regional WMC has agreed that, as a matter of policy, it will "make every effort to provide training courses for qualified Negro applicants in all occupations for which training is being given (to whites)." If such facilities are absent, qualified Negro applicants are to be informed by the United States Employment Service offices to which they apply that immediate efforts will be made to provide training. Moreover, under no conditions are qualified Negro applicants to be regarded or classified as ineligible because of a present lack of training facilities since, upon receiving information from a USES office that training facilities are inadequate in a particular area, the Regional WMC will take immediate steps to provide training courses for all qualified applicants.

The question naturally arises as to what extent facilities must be provided for Negroes in courses similar to those being given to whites, in order to assure that discrimination in training is not present in an area where separate facilities are required by law. The WMC has determined that the *minimum* facilities which must be provided for Negro trainees shall bear the same ratio to the total number of Negro eligibles. Thus, in an instance where there are 80 white and 30 Negro eligibles for training, and facilities have been provided for 40 whites, or one-half of the total eligibles, at least one-half of the Negro eligibles must be provided with similar training facilities. This is not to be construed, however, as the test by which to determine the maximum number of Negroes to be trained. On the contrary, it is the viewpoint of both the Regional WMC and the Regional FEPC that qualified applicants of all races should be trained to the maximum extent that funds are available and that the above test should serve only as a guide below which the training of Negroes shall not fall.

Negro leaders, teachers, and those in charge of vocational training facilities for Negroes should make sure that eligible Negroes take all necessary steps to receive training for war work. In the event that they are unsuccessful, and feel that they have been discriminated against because of their race in either their efforts to secure training or to secure employment after being trained, they may make their complaints to the Regional FEPC at Rooms 524-7 Ten Forsyth Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Directors' Meeting

(*Continued from Page* 1)

still not have a quorum. The Board voted to recommend a change in the by-laws so as to permit any six members of the Committee to constitute a quorum. The by-laws can be amended only by members, and these proposed amendments will be submitted to the annual meeting of members in October.

Two Statements

Feeling that the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case and the current efforts of certain political candidates to stir up racial issues presented a challenge to the Council, the Executive Committee approved two resolutions and recommended their passage by the Board. The Board unanimously adopted the statements and voted to give them immediate publicity. The statements are reprinted on the front page of this issue. They were given rather wide publicity in Southern newspapers, were published in the *New York Times* of April 30, and were mentioned in the May 15 issue of *Life*.

Cooperating Organizations

The by-laws provide that organizations having aims similar to those of the Council may become affiliates of the Council on such conditions as the Board may prescribe. It was pointed out in the discussion that since the structure of the Council is based on individual membership, affiliation of other organizations in the technical sense would involve legal and structural problems which could be met only by amending the charter of the Council. The Board therefore adopted the following resolution: "That the relation between the Southern Regional Council and all state and local organizations having aims and purposes similar to those of the council be informal and cooperative, the details to be worked out by the two Executive Directors." The Executive Directors have begun to compile a list of cooperating organizations.

Directors Present

Directors present were: *Florida:* Mrs. Henry Havens, G. D. Rogers; *Georgia:* L. D. Milton, Josephine Wilkins, Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Ryland Knight, T. James McNamara, R. L. Russell, Forrester B. Washington, Philip Shulhafer, Guy B. Johnson, Leonard Haas, Benjamin E. Mays, Ira DeA. Reid; *Kentucky:* E. A. McDowell; *Louisiana:* A. W. Dent, Ernest Delpit; *North Carolina:* Howard W. Odum, Will W. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Clark Foreman, John H. Wheeler; *Tennessee:* Charles S. Johnson, James L. Robb; *Virginia:* Wilson M. Brown, Gordon B. Hancock, Louis I. Jaffe, Luther P. Jackson, J. Garland Pollard, Jr.

The anti-poll tax bill is apparently dead for the present session of Congress. After a move to invoke cloture had been defeated by a vote of 44 to 36, the Senate shelved the bill.

Southern Baptists and the Negro

At the recent meeting of Southern Baptists in Atlanta, the Social Service Commission of the Convention recommended that Baptist preachers and churches work for the "defense and protection of the civil rights" of Negroes.

The recommendations of the Social Service Commission stated:

"In view of the increasing acuteness of the race problem within the nation, and especially in the South, and the danger which crouches at our doors that we shall be guilty of un-Christian attitudes and actions, we recommend that the convention reaffirm and lay upon the hearts of the Baptists of the South the resolutions adopted at the 1941 convention:

"1. That we reaffirm our deep and abiding interest in the welfare of all races of mankind, and particularly our interest in the welfare and advancement of the Negro race, which lives in our midst to the number of some 10 or 11 millions.

"2. That this convention would urge the pastors and churches affiliated with the convention, and all our Baptist people, to cultivate and maintain the finest Christian spirit and attitude toward the Negro race, to do everything possible for the welfare of the race, both economic and religious, and for the defense and protection of all civil rights of the race."

Concerning the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case, the Commission's report said: "The issue will be between establishing a qualification for suffrage that will apply to white and colored alike and the invention of some nullifying device that will deprive an otherwise qualified Negro from voting because he is a Negro. What will be the course of Christian men and women? . . . Let it be urged again that we who are Christ's must exercise the utmost care to find the Christian thing to say and the Christian thing to do. We cannot achieve good by injustice."

Dr. J. B. Lawrence, Executive Secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Board, in an address before the Baptist assembly, said: "Southern Baptists have a responsibility to the Negro which can be met only by knowing their needs as a race and meeting these needs with a well devised program. No segmental approach to this task will suffice."

Resolutions

(*Continued from Page* 1)

is to give democracy a chance in the South. To deny the vote to qualified Negro citizens is inconsistent with the American ideal of justice and equality before the law. The sooner we recognize these simple facts, the better off we shall be. We can not honestly wage a war for freedom and democracy in foreign lands when we deny to our own Negro citizens the rights and privileges which are justly theirs.

A Southern Business Man's Opinion

Mr. Alexander Fitz Hugh, of Vicksburg, Mississippi, has kindly given his permission to reprint the following excerpts from a letter which he wrote to Dr. Howard W. Odum.—Editors.

I note a growing desire on the part of the people to hear the views of all men who give them the facts.

* * *

I think that one trouble in the South has been that the masses of the people have formed their opinions of the economic and social questions that affect the section chiefly from their local and state leaders who are supplicants for votes. Sometimes what they have gotten from such leaders has been good, but often it has not been good, and I think it is an encouraging sign that the people are beginning to want the facts, which as you recall Jefferson said if you will give them the, will make wise decisions, and the truth, which Jesus of Nazareth said will make them free.

* * *

The agitation about discrimination in freight rates is exaggerated, and is largely inconsequential. In all of the discussions of the Southern governors about the industrialization of the South, I have never heard them give consideration to the vital problem, namely: What is going to be the position of the Negro in such a movement? Forty-nine per cent of the population of Mississippi are Negroes, and about thirty-five per cent of the population of Alabama and Georgia are Negroes. The highly developed industries of the North and East have had the advantage of labor of European origin which has had generations of industrial background and experience. When we remember that the experience of the Negroes has been almost entirely agricultural or work in the heavy industries, and the experience of the poorer whites little different, I think it is remarkable that Southern industry has made the progress that it has. The paramount problem in all Southern industry is what place the Negro laborer is going to fill in it rather than the question of freight rates. Industries make freight rates rather than freight rates make industries.

* * *

I find an awakening interest on the part of the people in the problems of the biracial economy, and this is definitely encouraging.

ALEXANDER FITZ HUGH.

The Wellesley School of Community Affairs will be held at Wellesley College from June 29-August 10. Anyone interested should write to Miss Edith R. West, Wellesley College, Massachusetts.

When, under the aegis of the New Deal, REA came to Georgia in May, 1935, only 6,800 Georgia farms had central station electric service. Today more than 70,000 Georgia farms are electrified.

Miss Margaret Fisher Joins SRC Staff

The Southern Regional Council is happy to announce that Miss Margaret Fisher, of the Atlanta regional office of the War Manpower Commission, is joining the staff of the Council on June 1 as Secretary of Public Relations.

By training, experience, and temperament, Miss Fisher is admirably equipped to make a significant contribution to the program of the Council. Following a period of business experience in the field of insurance, she did personnel and management work for a number of years in the Legal Division of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. She then went to the War Manpower Commission, where she has done industrial relations work since 1942. There her main task was to develop a regional program for the integration of women and minority groups into industrial employment in the South. This work has not only given her a first-hand acquaintance with industrialists but has brought her into contact with various public and civic groups in the South. She has, for example, helped to secure the cooperation of merchants in arranging evening shopping hours for the convenience of war workers, stimulated women's organizations to set up recreational programs for in-migrants, and encouraged labor groups to broaden the participation of women and colored workers in unions. Thus her wide contacts have given her a first-hand picture of what is going on in the Southeast in industrial and civic life.

In addition to this invaluable experience, Miss Fisher has qualities of personal charm, tact, persistence, and a sense of humor. One of her close friends has described her as "a liberal who has her feet on the ground."

Miss Fisher was born in North Carolina and received her college training at Greensboro Women's College. Gifted musically, she specialized in piano and voice and for several years did concert work as a contralto soloist. Then, as she puts it, "My whole pattern of life changed, for I knew that what I really wanted to do was to give my life to the building of a better South." She has retained her musical interests, however, and she will continue as soloist with the choir at St. Luke's Church in Atlanta, where her lovely contralto voice has been an inspiration to the congregation for the past seven years.

Lieutenant-General William S. Knudsen, War Department Production Chief, said in Nashville, Tennessee, recently, "We are capable of great production, but we have not reached top production yet." He added, "The South has demonstrated its industrial power, and there is no limit to what the South and the whole country can do. What we have done has not been miracles, it has been going to work and doing the job." On the question of America's future in the postwar period, General Knudsen commented, "We mustn't sell the hide until we've shot the bear."

In Kentucky

At a recent meeting sponsored by the Union for Democratic Action and the Louisville Committee of the Kentucky Council on Interracial Cooperation, various civic problems were discussed. Among the recommendations growing out of the meeting were the following:

That downtown stores be asked "to adjust their policy toward Negroes" and encourage instead of discourage Negro patronage.

That more Negroes be represented in the war housing units on the basis of need rather than population.

That the Louisville Railway Company be asked to employ Negroes as operators.

That training facilities be provided for Negro doctors and nurses.

That there be a minimum wage and hour law for domestic workers, and a city-wide educational campaign on domestic service problems.

That "some type of assurance against dismissal after the war be given the Negro who adjusts himself to industry."

That a Negro be named to the Louisville Board of Education.

An Institute of Race Relations

An Institute of Race Relations will be held at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, July 3-21. The Institute will include the following areas of interest: Race and Racial Theories; Racial Aspects of Social Problems; Methods, Techniques and Community Planning; The Role of Personal Religion in Human Relations. Among the lecturers and consultants will be Will W. Alexander, formerly Director of Farm Security Administration, now Co-Director of the Race Relations Division of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and member of the Board of Directors of the SRC; Fred L. Brownlee, General Secretary of the American Missionary Association; Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Ellsworth Faris, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago; Lester Granger, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League; Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of SRC; Otto Klineberg, Professor of Psychology, Columbia University; Z. A. Looby, member of the legal staff of NAACP; Liston Pope, Professor of Social Ethics, Yale University; Arthur Raper, Senior Social Science Analyst, United States Department of Agriculture; Robert Redfield, Dean of Division of Social Science and Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago; Ira De A. Reid, Associate Director, SRC; T. Lynn Smith, Head of Department of Rural Sociology, Louisiana State University; Charles H. Thompson, Dean of Graduate School of Howard University and editor of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, and Louis Wirth, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago.

The Institute is under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, which is a Division of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches. Anyone wishing further information may write to the Institute of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

An Alabama Statement

Just before the recent Democratic primary in Alabama, the following statement, which was signed by 400 leading white citizens, was made public. Judge Louise O. Charlton of Birmingham was influential in obtaining signatures endorsing the statement.

Fellow Citizens of Alabama:

We, the undersigned citizens of Alabama, are proud of the traditions of our great state and of the part that all its people are playing in this war. We are proud of the thousands of Alabama's young men and women who serve in all branches of our armed forces. Our industrial leaders, the working men and women of our state, the vast number of our farmers have a record of war service of which the entire nation can be proud.

American armed forces, among them the finest sons of Alabama, now await the signal for the invasion of fascist Europe. Now more than ever have we Alabamans a stake in keeping our war production in farm and factory uninterrupted. For this reason we view with patriotic alarm any effort to stir up racial strife and hatred among the people of Alabama.

We consider it our sacred obligation to Alabamans in the armed forces and to their fathers and mothers at home to protest the actions of those men and those newspapers which seek to disturb the present peaceful relations between the races, and divert the attention of Alabama from the cause of speedy victory.

It is our conviction that all papers, whether Negro or White, which incite race hatred, constitute a serious threat to Alabama's war production.

We especially deplore the injection of the race issue into Alabama's political campaign. We believe that those who resort to such tactics misjudge the people of Alabama and their devotion to the democratic faith and to the ideal of Christian brotherhood.

In the same patriotic "spirit of neighborliness" as the citizens of Dallas County evidenced in their condemnation of the *Greensboro Watchman*, we call upon patriotic citizens to condemn all efforts now being made by press and radio to arouse or stimulate race and religious hatred and antagonisms among our people, and to strengthen our common effort for a speedy victory and a lasting peace.

The American Council On Race Relations

A new national organization has been formed for the promotion of interracial adjustment and "full democracy." The organization will be known as the American Council on Race Relations, and will seek to develop a well-rounded program of research, popular education, assistance to local community organizations in meeting their interracial problems, and cooperation with other agencies in the interracial field. The officers of the Council will be Clarence E. Pickett, President, Charles H. Houston, Vice-President, Will W. Alexander, Vice-President and Treasurer, and Mrs. Mary Jane Grunsfeld, Secretary. The headquarters of the Council will be in Chicago.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MARGARET L. FISHER
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

June 22, 1944

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
1327½ SW Fourth Street
Miami 35, Florida

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

Thank you for your letter of June 12. I regret that there has been an unavoidable delay in my reply.

The Atlanta Conference was sponsored by a group of white leaders who were prominent in the fields of religion, education, journalism, and labor. The persons who had most to do with planning the Conference were: Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Dr. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina; and Mrs. M. E. Tilly, prominent Methodist church leader, Atlanta. Preliminary letters were sent to various Southern white leaders, asking them to suggest the names of other persons who might be interested in attending a conference which would make a "reply" to the Durham Conference statement. A Committee on Cooperation was set up, and on February 18, 1943 an invitational letter was sent out to about three hundred people. A copy of this letter is enclosed. The signers included: C. H. Gillman, Regional Director, CIO; Dr. Ashby Jones; Rev. Ryland Knight, Baptist Church; Rabbi David Marx; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Methodist Church; Ralph McGill; Bishop Gerald P. O'Hara, Catholic Church; President J. McDowell Richards, Columbia Theological Seminary; Bishop John Moore Walker, Episcopal Church; President Goodrich C. White, Emory University.

As for the possibility that the words "general adaptation" should be "general adoption," I am trying to check up on this, but so far I do not have a definitive answer. As soon as I find out I shall let you know.

We would be glad to have you as a member of the Council. I shall submit your name to the next meeting of our Committee on Membership.

The general purpose of the Council is to work for a better South by trying to implement the Durham Conference statement. With limited personnel and limited financial resources, we do not expect to make much of a showing for a while, but as we build up our membership, our

staff, and our financial support, we hope to have more and more influence upon the course of thinking and action in the South. From time to time the Council will issue official statements on current problems. For example, on April 28 our Board of Directors unanimously passed two resolutions, on the white primary and on the race issue in politics. You will find these in the enclosed copy of the May issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER. Our program for the next year includes study, propaganda, and action in the following fields: (1) participation of the Negro in post-war plans; (2) Negro employment in post-war industries; (3) fair standards of wages, hours, et cetera, in household service; and (4) police practices and administration in the South.

Within a week or two we shall have a new pamphlet entitled "The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Purpose." I shall send you a copy as soon as it is ready.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

No. 1

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FILE
COPY

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Its Origin and Purpose

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEW ADDRESS
432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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"A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South."

Published in June, 1944

By

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

10 cents a copy *$1.00 a dozen* *$7.50 a hundred*

I

HOW THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL BEGAN

The Southern Regional Council, which began its existence as a formally organized body in February, 1944, is the product of many factors, but primarily it is the outgrowth of two parent movements. One of these was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The other was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond series of conferences.

1. *The Commission on Interracial Cooperation*

In 1919, during the dark days of racial conflict and Ku Kluxism which followed World War I, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was born. It represented a new idea in race relations—the idea that white people and Negroes should come together and strive to reach a "meeting of minds" on their mutual problems. This idea spread until there were scores of interracial committees operating in the South and elsewhere.

No one contends that the Commission did a perfect job, but no one who has observed the work of the Commission over a period of years can say flatly that it failed. It never claimed that its program would "solve" the race problem. Indeed, its leaders always made it clear that they were trying to take "the next steps" toward greater racial understanding and tolerance. This work has been of inestimable value to the South and to the nation. In its 25 years of operation, the Commission has made interracial conferences respectable almost everywhere in the South, has marshalled thousands of the church women of the South in opposition to lynching and other injustices, has sponsored significant researches on race relations, has issued two million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and has symbolized the faith of the Southern white people and Negro people in the processes of understanding and cooperation.

In 1939 the Commission leaders, feeling that the educational program which it started out to do had become thoroughly established, and recognizing the need for new blood and new ideas, began to explore the possibility of broadening the scope of the organization and improving its techniques. In October, 1940, the Commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on Southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South." Accordingly, an evaluative study of the Commission was made and a plan for expansion was drawn up. In the meantime, the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond conferences matured to a similar purpose, and the outcome was that on the day of the charter meeting of the Southern Regional Council, the Commission met and formally merged its program with, and transferred its assets to, the Southern Regional Council.[1]

The main efforts of the Council in its first few months of existence have been directed toward conserving and stimulating the state and local interracial committees throughout the South, because the Council believes that they must continue to play an important role in race relations and in implementing the program of the Council. The Commission will keep its legal entity for a time, but its program, revitalized and expanded, will be carried on as one phase of the work of the Southern Regional Council.

2. *The Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences*

The younger parent of the Southern Regional Council was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond series of conferences. The first chapter in the story of these conferences began with the meeting of a group of Southern Negro leaders at Durham in October, 1942. This conference was an outstanding event in the history of the South. It was a product of the rising tide of racial friction, and it was also in a sense a product of both the successes and the failures of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. These Negro leaders expressed their purpose as follows:

1. See Appendix E.

> We are proposing to set forth in certain "Articles of Cooperation" just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation. Instead of letting the demagogues guess what we want, we are proposing to make our wants and aspirations a matter of record, so clear that he who runs may read. We are hoping in this way to challenge the constructive cooperation of that element of the white South who express themselves as desirous of a New Deal for the Negroes of the South.

A Committee was appointed to draw up a "Charter" embodying the ideas agreed upon at the Conference, and on December 15, 1942, the Conference issued a document entitled "A Basis for Inter-Racial Cooperation and Development in the South . . . a statement by Southern Negroes."[2] This is a remarkable document. It deserves a place of honor in the annals of American democracy. It tells in plain and dignified language what the Negro wants—not what one or two Negroes want, not what white people *say* Negroes want, but what a large group of representative Negroes say for themselves. Never before had such a large and distinguished group of American Negro leaders come together and agreed upon something. The statement covers the following areas: Political and Civil Rights, Industry and Labor, Service Occupations, Education, Agriculture, Military Service, and Social Welfare and Health.

The second chapter in this movement was written on April 8, 1943, when a group of Southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement which had been issued by the Durham Conference. These white leaders said, among other things:

> Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate. All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism.
>
> It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and mutual respect.[3]

A third chapter was written on June 16, 1943, when a collaboration committee, composed of representatives from the Durham and Atlanta conferences, met in Richmond to work out further details. This meeting urged "the general adaptation of the Durham statement" and directed that a continuing committee be charged with "the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach."[4]

A fourth chapter in this movement was written at Atlanta on August 4, 1943, when a continuing committee of white and Negro delegates again met, this time to draw up specific plans for implementing the Durham statement. The conferees agreed upon "a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society," and the resolution which they passed said:

> We urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life and especially with a similar national group when established.[5]

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2. For the complete text of the Durham statement, see Appendix A.
3. For the complete text of the Atlanta Statement, see Appendix B.
4. For the complete text of the Richmond Statement, see Appendix C.
5. For the complete text of the Atlanta Resolution, see Appendix D.

As in any movement, there were in these conferences conflicts of personalities and of ideas, there were mistakes and limitations; but, considering the unusual variety of persons and interests represented, there was a remarkable spirit of unanimity. The important thing was that Southern Negro leaders had spoken out courageously, that white leaders had accepted the challenge, and that the two groups had covenanted to take the offensive for constructive social action in the South.

3. *Organization of the Council*

Following the Atlanta Resolution of August, 1943, there was much necessary committee work on procedure, finance, incorporation, etc. On January 6, 1944, the Southern Regional Council was chartered as a corporation by the State of Georgia "for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, . . . to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; . . ."[6]

Afterwards the Incorporators met and designated charter members: all persons who had participated in one of the preliminary conferences and all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation residing in the Council's area. Of approximately 270 persons thus designated, over 90% accepted charter membership. About 100 were present at the charter meeting in Atlanta on February 16-17, 1944, and they participated wholeheartedly in the meeting. For two days they discussed, they worked over by-laws, they elected officers, Board of Directors, executive directors, and executive committee. When they had finished, they had constructed a thoroughly democratic structure and government for their Council.

II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNCIL

The Southern Regional Council belongs to its members. It has a Board of Directors and an Executive Committee, but all actions of these groups are subject to review by the annual meeting of members. At the annual meetings, which will be held on the second Wednesday in October, every member in good standing is entitled to vote, either in person or by proxy. The membership can be increased indefinitely, if the members desire to do so. The conditions of membership are: (1) an affirmation of belief in the purposes of the Council, (2) residence in the Council area, and (3) payment of annual dues (at present one dollar). All new members must be confirmed by the members or by the Board of Directors.

The By-laws adopted at the charter meeting define the Council's area as the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Voting members must be residents of this area. Persons who live elsewhere and who wish to keep in touch with the work of the Council by receiving its literature regularly, may become Associates of the Council by paying a fee of ~~one dollar~~ a year. $2.00

The Board of Directors is at present composed of 64 persons of whom 58 are elected members and 6 are ex officio members. Every one of the thirteen states in the Council area is represented on the Board. The racial composition of the Board is 27 (42%) Negro members and 37 (58%) white members. The occupational distribution of Board members is as follows: education and related interests, 23; business, law, and medicine, 14; religion, 8; public office and civic work, 9; journalism, 4; labor, 4; miscellaneous, 2. In order to prevent the usual ills of ageing and ingrowing, the By-laws provide that no Board member may serve more than two consecutive terms of four years each.

The Council's By-laws provide for a National Advisory Committee, whose function will be the coordination of the work of the Southern Regional Council with the work of similar organizations in other parts

6. For the Charter of the Council, see Appendix F.

of the nation. There will also be one hundred Honorary Fellows of the Council, drawn from the ranks of young Southerners who show promise of progressive leadership, whose function will be to assist the Council as observers, correspondents, and special investigators.

III

PROGRAM AND METHODS

The Southern Regional Council represents the combined efforts of liberal and progressive people of both races to give democracy a chance in the South. Its long-time goal is the improvement of social, civic, economic, and racial conditions in the South. The Council is not exclusively a "race relations" organization, nor does it pretend to believe that it can "solve" the race problem, but it does believe that any sound movement for social progress must be based on the realization that the South cannot go far without democratizing its social order and giving all of its human resources a chance to develop their potentialities.

The Council's functions may be summarized as follows: (1) clearinghouse and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on Southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly paper, *The Southern Frontier*, and through pamphlets, press, radio, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private or official agencies; (5) constructive action at every possible point on the social, economic, political and racial problems of the South.

The immediate objectives of the Council are: (1) to develop its staff and facilities for effective work, (2) to conserve and revitalize the work of existing state and local interracial groups, (3) to promote a strategy conference of the major agencies working on social problems in the South, and (4) to initiate studies and conferences in the areas of police administration, post-war employment, and household service.

As for specific methods, the Council must rely upon the age-old techniques of propaganda, conference, petition, public appeal, personal influence, and the like. It is a voluntary organization, and it has no more power than the combined will, moral conviction, and integrity of its members. It does not believe in miracles, but it does believe that in spite of obstacles there is a range within which hard work and intelligent strategy can induce constructive social change.

IV

THE REGIONAL APPROACH

It is generally admitted, by Southerners and non-Southerners alike, that the South is "a state of mind," and the researches of distinguished scholars have shown beyond all doubt that there are social, economic, political, and cultural traits which set the South off as different from other American regions.

Every region has a certain amount of pride and self-consciousness, and in the South—a region which has long been the object of sympathy, contempt, ridicule, philanthropy, exploitation, and free advice—there is a particularly sensitive reaction to criticism and reform efforts which stem from the "outside." As a matter of fact, in such a situation "outside influences," however well intentioned, can and sometimes do retard progress by provoking defensive attitudes and providing alibis for inaction and demagoguery.

Critics of the SRC have tried to picture it as a "defensive" organization. It is dangerous, they say, because it is trying to solve, on a regional or sectional basis, problems that are really national. However, there is nothing inherently superior about an organization or reform movement

merely because it is "national," and nothing inherently inferior or dangerous about it merely because it is "regional." Many problems are national or even international in their scope, but it does not follow that they will be worked out everywhere at the same time and by the same methods. The test of the value of any movement or strategy is in what it achieves, and the Southern Regional Council believes that the surest and sanest way to achieve social progress in the South is to mobilize the efforts of liberal and progressive people within the region. The statement that "the South must work out its own salvation" is sound common sense and sound psychiatry. Certainly the South cannot achieve its fullest development and share equally with other regions in national affairs until it has taken the lead in working out its own problems.

The Southern Regional Council has posted no "keep out" signs and it has declared its willingness to cooperate with likeminded organizations—state, regional, and national. It has come neither to defend nor defame the South, but to help build a better South in a better nation. It dedicates itself to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

APPENDIX A

THE DURHAM CONFERENCE STATEMENT

On October 20, 1942, a group of Negro Southerners met in Durham, North Carolina, to discuss their problems and the changes which, in their opinion, would benefit not only Negroes themselves but the South and the nation. A committee was instructed to prepare a statement embodying the thinking of the Conference. In December, 1942, the following document was given to the public. It was entitled: "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South: a Statement by Southern Negroes."

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

(1) Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

(2) Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

(3) The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns.

We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races

or classes or creeds; however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.

(4) We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.

(5) We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

Political and Civil Rights

1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.
b. The abolition of the white primary.
c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise.

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice we believe can and should be discontinued now.

3. (a) Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

(b) It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Negro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

Industry and Labor

Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of

scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.

2. There should be the same pay for the same work.

3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers on a fair and equal basis.

4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts and other protective labor legislation.

5. It is the duty of local, state and Federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.

6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.

7. We regard the wage-and-job-freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income job brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.

8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

Service Occupations

Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified.

Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.

2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.

3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.

4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.*

5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories.

We believe that these provisions will help to insure more intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve both the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

Education

As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes and, indeed, to all under-privileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education is better schools, which involves expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities; this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the under-privileged child, of whatever race, the *same* opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

*In the present hysteria of many housewives who are losing poorly paid servants to better paying war industries, it seems desirable to emphasize that this proposal bears no relation to the fantastic and probably Axis inspired rumors of so-called "Eleanor Clubs."

Agriculture

The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33 per cent of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:
   a. Written contracts
   b. Longer lease terms
   c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
   d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.

2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.

3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.

4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

Military Service

We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

Social Welfare and Health

1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts even with improvement of their economic status. As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Negroes would include the following:
   a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients;
   b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practitioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals;

c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general as well as special group advantage. The Federal government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

* * * *

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength.

APPENDIX B

THE ATLANTA CONFERENCE STATEMENT

On April 8, 1943, a group of white Southerners met in Atlanta, Georgia, to consider the statement which had been issued by the Durham Conference. The results of their deliberations were made public in the following document.

In October, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves "to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework."

Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate.

We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future cooperative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop

and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand the facilities for safety, comfort and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as sewers, water, housing, street and sidewalk paving, playgrounds, public health and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern states. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

In the economic field, unquestionably procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents, and supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary.

All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which unless checked will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and the colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

We agree with the Durham Conference that it is "unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life." We agree also that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government."

It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect.

APPENDIX C

THE RICHMOND CONFERENCE STATEMENT

On June 16, 1943, a Collaboration Committee, composed of delegates from the Durham Conference and the Atlanta Conference, met in Richmond, Virginia. The following statement was issued by the Richmond Conference.

This is a day of great differences, strong feelings, and epochal conflicts throughout the world. Yet the world's greatest need and hope is to find common ground for universal action and balanced harmony among all peoples. Manifestly, such a goal must be reached through cooperative approximation to the largest measure of agreement in line with the largest number of values and the largest number of people.

We face, therefore, the double crisis of standing firm for the conservation and preservation of human rights; yet to seek these ends by the way of peace and planning rather than by conflict and revolution.

In America, and particularly in the South, we face the problem of readjustments to meet the demands of present and post-war conditions with reference to the Negro and the future development of a great region of the Nation. This, exclusive of the war, is the great crisis of the South and Nation.

This is the problem of two great peoples caught up in the midst of transition between the powerful heritage of the past and the mighty pull of the future. For here is the white South, a *great* people often doing little things and good people often doing *bad* things. And here is the Negro South, caught as always between the upper and nether millstones of conflicting forces and also paying the price of extraordinary transition from level to level of cultural achievement, and needing plenty of understanding and cooperation. And here is the white South inexorably conditioned by cultural complexes, suffering terribly, too, and needing sympathy and help as few peoples have ever needed in the annals of man. And, even more important, the two, white South and black South, are part and parcel of the Nation, whose people need scarcely less than the two regional peoples the sense of time and wisdom.

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status and the welfare of the country as a whole.

This is a rare challenge to the leadership of the South: to the white leadership to find new ways of cooperation and to justify increased confidence of the Negro leadership in the white South; to the Negro leadership, to sense the difficulties involved and to meet increasing demands, without slowing down their essential efforts.

As evidence of the promise of this leadership, two recent Southern conferences on race relations, one at Durham, under the auspices of Negro leadership, and one in Atlanta under the auspices of white leadership, have blazed new trails. As a follow-up of these and with the above problems and backgrounds in mind, we, a group of Southern whites and Negroes, representing both the Durham and Atlanta groups, meeting as a collaboration committee at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, and following the general trend of the Atlanta group, urge the general adaptation of the Durham statement entitled "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South," which has had extraordinary nation-wide endorsement.

The framers of this covenant, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, have included adequate and searching analysis of the

principal issues involved, duly interpreted in their proper perspective. The problems so featured include political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health.

In the area of political and civil rights: the essential problems featured were those of franchise and the ballot, jury service, personal security, services in public carriers, the elimination of violence, within and without the law, the elimination of lynching, and the employment of an increasingly larger number of Negroes in the public service.

In the area of work opportunities: the increased training for all skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and opportunity for employment; the readaptation of labor union policies both for the best interests of Negroes and labor unions; the problems of dual standards of pay; support of, but guarding against discrimination in, local, state, and federal procedures; special problems of service workers and standards of living.

In the area of education: equalized opportunities in all aspects but especially including institutions of higher learning, professional training, and equal salaries.

In the area of agriculture: adequate opportunity for the Negro farmer, including a sound system of tenancy, adequate state and federal assistance, increased opportunity for farm ownership, fair farm wages, and the wider employment of Negro farm and home agents.

In the area of military service: along with the obligation to serve, the opportunity for full participation and advancement in the war activities and a continuing better adjustment of unsatisfactory situations.

In the area of social welfare and health: adequate provisions for safeguarding the public health, for training physicians and nurses, and for their employment. Also, the erection of low-cost housing and other facilities for improving community life.

We recognize now the importance of affirmative action, without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities. To this end, we direct that the continuing committee, as appointed by the two groups now consolidated in this larger collaboration committee, be charged with the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach. We urge especially that efforts be begun to prepare the post-war world for a wise and successful reception of our returning soldiers and to prepare both our soldiers and the people for attitudes and procedures adequate to carry the great load of post-war needs. In all these, we urge the public to a new sense of the meaning of these needs as they accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy.

APPENDIX D

THE ATLANTA RESOLUTION

On August 4, 1943, a Continuation Committee, appointed by the Richmond Conference, met in Atlanta to consider ways and means of implementing the recommendations of the preceding Conferences. The Committee resolved itself into the nucleus of the Southern Regional Council and elected Dr. Howard W. Odum and Dr. Charles S. Johnson as Co-Chairmen. The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Committee.

We are gathered together here in solemn assembly, conscious of our heritage and opportunity. In the name and spirit of America and all her resources and institutions we covenant together in harmony and unanimity to make this day, or what this day should bring to pass, epochal in a new purpose, a new understanding, and a new fellowship.

In the name and spirit of America's science and education we seek to find and to tell the truth. In the name and spirit of America's democracy we seek the way of equal opportunity. In the name of America's patriotism, we strive for loyalty to the American dream, for leadership to guide, and for statesmanship adequate to carry the burden of the new America. In the name and spirit of America's Christianity, we search for the new faith of fellowship. In the name of humanity, we propose to substitute the measures of the good society for the old biological struggle for physical survival. In the name and spirit of all these and the living reality of a complex world, we dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

Four ways there are, and perhaps more, of approaching these laudable and attainable ends. First, we agree upon a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society. We recognize fully that in the present crisis this covenant is as important as the earlier compacts of the forefathers, and that the framework within which we covenant together must comprehend a concept and a charter which guarantees equality of opportunity for all peoples. This means more specifically as bearing upon the burden of our present counseling that the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has within the framework of the American democratic system of government.

Second, we dedicate ourselves unswervingly to the successful achievement of this task. Since in the order of all nature and creations and of the growth and development of the people and society there are always certain features peculiar to each society; since in the order of democracy there are certain elemental principles of self-government that are inherent in each folk and regional society; and since in both the physical and cultural heritage of the South there are certain cumulative and tragic handicaps that represent powerful factors in the situation, we appeal to the Nation, in covenant with the South, to exercise a wisdom and maturity through which methods, procedures, and rates of change may be worked out in the spirit of, and in conformity with, the principles of our American democracy.

Third, to the end that there will be actual realistic accomplishments rather than mere words and that there may be possible ways and means of actually insuring progress in all approaches to these goals of equal opportunity, we urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life and especially with a similar national group when established.

Fourth, since the crisis is not only southern but national, not only for whites but for Negroes and other races as well, and since the central purpose of the new council is cooperation and the building of active good will, we urge the formation of a National Committee on race and regional development, constituted of representatives of all races and of public and private groups. Such a committee, subscribing to the declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all available agencies and individuals in private and public life.

We recognize the sweep and power of the emotions in time of war and crisis and the rights and tendencies in the democratic way of life for thousands of individuals and groups to agitate, organize, and promote their own peculiar programs. This is and must be the essence of a democracy. But it is also the way of democracy to focus upon fundamentals and to give opportunity to responsible leadership through the orderly agencies of government and of private citizens. To this end no greater service can be rendered to the Nation than to covenant together in responsible organizations, to provide leadership and clearing house, and to avoid

conflicts, waste and overlapping, on the one hand, and, on the other, to minimize the harmful influence of irresponsible forces in this great hour of need for good will and for effective ways of doing what is needed. We feel that in these councils may be approximated needs more nearly than in any other ways that now appear.

The Nation is committed now to what is generally called, both in private business and in public life, post-war planning to the end that we may be ready for the demobilization and reintegration of our millions of returning soldiers into the best possible American way of life. Recognizing that the problems of the folk and of race constitute a more difficult problem than that of physical planning, by the same token we urge all the more the obligation to apply to this great area of our democracy the best the sciences, social sciences, the humanities, and religion can do in the realistic working out of next steps.

To this end, the present membership of the Continuation Committees of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences is hereby constituted the nucleus of the new Council; and the officers are authorized (1) to take immediate steps for the legal incorporation of the Council; (2) to appoint immediately the necessary staff personnel to implement this program, and (3) to enlarge the present membership in order to make it fully representative of all the interests encompassed by this program.

It is also respectfully urged that the President of the United States appoint a National Committee such as is suggested above.

APPENDIX E

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

On February 16, 1944, just before the opening of the Charter Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta and passed the following resolution merging the Commission with the Council.

It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation:

It was, upon motion duly made and seconded—*Resolved* that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.

APPENDIX F

CHARTER OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

STATE OF GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

I, John B. Wilson, Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify that

"SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC."

was on the 6th day of January, 1944, duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia by the Superior Court of Fulton County for a period of thirty-five years from said date, in accordance with the certified copy hereto attached, and that a certified copy of the charter of said corporation has been duly filed in the office of the Secretary of State and the fees therefor paid, as provided by law.

(SEAL)
STATE OF GEORGIA
1776

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 7th day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-four and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth.

JOHN B. WILSON
Secretary of State, Ex-Officio Corporation Commissioner of the State of Georgia.

STATE OF GEORGIA,
FULTON COUNTY.
TO THE SUPERIOR COURT OF SAID COUNTY:

The Petition of DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH McGILL, BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, and DR. HOWARD W. ODUM respectfully shows:

1.

That they desire for themselves, their associates and successors, to be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewal at the expiration thereof, and from time to time, as is now or may hereafter be provided by law.

2.

The principal office and place of business of said Corporation shall be located in the City of Atlanta, County of Fulton, State of Georgia. The Corporation desires the privilege of establishing branch offices elsewhere, either within or without the State of Georgia, as may be desired.

3.

Said Corporation shall not be organized or operated for pecuniary gain or profits to its members, and shall have no capital stock.

4.

The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

5.

The Corporation shall have the right to receive donations, endowments, devises and bequests, and shall enjoy all rights and powers, and be subject to all limitations, of the Corporation Act of the State of Georgia, approved

January 28, 1938, and all Amendments thereto, which may hereafter be adopted, excepting those rights, powers and limitations relating to capital stock, and other matters not pertinent to its organization.

6.

The membership of said Corporation shall be self-perpetuating, and shall be composed of the Incorporators, and such others as said Incorporators shall, at any time after the organization of said Corporation, designate, according to such Rules and By-Laws as may be adopted by said Corporation. The Incorporators, and such other members as may be elected at the first Incorporators Meeting, shall be designated as "Charter Members" of the Corporation.

7.

The rights of any member in the Corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, and his rights shall cease with his death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

8.

All corporate meetings, whether of the members or of the Board of Directors or of any other bodies established by the Corporation, may be held either within or without the State of Georgia.

9.

The Corporation may at any time, by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Corporation, amend, either in form or in substance, its By-Laws and Charter, or either of them, and for any reason, approved by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Corporation, sell and dispose of any or all of its assets, and dissolve and liquidate its affairs.

10.

The name and post office address of each of the Incorporators are as follows:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia,
Mr. Ralph McGill, 3399 Piedmont Road, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia,
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, 1976 North Decatur Road, Atlanta, Georgia,
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

11.

If and when said Corporation, for any reason whatever, shall liquidate or cease to exist as a body corporate, or to function as an eleemosynary organization, the title to all property, money and effects, of whatever kind or character, of such Corporation, after discharging its own obligations and liabilities, shall vest in some organization having ideals and a program similar to those of said Corporation, such organization to be designated by said Corporation before its dissolution.

WHEREFORE, petitioners pray to be incorporated under the name and style aforesaid, with all the powers, privileges and immunities herein set forth, and as are now, or may hereafter be, allowed a Corporation of similar character under the laws of Georgia.

(S) HAAS, LYONS & HURT
Attorneys for Petitioners,
601 Haas-Howell Building, Atlanta, Ga.

APPENDIX G

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE COUNCIL

1944

OFFICERS

President

Howard W. Odum
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Vice Presidents

P. B. Young
Norfolk, Virginia

Homer P. Rainey
Austin, Texas

Carter Wesley
Houston, Texas

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Executive Director
Guy B. Johnson

Associate Executive Director
Ira DeA. Reid

~~*Public Relations Director*~~
~~Margaret L. Fisher~~

Secretary-Treasurer
Emily H. Clay

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
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William E. Cole
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Virginius Dabney
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A. W. Dent
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O. D. Duncan
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H. D. Goode
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Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
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Mrs. Henry Havens
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R. B. Herbert
Columbia, South Carolina

Luther P. Jackson
Petersburg, Virginia

Louis I. Jaffe
Norfolk, Virginia

Charles S. Johnson
Nashville, Tennessee

Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Georgia

~~Ryland Knight~~
~~*Atlanta, Georgia*~~

J. R. E. Lee (deceased)
Tallahassee, Florida

Z. A. Looby
Nashville, Tennessee

E. A. McDowell
Louisville, Kentucky

T. James McNamara
Savannah, Georgia

~~Walter J. Matherly~~
~~*Gainesville, Florida*~~

Benjamin E. Mays
Atlanta, Georgia

L. D. Milton
Atlanta, Georgia

George S. Mitchell
Atlanta, Georgia

Arthur J. Moore
Atlanta, Georgia

N. C. Newbold
Raleigh, North Carolina

Howard W. Odum
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Gerald P. O'Hara
Savannah, Georgia

F. D. Patterson
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Raymond R. Paty
University, Alabama

John Garland Pollard, Jr.
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~~Edmund M. Preston~~
~~*Richmond, Virginia*~~

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Jackson, Mississippi

Ira De A. Reid
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James L. Robb
Athens, Tennessee

G. D. Rogers
Tampa, Florida

R. L. Russell
McDonough, Georgia

Philip Shulhafer
Atlanta, Georgia

T. S. Staples
Conway, Arkansas

Edgar B. Stern
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mrs. A. M. P. Strong
Marianna, Arkansas

J. B. Stuart
Columbia, South Carolina

Miss Florence Sytz
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
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Harold L. Trigg
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Forrester B. Washington
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This popular pamphlet, originally published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, is now issued by the Southern Regional Council.

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EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS OF MARGARET L. FISHER, PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, AT LAKE JUNALUSKA, N. C., FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1944

By your magnificent slogan, "I am determined never for a moment to be afraid to face a truth because it is new or to dig under a belief because it is old and dearly loved," you have agreed that the first step in the solution of any problem is to face the problem squarely and honestly.

As Americans who happen to be Southerners, and not as Southerners who happen to be Americans, let's take a look at our region as it is - - not as we like to think it is.

We are a region of untold wealth and hope; and a region of untold poverty and despair.

More than a third of this country's good farm lands, with the most varied soils, are in the South. Forty percent of the Nation's forests, representing great timber reserves as well as our best protection against soil erosion, are in this region. For more than six months of each year our crops can grow without danger of frost. We have ample rainfall. We have vast natural reservoirs of minerals, crude oil, coal, fish and game, and enormous capacity for generating power.

We are rich in human resources. Our population has grown more rapidly than any other region, our section forming the basis for the population increase of the Nation.

Yes, we are blessed by Nature with immense wealth, yet our people are the poorest in the Nation.

Great sections of our forests have been cut away, leaving us with 22 million acres of devastation where once there were fertile lands. More than half of the country's farmers are in the South, and more than half of our farmers are tenants and sharecroppers. Many of these people live in inescapable poverty. The average per capita income in the South has been little more than half the average for the Nation.

And because we are the poorest region in the country, we are the most illiterate region - - or perhaps it is vice versa. The average salary of our teachers is far below the national average, yet the number of pupils per teacher is much higher. Many areas have no schools available. I have been told that of the 3 million children of school age in this country for whom no school facilities are available, more than 2 million of them are in the South.

Poverty, illiteracy, crime and disease go hand in hand. We have a dangerously high death rate, with more than half of our low income families undernourished and masses of our children racked by preventable disease.

We are a region of traditionally religious people. Yes, we have the Bible Belt. But we also have had and may still have the Ku Klux Klan, riders in the night, a tree, a length of rope, and death.

Why are these things true? Why have we not converted our riches into a good life for our people? Why have there been practiced time and time again the worst forms of human cruelty and degradation?

Can it be because we have here two great groups of people who for generations have been set against each other with deliberate and wicked cunning? Can it be that here in the South our insecurity has led us to exalt material values over human values? Can it be that the South has found it expedient to have neither Christianity nor democracy at work? Can it be that two great groups of people have been set against each other ~~for generations~~ in order to maintain a system of cheap labor?

Cheap labor means an economy of much for the few and little for the many. We all know that neither Christianity nor democracy is compatible with that kind of economy - - unfortunately the kind of economy we have had in the South throughout its history.

Yes, cheap labor has enticed absentee-ownership to come in, much of which has drained off the wealth of our natural and human resources and has exerted potent influence on our governments.

Powerful interests want to keep labor cheap. You can depend on that. And so far the most effective way has been to set the white man and the Negro against each other. To play upon the white man's passions and hatreds, to keep him poor, to keep him illiterate, to build on his prejudices, to threaten his so-called security by using the Negro. And to use those same weapons with the Negro - - to fill him with fear, and to withhold his rights of citizenship, in many cases keeping a ballot out of his hand.

And there, my friends, we have the race problem. Founded on economic exploitation, nurtured on prejudices, fears, illiteracy, and disease. A problem passed on from generation to generation, prejudices becoming more and more ingrained - - based on no scientific findings, and directly contrary to the Christian ideal of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God, and directly contrary to the fundamentals of democracy upon which this great republic was founded.

So, if we hope to take our place in the Nation and in the world, and if we hope to build a lasting peace, we must face the race question and all of its implications.

During this world conflict, during this great war we are waging to make secure the rights of the individual man the world over, during this perilous time when we have seen our fathers, brothers, and sons face death in order to wipe out a philosophy of racial, religious, or national superiority -- during these times we have seen this very philosophy we seek to destroy in full swing in our South.

We have seen industries in the South, engaged in the manufacture of weapons of war, searching frantically for workers and yet turning down hundreds of qualified Americans for one reason only - - color. I have seen war plants desperate for specialized skills, scraping the country trying to find them, turn down men who had those skills right on the plant's doorstep -- for one reason only: color. In one city in the South, hundreds of Negro women were encouraged to and took government training courses for employment in a local war plant.

When they had finished and acquired a high degree of skill, they were refused employment in the jobs for which they were trained. They are still without work in a town with so-called acute labor shortage, an already congested town into which more white workers are being imported. I have seen a Negro radio technician, a desperately needed skill, offered work as a common laborer. Such accounts are endless.

The world knows these things. Our colored allies know these things. Our soldiers know these things. It seems small wonder that a young Negro soldier said as he went into combat: "If I am killed, put on my grave marker 'Here lies a black man who died fighting a yellow man for the protection of a white man.'"

If we want our civilization to stand we must face these facts. We must recognize that the rights of no man are safe unless the rights of all men are safe. If we want Christian democracy a dynamic force in the South, we can have it. If we want a good world for all men, a lasting peace, we can have that, too.

What can we do? We can examine ourselves and see that we as individuals practice what we preach. We can inform ourselves about our community: its schools, its hospitals, its parks, its police; about our state; and about our Nation. And in informing ourselves, we can make sure that we are getting both sides of every picture. We can share our information with the people. We can support the press when it is on the side of right, and combat it when it isn't. We can become intelligent and well-informed citizens on public affairs, and then we can fulfill our obligation as citizens at the ballot-box. We can demand of our representatives that they represent the people, the majority of the people, on all legislation -- and don't think your letters and telegrams don't carry weight. We can use our influence daily with our church, our government, and our neighbors for the rights of all men. We can ally ourselves with social action groups which are working on problems of human relations. We can stand and speak fearlessly for the practices as well as the principles of Christianity and democracy. We can make up our minds to lay aside harsh criticism in the knowledge that we are living in honesty with ourselves, with our brothers, and with our God.

We stand at the crossroads. We can see our civilization go down to destruction in a series of devastating wars, or we can rise to a higher plateau with an abundant life for all men. There are only two roads this time. We must take one or the other. Right down here in the South we are helping decide which of those roads we shall take. Building the good life for all mankind will not be an easy road -- but we can travel it and reach our destination if we are prepared to give up special privileges, to wipe out false prejudices, to hate war and love peace.

What can we do? We can practice what we preach. As Christians, we can set democracy at work in the South.

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710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MARGARET L. FISHER
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

August 4, 1944

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
1327½ SW 4 Street
Miami 35, Florida

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

Thank you for your letter of July 27. I am glad that you are writing Miss Smith. Incidentally, I am curious to know where her letter was printed. I thought it would get into print sooner or later, but I have not run across it.

Several of us have noticed and commented on the fact that our charter mentions cooperation with only "local, state, and regional agencies." I understand that it was purely accidental that the word "national" was not also inserted. I agree with you that the charter should be amended, and I think we should bring up this matter at the annual meeting in October.

Best wishes,

Guy B. Johnson

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street • Chicago 1, Illinois

August 22, 1944

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
20 Westminster Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

I have your letter of August 18 inquiring about the work of the Council. The Council is still in the process of organization and our program has not been sufficiently crystallized to answer your questions in detail. As yet, we have no established relations with the Southern Regional Council or other organizations in the field. Future cooperation and work with such agencies is the subject of our deliberations during this organization period.

After our next Board meeting, early in the fall, I shall be able to tell you our membership requirements. Our aims, however, have been set forth in a suggested announcement and I believe will answer your question on our position on segregation. I am enclosing a copy of the first draft for this announcement, which is to be issued in the fall.

I am also having your name placed on our mailing list to receive such material as we may issue. In the meanwhile, we should be very glad to have any material that you could send us.

Very truly yours,

Mary Jane Grunsfeld

(Mrs.) Mary-Jane Grunsfeld
Secretary

MJG:dw
encl

"Strange Fruit--food for the Talmadgites"

20 Westminster Drive, NE
Atlanta, Georgia
August 26, 1944

Miss Lillian Smith
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Since writing you I have had an opportunity to read your letter to Dr. Johnson in its entirety, and am so impressed by it that I would like to use all of the enclosed portions, if I may have your permission.

In the final analysis, our difference of opinion seems to be as to the efficacy of demanding an end of segregation in the South now. The question is: do the good results from such demands outweigh the evil, or vice versa? I have put this question to several of the SRC's directors, and they do not venture to guess. My guess is that the evil results predominate, while you evidently believe otherwise. One of us is right, and I'm not certain which. But this thing is basic, and I do wish you would give me your reasons for your conclusion.

"Strange Fruit" provides the best case in point. It comes under the category of "shock treatment, expertly administered," as prescribed for the South in your "Things to Do." If we could determine its total effect upon the Southern situation, we would have the answer to our question.

I do not doubt that "Strange Fruit" has administered a beneficial shock to a great many people, especially outside the South. But the important question is, has its total effect been to alleviate or worsen the South's interracial ills?

For a time Talmadge and the other professional promoters of race hate had to be content with inflating Ambree's long-distance suggestions of white and colored children playing together; now the hate-mongers have the interracial intermarriage incendiary bomb of Strange Fruit to point out as the "enemy within the gates."

If you had complete control over your patient (the South) under laboratory conditions, shock might well bring the quickest relief. But under the actual conditions, you are administering shock to a patient who doesn't want it, and who is thereby prompted to call in the old family witch-doctors, Talmadge, Colescott, & Associates.

These fakers, needless to say, are not interesting in effecting a cure, but rather seek to drive the patient to violence. The more shocks the patient is given by Strange Fruit, the easier it will be for the quacks to drive the patient to insanity.

I do not think that, in view of the patient's present condition, and also because of all the maddening paraphenalia supplied the witch-doctors by those with an economic stake in segregation, there is any hope of the shock treatment winning out.

This being the case, it seems to me that shock treatment merely serves the purpose of driving the patient into the arms of the witch-doctors, whereas moderate therapeutic methods can doubtless succeed in winning ~~them~~ away.

I may be wrong; but I am not trying to dodge the issue.

Sincerely,

Stetson Kennedy

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
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Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

August 31, 1944

My dear Mr. Kennedy: The Bureau for Intercultural Education has been in operation for some time, and has attempted to develop a program for a broad attack on the problem of racial discrimination by working through the schools. It has made a small beginning. When the American Council on Race Relations was organized, it was decided that the director of the Educational Division of the American Council should become the acting director of the Bureau with a view to the elimination of duplication, and the development of a unified approach to the problem. This arrangement has now been in operation about three months and serious consideration is being given to merging the work of the two organizations, perhaps under the American Council, though the details are yet to be worked out. There will certainly be closest cooperation, if not affiliation, between the two organizations.

I am not sure that I can answer your question about the specific condemnations of segregation being confined to housing, public facilities, and services. I do not remember any discussions of that point, and I doubt if there is any tactical reason why it was stated in just that way. I would assume that these areas were specified as illustrations rather than out of a desire to limit the area to be considered.

I am

Sincerely,

WWA:MM

Will W. Alexander

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
20 Westminster Drive, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

VOL. V AUGUST, 1944 NO. 8

What Can Be Done About Domestic Employment?

By Grace Towns Hamilton
Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League

Effects of The War

The past few years have been a time of crisis for both the employer of domestic help and for the household worker. The crisis has created "tensions," which like the early symptoms of a nervous breakdown, may have the advantage, if thoughtfully regarded, of preventing disaster—or the disadvantage, if ignored, of accumulating until a real breakdown becomes inevitable The "Eleanor Club," the "Push-'em Club," the "wait-'till-the-war-is-over-we'll-fix-'em" reports are symptoms of an unhealthy condition about which something needs to be done and about which something can be done, if the patients, in this case the household workers, the employers, and the community, are willing.

Mamie the maid who became Minnie the welder says that the shorter hours and the better wages pulled her out of the home and into the factory. However, she and her sister workers have recently become acquainted with and accustomed to social security, health insurance, and protective legislation. Their first experience as union members in the war jobs to which they have gone has made concrete for them the advantages which come from cooperative efforts of employees to bargain for improvement in conditions of work. The same experience has also made increasingly clear the necessity for cooperative planning by employees and employers in order that the interests of both may be protected.

Meanwhile, the war period has stimulated the development of cooperative projects among housewives for the care of children and for cleaning services. These efforts have had the tendency to point out to them the importance of organization in the routine of housework. Increased appreciation of each other's needs by the maid and the mistress make possible mutually satisfactory adjustments.

Basic Needs

Finding the answer to what can be done about household employment is important planning for the home front which need not wait for the post-war period. Five needs constitute a basis for efforts to solve the problem:

1. The need for trained household workers, which can be met only by the establishment and support of proper training facilities.

2. The need to make conditions of employment in household work more comparable with other types of work.

3. The need to remove the social stigma so that the difficulties for the group already engaged in the occupation will be corrected, and so that capable women will be attracted to it.

4. The need to develop new standards and techniques of placement, which will provide the employer with the kind and amount of service for which she is willing and able to pay, and which will protect the employee from substandard assignments which destroy the advantages to the employer and the employee of any program for improvement.

5. The need for education of the public in order to make clear to housewives that it is to their personal advantage to raise the status of this almost feudal vocation of domestic service to the level of modern industry.

Education of the community at large can make clear that more adequate wages paid to one of the largest occupational groups in our country will be of vital importance in increasing the purchasing power of a large number of workers, thus making effective an increased demand for goods. Wage adjustment in this occupation is an infrequently mentioned but nevertheless important factor in conquering the threat of a post-war depression by making possible full employment after the war.

Community Approach

Community understanding is essential if resources for proper training and placement are to be made available, and if the hours and wages for the occupation are to be adjusted in the direction of acceptable standards.

Since the amount which can be spent for service is determined by the family budget, many women with a need for help, but with a limited amount to spend, have used their limited funds to buy inferior services at substandard wages. Organized efforts on the part of the community as a whole will provide new resources for the families with limited financial resources and will help such women learn how to spend wisely the amounts they have, to buy the services they need most, without undermining standards. It should be recog-

(*Continued on Page* 4)

DIFFERENTIAL FREIGHT RATES AND THE SOUTH

Seven years ago this summer the National Emergency Council submitted to the President of the United States its now widely publicized "Report on Economic Conditions of the South." Among the findings of this report was this statement: "In addition to absentee ownership and the high cost of credit, the major problem which faces almost all industry in the South is that of freight rate differentials."

The report maintained that the then existing interterritorial railroad freight rates, which affect the movement of many southern manufactured and semifinished goods and some agricultural products, actually restricted the development of industry in the South. In view of the subsequent findings of the National Resources Planning Board and the more recent activity of the Southern Governors' Conference, this problem has assumed a unique significance in the social and industrial life of the South. Because the full and mature development of the economic South is one of the SRC's interests, the editors present a brief primer of the problem as it affects the South and its people.

Development of Rate Structure

When the railroads were developing in the country there grew up a regionalized class rate structure which was supposed to have been based upon differentials in the cost of railroad operation, the longer hauls and smaller populations in some areas. These factors necessitated higher rates to meet operating costs. The Southern Territory comprised Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee. The area adjoining the South, known as Official Territory, has the lowest freight rates on manufactured goods and the nation's largest consumer market. The Southern Territory has high rates on manufactured goods and low rates on raw or semifinished materials. According to some authorities this means that the region's industries are kept in a semifinishing or "colonial" status. In the southeast a manufacturer faces a 39% disadvantage in the charges he has to pay in order to get his goods into Official Territory, which embraces roughly the northern half of the United States east of the Mississippi. A manufacturer in the southeast has a relative disadvantage of 75%, and is even worse off.

Effects of The Differentials

With what results? Simply this: the

(*Continued on Page* 4)

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, AUGUST, 1944

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial Comment

We salute the Democratic county chairmen in Texas who followed the U. S. Supreme Court decision and permitted Negroes to take part in the Democratic primary on July 22. In Bexar County, for example, the Democratic chairman declared, "I understand many Texas counties are planning to refuse Negroes the right to vote. They are just getting themselves involved in a lot of difficult situations. I am not going to take any chances here." A candidate for office said, "Anybody with a poll tax should be allowed to vote regardless of their color." In Palo Pinto County, the Democratic chairman stated, "In accordance with the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, county election judges should permit free exercise of the ballot by everyone who professes allegiance to the primary's nominees and who meets state requirements." In these and many other counties, Negroes took part in the Democratic primary for the first time in many years.

* * * *

Two important films have been released recently, but there are indications that they will not be seen in many Southern communities unless interested citizens urge theater managers to show them. One of the films is "The Negro Soldier," which was produced under government supervision and which has been the object of wide comment and praise. The other is March of Time's "Americans All" which is based on the theme of racial and religious tolerance. The SRC assisted the March of Time crew in various ways during its three weeks' stay in Atlanta, and the film contains some scenes portraying the activities of the SRC. However, we have not yet been able to get even a sneak preview of "Americans All."

Attorneys general of 13 states will meet in Memphis, September 5, at a regional convention of the National Association of Attorneys General. Principal topics at the meeting will be the recent opinions of the U. S. Supreme Court affecting Negro voting in Southern primaries and declaring insurance to be an interstate business.

Quotes From The Press

Governor Sparks' Challenge

(*Birmingham News*, August 2, 1944)

"There is one problem in Alabama and in many Southern states which has been a millstone around our neck . . . That is the tenant problem. More than half our farmers live on tenant farms . . . There has been an increase in white tenancy in recent years, while at the same time there has been a decrease in colored tenancy. This indicates that the Negro race is moving to centers of industry, while on the farm our white people remain in status quo."

The foregoing is from a speech delivered by Governor Sparks before the Southern Farm Bureau Training School meeting at Auburn. It is a reminder from a man whose opinion must be respected that the tenant farmer problem is already largely a white man's problem. Any who have been sniffish about finding a solution for the problem because of a disinclination to help Negroes will have to revise this attitude. And those who have a narrow, self-centered point of view are also under pressure to realize that they have been at odds with their own interest.

Governor Sparks is not content with viewing with alarm. He wants to do something. He knows that the tenant farmer cannot be relied on to use modern agricultural methods so long as he is the victim of a harsh system. The governor doesn't like "regimentation" or "collectivism," but he knows that the tenant farmer must be helped by the state. He is even prepared to supplement what the national government is doing by having the Legislature enact legal relief so that a "better relationship can be developed and a more profitable tenant system can be established looking ultimately toward the elimination of tenancy as we now know it."

These are good words, and one hopes that they left the right impression on the audience the governor addressed. The Farm Bureau's antagonism toward the FSA, which is now mainly concerned with its tenancy program, shows that somewhere along the line there are people who do not join Governor Sparks in his social approach to the subject. Perhaps these are leaders who frequently misrepresent the sentiment of their followers. It would be a grand thing if the Farm Bureau could throw itself behind the reforms which Governor Sparks suggested. There is good reason to believe that too much of the law affecting the farm tenant is heavily weighted against him.

Housing For Negroes

(*Atlanta Journal*, July 31, 1944)

The declaration by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, representing 20,000 real estate firms over the nation, that the members should face the Negro housing problem as a sound business investment, is a move that should have far-reaching economic effects. It should result in housing improvements for millions of Negro families, and a raise in the standard of living for this large minority group is certain to have a generally favorable effect upon the nation as a whole.

The association has recognized that there is a serious shortage of healthful and safe housing for Negroes, setting forth the belief that in this shortage lies an unparalleled opportunity for real estate men in every community to tap an almost entirely new field of business. The association asserts further that the Negro, if given the opportunity, is a good economic risk. This makes the projected housing program a sound business policy, in addition to all the other obvious benefits.

Can Easily Be Arranged

(*Charleston News-Courier*, Aug. 3, 1944)

Negro Rooseveltians talk of Negroes being a majority in three congressional districts of South Carolina, as if the general assembly could not pass an act abolishing three districts and providing for the election of three representatives (or six) at large. It would be excellent were three of the representatives chosen at large though there were no Negro voters in the state. In the same way, legislation can at any time be enacted that would insure the election of white officers in counties. Nothing prevents the joining in an election district of half a dozen counties for the election of sheriffs and legislators, the district to be so arranged that it would contain a majority of white people.

YOU SHOULD READ:

The Southern Regional Council—Its Origin and Purpose. SRC Pamphlet No. 1. 10c a copy, $1.00 a dozen, $7.50 a hundred.

America's Tenth Man. Revised June, 1944. SRC Pamphlet No. 2. 10c a copy, $1.00 a dozen, $7.50 a hundred.

Southern Offensive. A Reply to J. Saunders Redding and Lillian Smith. By Guy B. Johnson. Reprinted from COMMON GROUND, Summer, 1944. Single copies free on request.

The Challenge of Race. Addresses by Robert Redfield and Channing H. Tobias. Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York. The SRC has a limited number available for the asking.

The Negro in America. By Maxwell S. Stewart. This pamphlet, published by the Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York, is a summary of **An American Dilemma** by Gunnar Myrdal. Ready about September 1. The SRC is purchasing a quantity of this pamphlet, and can supply it at 10c a copy, $1.00 a dozen, $7.50 a hundred.

I Never Knowed. By Margaret L. Fisher. Reprinted from THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, July, 1944. Free on request.

The Progressive Democratic Party In South Carolina

By JOHN H. MCCRAY*

*The author is editor of *The Lighthouse and Informer*, Columbia, S. C., and Chairman of The South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party.

Up to the time the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the Texas Primary case, Negroes in South Carolina were hopeful that the state's Democratic leaders would recede from their hostile attitude towards Negro membership in the Democratic Party, and their hopes soared when it was announced that a special session of the state legislature had been ordered to deal with the Texas decision.

These hopes lived only briefly, for the special session was told by Governor Olin D. Johnston that it had been assembled for the purpose of circumventing the Texas decision and "maintaining white supremacy."

For some time before, Negroes had been conscious of the fact that they outnumbered whites in 22 of the state's 46 counties and in three of the six congressional districts. Despite pleas for their admission into the state's Democratic Party, made by both Negro leaders and liberal white citizens, their net gain was a suggestion that they form their own Democratic Party. With reluctance the suggestion was studied, and during the process it was discovered that here was a procedure which could work as a boomerang on both the state party and the national Democratic Party, which certainly had known of what was happening to Negroes in the South but which either preferred to let the situation remain or had never been asked for a ruling.

So when all hopes of honorable solutions failed and when it was obvious that legal action planned two years earlier could not be brought in time to have effect in this year's important elections, the Progressive Democratic Party was organized in Columbia, May 24, for the purpose of forcing the issue of Negro admission into the Democratic Party by pressure from the national party and by a threat from the Negro voters in the counties and districts where they outnumbered whites.

The movement spread like wild fire. Daily newspapers and radio commentators discussed it. When the first state convention assembled, 172 delegates from 39 counties were present. Because the state government rejected a plea for use of the House of Representatives chamber, the convention was held in Columbia's Masonic Temple. The convention declared itself open to persons of all races, declared in favor of the re-election of President Roosevelt, adopted a constitution, and named eighteen full-vote delegates to go to the national Democratic convention in Chicago to contest the seating of "lily-whites" as a means of being recognized by the national party.

The party launched a state-wide registration drive for voting in bloc in the general election this year, proposing a full party ticket offering opposition to every nominee from the white party. The white members of the other party became alarmed and, for the first time in the history of the state, began registration *en masse* to "outvote the Negro." Progressive Democratic workers reported from over the state that any number of devices were being used to deter Negro registration, especially in those counties where Negroes outnumbered whites.

South Carolina law provides registration for any citizen who has lived in the state two years and in the county one, who owns and has paid all taxes on property worth $300 or more. The alternative is to be able to read and write any section of the state constitution the registration officer might submit.

The devices ranged from keeping Negro registrants in line all day (as was done in Chesterfield County) to brusque refusal to register them. In Williamsburg County, the officer took all day to examine five Negroes, requiring them to read the entire constitution, to write it in full and then interpret it. After surviving these ordeals, the applicants were then asked to relate how courts are conducted and finally were told that a board of eight would have to decide whether or not they were competent to hold a registration certificate.

In Colleton County Negro applicants were told they would have to write a letter to the registration board and obtain permission before they could register. In another county, when a colored man spent most of the day trying to pay his poll tax (necessary for voting), a sheriff's deputy bellowed at him: "What you niggers so anxious about paying poll taxes for? Somebody fixing to get his damn head beat open trying to act like white folks." When the man expressed a willingness to have his head beat anyway, the sheriff accepted his tax, running it up a bit.

In Marlboro County, officials gave Negro applicants cards intended for absentee balloting by soldiers. Many left with these thinking that they held certificates. And so does it continue. Party leaders propose to vote as many this fall as possible but predict it will take several years before full strength is built up.

Before the national Democratic convention, national party leaders became aware of the serious threat posed by the Progressive Democrats. These hitherto unheard-of South Carolinians could alienate the northern Negro vote and toss the fall election into the laps of the Republicans. So at the request of national leaders a series of conferences was held in Washington. Certain definite benefits have come out of these in behalf of Negro Democratic membership in South Carolina, augmented by others gained in Chicago. The delegates were not seated at the convention, mainly because, realizing they were a bit short after having less than three months for complete state organization, they preferred to threaten and bargain for benefits. They won far more than a knockdown-dragout convention scene would have netted them and returned to South Carolina with the feeling that South Carolina has sent her last all-white delegation to the national convention.

Support of the party has been pledged by a number of white citizens. In fact, the first contribution it received came from a widowed white lady in Columbia.

In South Carolina proper, two main achievements have been claimed by the Progressive Democrats. First, this year's senatorial campaign for the Democratic nomination was conducted without the usual anti-Negro blare. In fact, one candidate ran on a flat record of "fair treatment for the Negro." The second is that party leaders among the old group confess alarmingly that "no longer can we keep the Negro out of politics by the Primary." The general election now is the battle ground.

The Progressive Democratic Party expects to remain a permanent organization, even though South Carolina's pattern falls before the U. S. Supreme Court. Future plans include a state-wide organization among Negroes so long as it shall be necessary to have group action in the matter of group rights and privileges.

A Letter From California

Some time ago we received a letter from a young man in California requesting some of our literature. His letter also contained the following comments:

"I am a Negro student and am working in one of the local shipyards. Very frequently at lunch time I have talked to the men on the personal benefits when one is free of racial bigotry, etc., and what a better job we can do when each is doing his best in cooperating.

"I know I would be a better citizen if it were not for racial discrimination. I also know my white co-worker could rise to a more enjoyable and full life if he would only wake up.

"I am a member of The Neighborhood Church which is interracial in its organization. It has a Negro and a white pastor who alternate.

"The Church has been operating since last November and shows signs of becoming a great agency for good."

JAMES P. JONES.

Elsewhere on this page we publish an article by John H. McCray, Chairman of the recently organized Progressive Democratic Party in South Carolina. The author presents what seems to be a potentially effective strategy for organizing the Negro vote and making it count. The editors invite readers of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER to contribute constructive discussions of this approach.

Domestic Employment

(*Continued from Page 1*)

nized that in this field, as in most others, the employer seldom gets more than she is willing to pay for.

As in any other maladjusted social situation for which a community-wide solution is sought, genuinely representative groups of the people most concerned must consider together programs for improvement. Local groups must take responsibility for local situations. Facts must be found, and a plan of action based upon the facts must be determined.

The American Association of University Women, the National Y. W. C. A., and the National Committee on Household Employment have pioneered in work upon this problem. In the last two years two strong unions of household workers have been chartered. It is evident from reports of all efforts to improve the situation that consideration of standards is essential.

In order to get facts and to consider acceptable standards, household workers and their employers must find channels to work together cooperatively for their mutual interest. In the Southern region, where the members of these two groups recognize their interdependence and are accustomed to everyday relationships, there should be great possibilities for getting together to "do something" in the interest of each other.

Proposed Standards

As a basis for knowing what domestic employees expect, the following statement of standards, approved by a widely represented group of workers, is interesting:

We believe that housework is a dignified occupation. The relationship of the employer and employee is entered into for the mutual economic advantage of both, the employee offering her skill in return for wages, the employer offering wages in return for skill. Social relationships, which result from face to face contacts, should not hide this fundamental economic relationship in which bargaining is taking place.

The relationship should be at all times professional, neither party asking favors nor exploiting the other. The independent relationship will be aided if the employee lives out and has a home life of her own. If she wishes to do this, her wish should be respected and given consideration. Whether the employee lives in or out, her private life should be free from supervision by the employer.

A. *Working agreement*

A definite written agreement between employer and employee should be made at the time of employment. It may be signed or unsigned and should be subject to periodic review to meet changing conditions.

B. *Regular duties*

Regular duties shall be clearly defined, based on an analysis of the job to be done within the hour limit agreed upon. A high standard of work shall be expected in return for good wages and satisfactory working conditions.

C. *Trial period*

After the first interview, the work should begin with a trial period of two weeks, after which time either the employer or employee should feel free to end the relationship if it has proved unsatisfactory.

D. *Hours*

Actual working hours shall be defined as hours of duty during which the worker is not free to follow her own pursuits.

Total working hours shall not exceed 60 hours within the week. A schedule of 48 hours is recommended.

Time on call is that time when the worker is not free to leave house, but may rest or follow her own pursuits, being available for emergencies. Two hours on call shall be equivalent to one hour of working time. Overtime may be adjusted by extra time off or extra payment on rate per hour basis. Frequent overtime should be avoided.

Time off shall include one full day (Sunday, if the employee so wishes) and one half day. At least one other evening shall be free.

E. *Vacations and holidays*

After one year of service the employee should have two weeks' vacation with pay. The employee should be given four of the following holidays: Easter, Decoration Day, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's, Labor Day, Mother's Day.

F. *Termination of services*

Notice of one week or one week's pay shall be given on termination of service by either party.

G. *Living conditions*

Comfortable living conditions include: 1) adequate food, 2) private room, or one shared by another employee if necessary, 3) access to bath, 4) adequate heat and light, 5) a place to entertain friends.

H. *Health examination*

An employee should possess a certificate showing that she has had a health examination within a year. The employee shall pay for the examination, except that when she remains for more than six months, the employer shall reimburse her for half the cost of the examination.

I. *Wages*

For living-in employees, minimum wages for the inexperienced should be $12 a week, for experienced $15.

For employees living out, minimum wages for the inexperienced should by 25c an hour; for the experienced according to the following schedule: 50c an hour for 3 hours or less, 40c an hour from 3 to 30 hours a week, 30c an hour for more than 30 hours a week.

The rates should be revised as costs of living change. They may be varied in accordance with conditions in different types of communities.

Two significant statements deserve the thoughtful consideration of those who decide that something must and can be done about the problem of domestic help:

From the inescapable fact that domestic employment is a human relationship and not a totally economic one arise most of the problems connected with it. From an acceptance of that fact arise certain possibilities of understanding and improving the relations.

Only one-half of the labor problem can be solved by wage and hour adjustment, the remainder lies in human relationships and the needs of the human soul. No addition to wages or subtraction from hours will bring peace until the men and women concerned receive their due as human beings.

Freight Rates

(*Continued from Page 1*)

southern producer attempting to build up a larger business on the principles of decreasing unit costs of production finds his goods barred from a wider market in an area where live 51% of the nation's people.

With what results? According to the National Resources Planning Board, the situation freezes the Southern economy in a form which drains raw materials and partly finished products to the northeast, makes the South pay two-way freight on its purchased manufactured goods, and stunts the development of manufacturing within the South. Thus it becomes cheaper to ship the South's zinc ore to the North, have it made into metallic zinc (used to coat northern steel), and shipped back to the South where it will be used for roofs and galvanized iron ware, than it is to convert this zinc ore in the South without the economic loss of cross hauling. So great is this differential that it counteracts the natural Southern advantages of superior power and fuel supply.

What Can Be Done About It?

What can be done about it? The proffered solutions are many. Some authorities say that no conceivable freight rate structure can be free of discrimination. Although this type of discrimination against localities has been unlawful since 1887, the Transportation Act of 1940 recognized its existence and directed the Interstate Commerce Commission to study the elements of the question. Further legislative treatment is not deemed advisable because of the complex issues involved. It is believed that the Interstate Commerce Commission can effect a fair solution working in cooperation with interested groups. However, the acuteness of the problem will be alleviated with the increased development of competitive agencies of transport. Meanwhile, as reported in the last issue of the FRONTIER, a court test case is in the offing.

Notes

According to a survey conducted by CRISIS, magazine of the NAACP, and published in its issue of August, 1944, a total of 4,059 Negro students graduated from colleges and universities during the school year 1943-1944. Of this number, 3,595 received Bachelor degrees, 143 the Master's degree, 9 the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and 215 professional degrees. Of those who received the Bachelor's degree, 3,510 finished Negro institutions and 85 were graduated from mixed schools. Howard University at Washington, D. C., continues to have the largest enrollment, 2,355; Prairie View in Texas is second with 1,353; and Tennessee State College is third with 1,256.

* * * *

During the week of August 14, a Scout Leaders' School was held at Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, under the auspices of Region Six, Boy Scouts of America. The purpose of the School was to train for more effective leadership of boyhood through the program of the Boy Scouts of America, with particular emphasis upon the problems of Scouting for Negro boys in the Southeast. Volunteer Scouters and Scouting Executives from several states attended the School. In 1943 a similar school was held with 122 men participating.

Julius Rosenwald Fund

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Directors for Race Relations

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September 11, 1944

Dear Mr. Kennedy: Now that I am back at the office, I should like to send a personal word in addition to the full reply to your letter of August 21 made by my colleague, Dr. Alexander. Since you refer to my opening statement at the conference of March 21, it occurs to me that you might like to have the full statement which I had prepared with a good deal of care, and which I read directly from this manuscript. The statements on the bottom of Page 4 and following I think will indicate that I had no intention of condoning or ignoring conditions in the South. My point -- and I still think it is good stragedy -- is that the country as a whole should devote itself to questions of democracy without being bound or retarded by the peculiar traditions and laws of the South.

In reply to your specific question about membership in the American Council on Race Relations, my understanding is that plans are being made for opening the membership to all who may care to join. Specific arrangements to this end I think will be made at the next meeting of the Council, which is to be held within the next few weeks. May I suggest that you send your application directly to the Council: Mrs. Mary-Jane Grunsfeld, Secretary, American Council on Race Relations, 32 West Randolph Street, Chicago.

Very truly yours,

ERE:MM

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
20 Westminster Drive, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

September 27, 1944

Honorable Stetson Kennedy
20 Westminister Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

My delay in answering your letter of the twenty-first of August is due to the fact that a large part of the time I have been out of town in connection with the National Democratic campaign. I am sorry.

I have read with very great interest your design for racial democracy and I thank you for sending it to me. This problem of a proper relationship between the races must be solved as a matter of making Democracy work in this country.

It is interesting to learn that Doubleday-Doran have accepted your book "The Four Freedoms Down South" for publication.

I shall always be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Claude Pepper

[Claude Pepper]

CP:p

AN EXPLANATION

We are sorry that there has been such a long delay in getting the September Southern Frontier to you. It was ready three weeks ago, but we could not mail it. You see, we bought an addressing machine and we sent our mailing list out to be put on stencils for use in the machine. For reasons beyond our control this work was delayed, and there was nothing to do but wait. At last we have our stencils. You will be glad to know that hereafter our entire mailing list can be run off in less than one hour.

IMPORTANT

The Southern Regional Council announces the removal of its quarters from 710 Standard Building to:

Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Please use this address for all mail intended for:

Southern Regional Council
The Southern Frontier
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Conference on Education and Race Relations

The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

VOL. V SEPTEMBER, 1944 NO. 9

Equalization of Teachers' Salaries in North Carolina*

By N. C. Newbold

Gov. Ehringhaus' Commission

In June, 1934, Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus appointed a Commission of fifty-four persons and a Committee of fifty consultants to be known as the "Governor's Commission for the Study of Problems in the Education of Negroes in North Carolina". Half of these persons were white and half were Negroes. The Commission made the Study and presented its completed report to the Governor on November 26, 1934. This Study included eight points in the public school program. These were prepared upon the request of the Governor by members of the Negro Committee Groups and are as follows:

1. Consolidation and transportation of small schools.
2. Standard high school facilities.
3. Raising the average scholarship level of teachers.
4. Minimum eight months terms for every school.
5. Adequate buildings and equipment.
6. Providing preparation for a more differentiated occupational life.
7. Professional offerings for Negro youth in institutions within the State up to the limit which the State provides.
8. Teachers' salaries.

Recommendations

In the recommendations of that report of ninety-six printed pages are the following:

"1. That the differentials in teachers' salaries between white and Negro teachers, now in existence in North Carolina, be reduced approximately 50 percent in 1935.

"2. That the remaining differentials after 1935 be eliminated as rapidly as possible within a period of three to five years."

This was the first official recommendation in North Carolina that salaries of Negro teachers be made equal to those of white teachers.

It is appropriate to include in this article the following statement which appeared in the published report of the "Governor's Commission for the Study of Problems in the Education of Negroes in North Carolina":

"Changes in school legislation produced problems for every Negro teacher. The North Carolina Negro Teachers' Association, meeting at Goldsboro, November 23, 1927, heard two addresses which dealt with these vital problems, one by President S. G. Atkins and the other by Mr. N. C. Newbold of the State Department of Public Instruction, and as a result authorized the appointment of a committee of twenty-five from the membership of the Association to study problems involved in: (a) Teachers' salaries; (b) Length of school term; (c) Buildings and equipment. The report of this committee was necessarily limited in scope and findings because of the lack of availability of data. The report was presented to the Association in March, 1929."

Negro Teachers' Association

It will be both proper and historical to state that the representative of the State Department of Education recommended and urged that the members of the Negro Teachers' Association undertake the studies of their own schools. After the meeting, some Negroes said: "What can we do under existing conditions that would influence the State officials and the Legislature?" That was a logical question seventeen years ago. Such a question would not be raised in 1944. The Association, now with more than 5,850 paid members, has a Legislative Committee which is invited to appear before the State Board of Education, the Budget Bureau, and Legislative Committees which deal with public education, appropriations, and finance.

At the fall meeting (1929) of the Association, a steering committee was authorized. It was this steering committee, together with a representative of the State Department of Public Instruction, who went to the Governor, April 6, 1933, and requested the appointment of a commission "to study the State's program for Negro Education".

In his message to the Legislature on January 10, 1935, Governor Ehringhaus made the following statement: "I have myself also caused to be made a study of conditions peculiarly applicable to the Negro Schools in North Carolina, and the results of this study will be available for your consideration. We should be careful to see that justice is done our Negro citizenship."

Since that time, the matter of equal salaries for white and Negro public school teachers has been kept alive in North Carolina.

Gov. Hoey's Commission

On March 10, 1937, the Legislature passed a resolution authorizing Governor Clyde R. Hoey to appoint a "Commission to Study Public Schools and Colleges for Colored People in North Carolina," the members of the Commission to be represented by two from the Senate and three from the House of Representatives. Governor Hoey appointed these persons and the study was begun promptly. This study was completed in 1938. The Report and Recommendations are included in a printed bulletin of 62 pages. In this report the members of the Commission recommended, among other items, that the State appropriate annually approximately $250,000 to be used in the reduction of the differential between white and Negro teachers' salaries.

The Legislature of 1939, whose members had this report before them, made sufficient funds available for a beginning in the reduction plan. Beginning in 1938, the monthly salaries paid teachers from state funds have grown about as follows:

YEAR	WHITE	NEGRO
1938-1939	$133	$100
1939-1940	$133	$105
1940-1941	$133	$110
1941-1942	$133	$115
1942-1943	$133	$120
1943-1944	$133	$125

During each of these years provision was made by the Legislature for approximately $250,000 to apply on the reduction of the differential.

Equalization in 1944-45

On June 8, 1944, Governor J. Melville Broughton appeared before the members of the State Board of Education and recommended that the balance of the differen-

(*Continued on Page 4*)

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Annual Meeting Postponed

By vote of the Executive Committee the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, which would be held regularly on October 11, has been postponed. The date for the meeting has not yet been determined, but it seems likely that it will be some time between November 15 and December 7. The date will be announced as soon as possible.

* Dr. N. C. Newbold, author of this article, has been Director of Negro Education in the State Department of Education in North Carolina for over 25 years.

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, SEPTEMBER, 1944

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

When rumors of a threatened race riot engulfed a Southern city last year a few citizens met with city and county officials to discuss ways and means for improving conditions which were felt to give cause for rioting. Two important facts were gleaned from the lengthy discussion which attended the planning. First, there was a great distrust of the so-called "race relations crowd," the do-gooders, those who act, as Everett Clinchy has said, "all in the name of God." Second, the official fathers were quite unmoved by the citizens' complaint of rumors and what they might do to otherwise quiescent community relationships. This led us to ponder why a stigma is attached to working with what we call lost causes? Why do we continue to play down the importance of common talk and unauthenticated stories in human relations?

Though no brief comment can provide a full answer to these questions it is possible to point out some of the symptoms that indicate the ailment involved. First, there is no more unpopular "cause" in the South than that of human or race relations. Many people believe that these relations should be more equitable but only a few dare go out and work for them. Since there is little material gain for the person who does give his heart and hand to such a cause, most of us can see no earthly reason why one would make himself a martyr. As one public official said, "Those folks just get in my hair and make me uncomfortable." Which is all to the good, as is borne out by the numbers of people who are joining the ranks of agencies and movements working for social betterment.

However, one distinct challenge is not fully met. The official continues: "Nine times out of ten they don't know what they are talking about. They get all worked up about something and come to you with a tear-soaked handkerchief in one hand, a Bible in the other, and sob stories on their lips. That kind just irritates you. I don't want to be in office when these people start learning how government is run and the facts as they really are. We'll have to do something then."

This brings us to this matter of rumor, which distinctly is not facts as they really are. The masses of people never really know the facts of their living, the facts behind their governments, their jobs, their health. Their economic, political and social lives operate, in the main, on what they hear indirectly, on what they sense from newspaper stories and radio commentaries. Rumor reigns in the South because we have not been willing to discover and propagate fact, which is both stranger and stronger than the fanciful fabric of regional, racial and economic prejudices we weave about ourselves. We need more do-gooders who possess fact and tact. We need more people who know how to squelch rumor with the truths of Southern life.

Southern Comment

"Hooliganism has no place in race relations in Mobile. Members of neither race can justify themselves in malicious unprovoked actions of aggression against the other.

"This has always been a community in which the races got along peaceably together, each understanding and adhering to the principles of Southern custom and preference. It intends to remain such a community. Let no hot-headed racial bigot, black or white, home-grown or in-migrant, doubt that if he expects to live long in Mobile without being separated from society by a set of bars."—*The Mobile Register*, August 12.

"The question of whether Negro teachers should receive the same pay as white teachers, where the qualifications are the same and the responsibility similar, is a matter that South Carolina must meet. And the best solution is to take the fair course, which is to equalize the compensation where on merit it is justified."—Columbia *State*, August 11.

"To argue that the Negro is better off in one section of the country than in another is exceedingly silly and beside the point, as anyone who desires to be honest with himself must admit that the Negro isn't very well off wherever he is. . . . But the task (of solving the problem) calls for a maximum of intelligence and understanding and a minimum of emotion and rabble rousing, among whites and blacks alike."—Bob McCracken in "The Crow's Nest," Corpus Christi *Caller-Times*, August 20.

"We have by our own action abolished the poll tax as a qualification for voting, we have without compulsion or court order equalized the pay of white and colored teachers, we have established for our Negro citizens a great system of public schools and a program of higher education and vocational training unequalled in the Nation.

"We have had no lynching in over 20 years and no race riot in over 40 years. In good faith, in a spirit of genuine friendliness and in spite of outside agitators, we are solving our race problems on a basis of mutual understanding and economic justice."—Radio address of Governor J. M. Broughton of North Carolina, Raleigh, August 7.

On Racial Discrimination

(*The Smithfield, N. C., Herald, July 28, 1944*)

There are Southern politicians who thrive on their outspoken advocacy of white supremacy because there is deep-rooted racial prejudice among many rank-and-file Southern citizens.

These politicians were described as "boiling mad" when the Democrats inserted the following plank in their platform adopted at the Chicago convention last week: "We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

If other sections of the nation obtain the impression that all the South is hostile to this plank of the platform, they have a wrong impression, because an increasingly large number of forward-looking Southerners know full well that Vice President Henry Wallace spoke the truth in his speech at the Democratic convention when he stated that racial discrimination in America is on the way out and they not only recognize the truth of the statement but they believe it to be their duty to exert their influence toward a hastening of the day when there will be no racial discrimination.

The racial equality plank adopted by the Democrats is but a reiteration of rights already guaranteed by the Constitution. The reiteration is necessary because there are politicians and selfish interest groups always seeking to circumvent the Constitution to deny Negroes and other race minorities in the United States opportunities for development and abundant living.

Forward-looking citizens of the South and of the nation do not oppose racial discrimination, however, merely because it is forbidden by the Constitution, but because it is eternally wrong and inconsistent with Christian principles which, after all, are the foundation stones of democracy.

The oft-predicted racial war in America will not materialize if the majority race honestly seeks to wipe out discrimination against the minority race. It is not a question of white supremacy or black supremacy—it is merely a question of whether a racial minority has "the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution."

An affirmative answer to that question will be both Christian and democratic—in keeping with the best traditions of American governmental progress. A negative answer will be in keeping with the methods of Hitler and the Nazi party.

The American Missionary Association Institute of Race Relations

By Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University

A group of one hundred thirty-seven Negro and white community leaders met at the Fisk University Department of Social Sciences, during the month of July, for three weeks of intensive study of current problems in race relations. Organized as the initial Institute of Race Relations of the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association, the meeting represented perhaps the first effort of its kind ever to be held in the South. As a part of the regular program of the Race Relations Division of the Association, the institute offered an intensive and practical course of study of the problems and methods of dealing with racial situations. Growing out of the heightened racial tensions in many areas of the North and South affected by war migrations and the complication of the major social problems of these areas by the factor of race, the institute was a response to the expressed needs of workers and community leaders all over the country for information and guidance.

Membership

Of the total membership of one hundred thirty-seven registrants, there were fifty-five Negro members, eighty-one whites and one Japanese. Representation came from thirty-one states and the District of Columbia, covering a geographical range from California in the West, to Texas in the South, and New Hampshire in the North and East. These were persons of mature experience, involved more or less directly with problems of race relations as matters of practical and immediate concern in daily work. Among the group, forty-seven persons were from northern areas, while ninety were individuals working and living in the South. The majority of registrants were engaged in social, medical, public health and religious work; a fourth were teachers, educators and students, and slightly less than a fifth were race relations specialists, community workers and journalists.

Organizations and individuals of national importance were represented in the institute membership, in addition to scores of local groups and organizations.

Course of Study

The curriculum for the institute centered around four general interest fields: (1) Race and Racial Theories, including anthropological and psychological aspects of race and race relations, and comparative race relations throughout the world; (2) Racial Aspects of Social Problems, covering racial tension areas in the United States, problems of racial adjustment and integration in industry, labor, housing, educational institutions and the church, social planning for minorities in the framework of city planning, and post-war problems of readjustment; (3) Methods, Techniques and Community Planning—a review and analysis of methods and practices in dealing with racial situations; and (4) The Role of Personal Religion in Human Relations.

There were eighty-seven lecture and discussion sessions during the twenty-one day institute. The resident faculty, composed of thirty-six lecturers and consultants, provided a valuable source of guidance, information and stimulation. Some of the Nation's most informed leaders were in this group.

Discussion Findings

It is not possible here even to highlight adequately the exhaustive discussion and lecture sessions, although it is useful to outline some of the methods and techniques suggested for changing existing patterns of race relations. The following methods were mentioned:

(1) The organization of private and official committees for both emergency and long-range planning and action programs.

(2) Extension of labor organization membership, training in labor methods and disciplines and identification of racial interests with those of labor.

(3) Encouragement of Negro migration from solid clusters in the South to small towns and cities of the North and West.

(4) Intensive programs of adult education among the culturally isolated Negro communities, particularly in cities, such education to include the inculcation of expected modes of urban behavior.

(5) Programs of inter-cultural education. Special days, weeks, or projects devoted to the contributions of minority groups are relatively easy but only satisfactory as a temporary expedient. Successful intercultural education should be interwoven throughout the school curriculum, emphasizing the part played by all groups, rather than stressing a particular minority.

(6) Intelligent use of the Negro vote.

(7) Utilization, as educational material for employers, of the successful industrial experiences of Negro workers.

(8) Extension of areas of personal contacts and relations.

(9) Skillful use of the press, motion pictures and radio to recondition public attitudes.

(10) Utilization of the social function of the church.

(11) In the South where segregation laws exist, insistence upon exact equalization can either improve facilities manyfold, or deteriorate segregation because of the unsupportable cost of maintaining dual institutions.

(12) Use of emotional media such as music and art in the creation of favorably-toned situations in which hostilities disappear.

(13) Cooperative self-help projects as illustrated in the Flanner House urban experiment (Indianapolis) and the rural cooperatives in North Carolina and Georgia.

(14) Planned education of children in the school and family in respect for human personalities across the superficial barriers of race and class.

(15) Use of pressure groups and pressure tactics, properly timed and intelligently executed.

(16) A work camp program of the type developed by the Friends Service Committee for the employment of non-violent solutions of social and economic conflicts and for the development of intelligent social attitudes for participation in community life.

(17) Abolition of segregation in the federal government, which has vast contacts and establishments throughout the country. With the proper application of political pressure it should be possible to break down the pattern of segregation in federal offices and services.

(18) Abolition of segregation in the church. The churches are uncomfortable about their racial attitudes. It should be possible in many cases to establish the principle that churches ought to be places in which practices are more Christian and democratic than outside them. Also, the churches run many institutions such as hospitals and schools. The policies of these institutions could well be brought in line with the philosophy of human brotherhood.

Conclusion

A final word might be given as to programs of race relations generally. It was suggested directly and indirectly that a program or activity for better race relations might be successful to the extent that it is able to make whites and Negroes feel, with respect to each other, more like "we" and less like "they."

It is important, but not enough, to attempt to modify behavior of Negroes by asking them to behave more circumspectly. Likewise with efforts to change the opinions of white people by showing them movies, pictures and books of Negroes, as Negroes who have achieved success in one field of endeavor or another. To demonstrate that Negroes can achieve as much as whites is probably not alone going to change the opinions of persons who still feel that they belong to one group and Negroes belong to another.

It would in general be useful to consider each device employed in race relations carefully in the light of two questions: Will the doing of it engender a feeling of solidarity in the whites and Negroes who are collaborating in it? Will the results contribute to or distract from the separateness of these two groups in our American population?

Equalization of Teachers' Salaries

(*Continued from Page 1*)

tial as between the salaries indicated above should be removed beginning July 1, 1944, so that the salaries of Negro teachers and white teachers, so fas as state funds are concerned, would be identical thereafter. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. Clyde A. Erwin, who is a member of the Board, offered a motion that the recommendation of the Governor be approved. This motion was carried by unanimous vote. In the budget for the school session 1944-1945, there was an allotment of approximately $250,000, which lacked only about $201,000 of being sufficient to eliminate all of the differential in 1944-1945. This difference was now provided, making the total for removal of the differential about $451,000 for 1944-1945.

The Financial Cost

While the statements above are both factual and historical, they do not tell the whole story, viz: What has it cost North Carolina in actual money to bring the salaries of Negro teachers and principals up to equality with white teachers and principals in all categories? This story is as follows:

1. In 1938-1939 the State School Commission allotted $118,000 to bring the maximum "A" grade Negro teacher's salary up from $96 to $100 per month.

2. Following that action of the Commission, the State Legislature has appropriated sums for reducing the differential as follows:

1939-1940	$250,000
1940-1941	500,000
1941-1942	750,000
1942-1943	1,000,000
1943-1944	1,281,250
1944-1945	1,769,657
GRAND TOTAL	$5,550,907

3. The further amount needed in keeping with Governor Broughton's recommendation as above, which was made available by the State Board of Education on June 8, 1944, was $201,000. This is included in the amount given for 1944-1945 above. However, the above Grand Total does not include the $118,000 listed under "1" above.

A casual glance at the figures for the six years listed above may not be sufficiently explanatory. Briefly, they mean that after the 1939-1940 initial legislative appropriation of $250,000 it required about that sum for each succeeding year plus the total cost for the preceding year; that is, until the current year, when the total sum for 1944-1945 includes also the $201,000 mentioned above.

The action of the State Board of Education, which body approved the Governor's recommendation, therefore places public school teachers' salaries, white and Negro, on an absolute equality basis in North Carolina, beginning July 1, 1944.

Here And There In The South

Southern Negro Youth

Twenty-odd Negro youth, a young white Southerner, and a young Japanese-American attended a two-week seminar conducted by the Southern Negro Youth Congress at the Atlanta University School of Social Work this summer. It was an amazingly successful seminar of young people who earnestly sought an understanding of the social problems facing youth of this generation.

The seminar said, "The valley of Negro rights has been flooded by the river of white supremacy. This is our fight to win the fruits of true democracy.

"We, as Negro youth, shall be crusaders for political justice, and securing our right of suffrage; educating the people in current and vital issues and stimulating the interest of our people. We shall try to promote good will and understanding among the races of our country and the world, thereby strengthening our great democracy and establishing economic freedom.

"We Negro youth will develop race-consciousness and instill in ourselves the value of self-confidence, dependability, self-determination, reliability. We will have an interest in personal appearance, personal integrity and the development of individual abilities and talents."

Miami

On Friday, September 1, and after a period of intensive training, five Negro men fully equipped with badges, nightsticks, guns, flashlights and authority became full-fledged members of the Miami, Florida, police force. The policemen were assigned to patrol the Washington Heights downtown section of the Florida city.

Another epochal move was made in Miami in late August when six white public officials, two county commissioners, two city commissioners, the Director of Public Safety and the Sheriff, together with six Negro citizens formed a committee "to do something." Said County Commissioner Grandon, "We don't want to sit around and talk. We want action and results. We have been talking about some of these problems for a long time. It's time now to do something."

The committee dug in on several things almost immediately—housing, health, transportation facilities, bathing beaches and schools. They were not fooling.

The Army

Our army included 698,911 Negroes on June 30, 1944. Of this number 5,957 were commissioned officers at all ranks from 2nd Lieutenant to Brigadier General. In the infantry were 44,869 soldiers. The artillery had 38,517, the engineers 128,789, the air forces 79,027. The remaining 407,709 were in other branches of the service.

The total number of Negroes in the army is greater than was the combined male population of Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston and New Orleans in 1940.

Segregation

Last month a War Department order directed all army post commanders to end the segregation of races with respect to the use of certain facilities on their posts. This official segregation, which had aggravated discriminatory practices, was terminated immediately at some Southern posts and belatedly at others. All in all, the reaction in the South was less violent than had been expected. However, the segregation-antisegregation lines of thought remained taut.

The Governor of Alabama wired President Roosevelt: "I protest such an order which violates a State-wide practice and belief and aggravates rather than helps. . . . It breaks down an essential principle of race relationship in the South and grievously handicaps those of us who are trying to bring about a better relationship between the two races and an improvement of both on equal bases."

The Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference, composed of 250 Negro ministers representing approximately 50,000 Baptists in the city, took this stand:

"1. The Negroes of Alabama have been law-abiding citizens, having done our part both as civilians and as soldiers as far as we have been allowed. We realize that segregation takes away from the Negro his constitutional rights.

"2. Because of segregation, the Negro has been kept out of the best institutions and technical schools, thereby impairing his preparation for the armed forces of the country.

"3. As Negroes we believe in our democratic form of government, and we believe that true democracy should work throughout America for all people, and therefore, we emphatically deny the statement made by anybody, anywhere, at any time, that we are satisfied with the evils of segregation."

Piney Woods

The Piney Woods Country Life School is loated in Piney Woods, Mississippi. It is one of those realistic, down-to-earth schools that meets the needs of people who live in the country areas of the South. Piney Woods has problems that are not so usual these days. First, it is located in Rankin County where there is no public library for Negroes, nor is there a library in either of the adjoining counties of Simpson and Smith. The 8,326 colored children in that region must rely upon the books available at Piney Woods School.

But Piney Woods has no library building. Many of its books are kept in boxes simply because there is no place for stacking them, no place where the children of those three counties and their adult friends and relatives can come to read them. Piney Woods wants to change that situation, as it has helped to change so many others in the past.

You can help them build a library by sending contributions of one dollar or more to the Piney Woods Library Fund, Piney Woods Country Life School, Piney Woods, Mississippi. That dollar will really go a long way.

CONFERENCE ON

"DEMOBILIZATION CHALLENGES THE CHURCH"

CENTRAL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

ATLANTA, GA.

November 1, 2, 1944

WHO MAY ATTEND — Presidents and the officers promoting social action and spiritual development in church, civic, social welfare and labor organizations. All people interested.

REGISTRATION FEE—$1.00 Send name and registration fee to Mrs. R. A. Long, 1082 St. Charles Place, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

NOVEMBER 1

10:00—Registration

10:30—Worship—Dr. Thomas Anderson.
Pastor Central Congregational Church.

Purpose of Conference.

The Church's Job In A Program of Demobilization—Dr. W. A. Smart, Emory University.

The American Home Today and Tomorrow—Dr. Henry Russell Stafford, Old South Church, Boston, Mass.

AFTERNOON AND EVENING SESSIONS

WORKSHOPS

2:00 to 5:00 and 7:30 to 9:30

I. THE CHURCH AND ITS MINISTRY TO THE FAMILY
Chairmen—Mrs. L. M. Awtrey, Dr. Lester Rumble.

II. FULL EMPLOYMENT
Chairmen—Dr. Ira de Reid, Dr. Joseph Smith.

III. GROUP COOPERATION AND DEMOCRACY
Chairmen—Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Dr. Benj. Mays.

IV. CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD
Chairmen—Miss Florence Van Sickler, Miss Frankie Adams.

NOVEMBER 2

10:00—Worship—Dean Raimundo De Ovies.

Reports on Findings from Workshops.

Discussion of Findings led by Dr. L. D. Haskew, Emory University.

What Next—

The Challenge—Dr. E. G. Mackay
Superintendent, Atlanta-East District.

General Chairman Findings Committees—Dr. Guy Johnson, Southern Regional Council.

SPONSORING COMMITTEE

(Organizations listed for identification only)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Jurisdiction Secretary of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Society of Christian Service, The Methodist Church.

Miss Daisy Davies, Jurisdiction Secretary of Spiritual Life, Woman's Society of Christian Service, The Methodist Church.

Mrs. H. A. Sterne
Mrs. Edward Mackay
Mrs. W. B. Suddeth
} Atlanta Council of Church Women

Mrs. William J. McAlpin, Georgia Council of Catholic Women.

Mrs. Lewis Hirsch, Jewish Council of Women.

Mrs. J. P. Borders, Atlanta Council of Negro Women.

Mrs. Eva Parks, Central Jurisdiction, The Methodist Church.

Mrs. Josephine Leibman, Atlanta League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Grace Town Hamilton, Atlanta Urban League.

Mr. Emmett Johnson, Emory University.

Mr. Glenn Rainey, Georgia School of Technology.

Miss Lucile Wilson, Georgia Conference of Social Work.

Miss Florence Van Sickler, Child Welfare Association —DeKalb and Fulton County.

Mrs. Mary Kate Duskin
Mrs. R. C. Nicholson
} Young Woman's Christian Association

Dr. Guy Johnson
Miss Margaret Fisher
} Southern Regional Conference

Mrs. R. A. Long, Chairman Youth Activities of Georgia Volunteer War Services, Parent Teacher Association.

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mrs. Rebecca Gershon
} Citizens Fact Finding Movement of Ga.

Miss Lucy Mason
Mr. Chas. Gilman
} Congress of Industrial Order

Miss Allie Mann, Georgia Federation of Trades.

Mrs. Guy Johnson, St. Mark's Methodist Church.

Mr. Frank D. Alexander, Regional Office, Dept. of Agriculture.

Rev. W. S. Norton, Board of Education, The Methodist Church.

Mrs. Frank Alexander, Central Congregational Church.

RESOURCE PEOPLE

I. THE CHURCH AND ITS MINISTRY TO THE FAMILY

Dr. Henry Russell Stafford, Old South Church, Boston, Mass.

Mrs. William J. McAlpin, Georgia Council of Catholic Women.

Dr. John W. Haywood, President Gammon Theological Seminary.

Mrs. H. A. Sterne, Atlanta Council of Church Women.

Mrs. Eva Parks, Central Jurisdiction, the Methodist Church.

Mrs. J. Elmer Slider, Chairman Character and Spiritual Education, Georgia Congress of Parent Teachers Association.

Miss Angela Cox, Family Welfare Society, Fulton and DeKalb Counties.

Mrs. Kemper Harrell, Young Woman's Christian Association.

Mrs. W. B. Suddeth, Atlanta Council of Church Women.

Mrs. Stewart Colley, Woman's Society of Christian Service, North Georgia Methodist Conference.

Mr. John P. Broome, Regional Office Federal Housing Authority.

Mrs. W. S. Frost, Ass't State Director, Ga. War Services Council.

II. FULL EMPLOYMENT

Mrs. Mary Kate Duskin
Mrs. Irene Harris
} Young Woman's Christian Association

Mr. Frank Alexander, Regional Office, Department of Agriculture.

Miss Lucy Mason
Mr. Chas. Gilman
} Congress of Industrial Order

Mr. W. Y. Bell, Jr., National Urban League.

Mr. L. D. Milton, Citizens' Trust Company of Georgia.

Mrs. Rebecca Gershon, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia.

Miss Margaret Fisher, Southern Regional Council.

Miss Lucile Wilson, Georgia Conference of Social Work.

Miss Daisy Davies, Jurisdiction Secretary of Spiritual Life, Methodist Woman's Society of Christian Service.

Mrs. Lewis Hirsch, Jewish Council of Women.

Mrs. R. D. McNeill
Mrs. A. A. Hardy
Mrs. W. A. Newell
} Secretaries of Christian Social Relations, Methodist Woman's Society of Christian Service.

III. GROUP COOPERATION AND DEMOCRACY

Dr. M. Ashby Jones, Baptist Minister.

Rabbi David Marx, The Temple.

Mr. Glenn Rainey, Georgia School of Technology.

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Atlanta Urban League.

Mrs. Guy Johnson, Former Professor, University of North Carolina.

Miss Josephine Wilkins, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia.

Mrs. Josephine Leibman, Atlanta League of Women Voters.

Dr. R. L. Russell, Methodist Church, McDonough, Georgia.

Dr. Nat Long, Peachtree Road Methodist Church.

Dr. Milton Richardson, St. Luke Episcopal Church.

Mrs. C. C. Sapp, Woman's Society of Christian Service, Methodist Church.

IV. CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD

Mrs. R. A. Long, Chairman Youth Activities, Georgia Volunteer War Services.

Dr. Robert Burns, Peachtree Christian Church.

Rev. and Mrs. Lamar Hocker, Peachtree Christian Church.

Mrs. E. G. Mackay, Atlanta Council of Church Women.

Mr. Weaver Marr, Boy Scouts of America.

Mr. Forrester Washington } Atlanta School of
Mrs. Annie Lee Davis } Social Work

Miss Allie Mann, Georgia Federation of Trades.

Mr. Emmett Johnson, Emory University.

Mrs. Frank Alexander, Central Congregational Church.

Mr. Charles R. Cohen, Children's Service Bureau.

Rev. Leon Smith, St. Mark Methodist Church.

Mrs. Rembert Green, Methodist Youth Fellowship.

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SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 26, 1944

Dear Friend:

We should like to call your attention to the very significant Conference on Demobilization, which will be held November 1-2 at the Central Congregational Church, 130 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

The Southern Regional Council is cooperating with church groups in the sponsorship of this conference. We hope that you will attend as many sessions as possible.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

Enclosure

SRC BULLETIN

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

No. 1 For Members of the Southern Regional Council Nov. 10, 1944

ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of members of the SRC was postponed in the hope that we could arrange for two public evening sessions at which we could present speakers who could focus public attention on the problems of the South with special reference to the post-war period. When it became apparent that the desired speakers would not make any commitments until after the presidential election, it was necessary to go ahead and set a date for the annual meeting. By vote of the Executive Committee, the meeting will be held on Wednesday, December 6. There is still a possibility, now that the election is behind us, that a prominent liberal leader will consent to speak on the evening of December 5 or 6.

The meeting of SRC members will be held at Atlanta University at 10:30 A. M., December 6. The Board of Directors will meet immediately after the member meeting. This may be in the afternoon or evening of December 6, or even on the morning of December 7, depending on the time of adjournment of the member meeting.

The Executive Committee and the standing committees will be called for December 5. If you are a member of any of these committees, please look out for the announcement of committee schedules and make your plans to attend.

OUR NEW QUARTERS

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation reduced its staff during the last few years of its existence and gave up some of its rooms. When the Council took over the Commission quarters at 710 Standard Building, it was soon faced with the problem of space. It was impossible to get any additional room in Standard Building. In fact, the Southern Area Council of the Y. M. C. A., from whom we sub-rented, was pressing us to give up more space to their own expanding needs.

There was no choice but to look for new quarters. And what a job! Atlanta was full of government and private agencies looking for office space. When the situation seemed almost hopeless, Bishop Arthur J. Moore came to our rescue. The Wesley Memorial Building, owned by the North Georgia Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church, had a lot of space on its fourth floor which was being remodeled to house the Bishop's offices and other church activities. Through the kindness of the Bishop and the Building Committee, the Council was able to secure space in Wesley Memorial Building.

It was necessary to build partitions, to paint, put in floor covering, install light fixtures, etc., but after weeks of planning and construction we finally moved to our new quarters during the week of October 16.

We have twice our previous floor space for less rent, and we hope that our space problem is solved for several years.

Be sure to visit our new quarters when you are in Atlanta: Room 432 at 63 Auburn Avenue. Wesley Memorial Building is located at the corner of Auburn and Ivy. Enter on Auburn Avenue at the corner of the building farthest from Ivy and take the elevator to the fourth floor.

THE STAFF Have you tried lately to employ someone with very special qualifications? It isn't easy to find 'em, is it? Most of the bright young people of the sort we should like to have are either in the Service or in jobs which they are reluctant to leave.

On June 1 we obtained the services of Miss Margaret L. Fisher, formerly with the War Manpower Commission, to work in public relations. Miss Fisher resigned on November 1 to work with another agency. We are now on the trail of a publicity and editorial man, as well as two persons who can work actively in the field with state and local agencies and who can build up our financial support within the South. Here's hoping that we can present one or more new staff members at the annual meeting.

FINANCES It looks as if we shall just about break even on our 1944 budget. We are not particularly proud of this, because if we could have obtained the personnel we wanted, we should be glad to face a sizeable deficit.

Please bear in mind that a budget of about $38,000 is all right for an exploratory and planning year with a small staff, but if this Council is going to serve the South as it should, it must have a much broader financial base. We need at least $75,000 a year for the next three years.

MEMBERSHIP Although we have not had the facilities for putting on an intensive membership campaign, Council membership has grown to more than 400. More than one-third of these members have made contributions ranging from $1.00 to $25.00. The present dues of $1.00 a year are barely sufficient to pay the cost of carrying a member. Should these dues be raised? This question should receive your attention at the annual meeting.

COORDINATION CONFERENCE Your Executive Director will go to Washington on November 22 to attend a conference called by the American Council on Race Relations for the purpose of working out a division of labor and a better coordination of the work of the major agencies which are interested in race relations.

DEMOBILIZATION CONFERENCE The Executive Directors are glad to have had a part in the planning and execution of a conference on the theme of "Demobilization Challenges the Church" which was held

in Atlanta on November 1 and 2. The personnel at the conference included representatives of numerous religious and social agencies in several Southeastern states. After addresses by Dr. Russell H. Stafford, of Old South Church, Boston, and Dr. W. A. Smart of Emory University the conference divided into four work shop groups to discuss problems of the post war period: (1) Full employment, (2) Children and Youth, (3) The Churches' Ministry to the Family, (4) Group Tensions. The Council is distributing the findings of the work shop groups. We shall be glad to send copies on request.

FUTURE CONFERENCES — We hope, the budget permitting, to sponsor the following conferences early in 1945: (1) a conference of the leaders of women's groups in the South in the interest of constructive social action, (2) a conference of the heads of state interracial agencies for the purpose of coordinating the program and strategy of the SRC and the state organizations, (3) a conference of Fellows of the SRC.

PROPOSED PAMPHLETS — We want to issue a series of solid and authoritative pamphlets on various Southern problems. The list includes such subjects as The Southern People, Politics and Good Government, The Poll Tax, The Police and Race Relations, The Equalization of Educational Opportunities, Full Employment, Domestic Service, Freight Rates, Small Loans, and Sermons for Southerners.

Some of these pamphlets will be produced by our own staff, others by the best authorities we can get. We have already negotiated with certain experts and we have tentative commitments for the writing of several pamphlets.

STATE INTERRACIAL GROUPS — Because of the merging of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation with the SRC and the inability of the SRC at present to continue financial assistance to the state interracial groups, we have faced the problems of working out anew a satisfactory working relationship with these organizations. We have attended meetings of the state groups in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, and we feel that we have made some progress.

Since SRC differs from the Commission in structure and in its broad membership, the problem of working out some direct structural relationship with state groups is not easy. However, we have two definite plans which are being proposed to the state interracial organizations. In Plan I the state group would resolve itself into a state division of the SRC; that is, all SRC members living in that particular state would constitute the state division. In Plan II the state group would become an affiliate of SRC in a somewhat informal sense. One state organization has already expressed a readiness to adopt Plan I.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEES — From time to time there arise cases which SRC might well handle for the protection of the civil rights of citizens in the region. The central staff cannot undertake to investigate personally all such cases. Therefore we should like to proceed to the establishment of Civil Rights Committees in all our thirteen states. Each committee would be composed of five Council members and a legal advisor who may or may not be a member of the Council, and the duty of the Committees would be to advise the Executive Directors as to what action the Council should take in cases involving civil rights.

November 17, 1944

Dear Dr. Odum:

The accompanying copy of a letter to Dr. Johnson is self-explanatory. I have not easily brought myself to the writing of it, and have done so only after an unsuccessful effort to reason myself out of the responsibility.

Since the call for the meeting to which I have referred would come from the President of the Council, let me repeat to you my request that a meeting of the Board be held prior to the Council meeting on December 6.

Sincerely yours,

Josephine Wilkins

Dr. Howard W. Odum, President
Southern Regional Council
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

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November 17, 1944

Dear Guy:

The accompanying letter is written in a spirit of high purpose, to meet what appears to me to be a responsibility which I cannot by-pass, though I should like to.

In sending a copy of the letter to Dr. Odum, I have repeated the request for the meeting to which I refer, realizing that its call would come from him as President of the Council.

Sincerely,

Josephine Wilkins

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 17, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Bulletin of November 10 for members of the Southern Regional Council is well done, and the serial number appearing on it seems to indicate that the issue inaugurates a regular service to members which I would wholeheartedly commend.

I regret however to learn from the Bulletin, and from notice received subsequently, that no provision is being made for a meeting of the Board of Directors prior to the forthcoming meeting of the Council. Unless such a meeting is held, the Board will manifestly have no opportunity to submit proposals and recommendations to the Council, nor will it be in position to offer the leadership expected from such an elected body at a general meeting of members.

I am aware that our By-Laws require only a post-Council meeting of the Board, and that they do not call for the customary meeting of an elected board before a general meeting of members. You will recall my speaking of this when I came over to talk with you before accepting membership on the Executive Committee. But after all we adopted the By-Laws through merely hearing them read at the charter meeting. I was under the impression that you promptly recognized that without a Board meeting prior to each Council meeting we could not conduct a membership organization with any semblance of democratic procedure. I remember we discussed the fact that under Article IV, Sections 3 and 4, dealing with meetings of the Board, the situation could be readily met until the By-Laws were amended.

Perhaps the forthcoming meeting of the Council is contemplated primarily as a meeting to hear reports, but even if this is the case there is still the matter of its acting upon a proposed program and a proposed budget for the coming year. From whom will these proposals come? I note there is to be a meeting of the Executive Committee prior to that of the Council. Still this group is only a committee of the Board with the responsibility of functioning between meetings of the latter body. Would it not be unusual procedure to have proposals come from the Executive Committee to the Council when the Board members themselves are due in Atlanta?

In meetings thus far held by the Council, the practices of business organizations and universities have been cited several times in support of procedures advocated for the Council. But we are conducting neither a business nor a university: we are carrying on a membership organization. And as long as we represent ourselves as a membership organization, we cannot too often remind ourselves, it seems to me, that in such an organization authority rests in the members; that the Board of Directors consists of their elected representatives; that the Board's Executive Committee bears this responsibility between meetings of the Board itself; and that the Administrative Staff functions only under the authority granted to it and gives leadership by means of proposals and recommendations to the Board and its Executive Committee and through them to the general membership.

Referring again to my conversation with you in your office before I accepted appointment on the Executive Committee, you will recall my asking whether you contemplated this committee as a working one, assuming the customary responsibilities of such a group, or whether you thought of it as merely a paper committee. You assured me that it was to be a functioning committee, and it was with this understanding that I accepted membership. The minutes of the initial meeting of the Executive Committee, held on March 22, state:

> "After discussion, it was suggested that the Committee meet once a month, or at least every two months, until the annual meeting in October. The fourth Wednesday in each month was tentatively agreed upon as the regular date until October."

No further meetings of this group have been held, with the exception of the one prior to the meeting of the Board on April 28, and no communication regarding their omission has been received by the members.

As a member of the Executive Committee as well as of the Board of Directors, I ask that a pre-Council meeting of the Board be held, in order that the Board may consider the agenda for the Council meeting on December 6 and that it may have the opportunity to make proposals and recommendations to the members when they come together on that day. Call for such a meeting might be issued any time through November 25 and still conform to the advance notice required in our By-Laws. If time does not permit pre-Council meetings of both the Executive Committee and the Board, I ask that the time already allotted to the Executive Committee be given over to a meeting of the Board.

I am prompted to make this request by my interest in the Southern Regional Council. For many months I have been troubled by our seeming disregard of the necessary rules of democratic procedure.

Sincerely yours,

Josephine Wilkins

cc
Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Assoc. Executive Director
Dr. Howard W. Odum, President
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Executive Committee Chairman
Dr. W. W. Alexander
Members of the Executive Committee

The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

VOL. V | NOVEMBER, 1944 | NO. 11

Easing Our Inter-Regional Tensions

By Emeric Kurtagh
(*Head Resident, Kingsley House, New Orleans*)

Signs of Tension

There are today signs of an increasing tension between the two major regions of our country—North and South. Perhaps it might be more accurate to describe this tension as one between two cultural patterns or two sets of folkways rather than between two geographic areas.

This tension has serious implications affecting our unity as a nation now at war and later in the postwar period. Conflicts have arisen in different parts of the country—North as well as South. If the present tensions are permitted to continue, we may see more outbreaks of disunity and violence.

For the purposes of the present discussions, one might ignore the violent outbreaks that occurred in Detroit, Beaumont, Mobile, and New York, and consider rather the steady and subtle undercurrent of tension that is present wherever conflicting folkways and cultural patterns meet. The exigencies of war have enlarged tremendously the area in which there is an uncontrolled interplay of these different folkways and have thereby increased the areas of potential conflict.

The war has presented us with the problem of migration on an unparalleled scale. Millions of our military personnel are being shifted around the country, often followed by their wives and families. War workers move in tremendous numbers between far off places. Groups of teachers, social workers, nurses, and other professional workers, numerically small but important, are also part of this migration.

The unprecedented migration between regions has great potentialities for good or for evil. Every in-migrant is an unofficial ambassador of good will or ill will, as the case may be. This twentieth century movement of masses of which he is a part may lead to a greater understanding between our regions and a greater unity of our country as a nation. Or it may lead to a sharpening of differences and a period of intolerance and disunity. No one can know which one of these extreme outcomes, if either, will prevail, but it might be very valuable for groups who believe in educational programs designed to increase inter-regional understanding and to interpret our conflicting folkways. Such programs of education might well affect the eventual outcome of this problem.

*Reprinted by permission from the *Adult Education Journal*, October, 1944.

Causes of Tension

Some of the causes of friction and tension between our regions, especially between the North and South, are: 1) attitudes toward the Negro: segregation, discrimination, withholding of political and civil rights, denial of economic and educational opportunities; 2) attitudes of the Negro toward segregation, discrimination, etc.; 3) attitudes toward the family, education, church, class, place of women; 4) attitudes toward work and work habits, planning, invention, originality; 5) attitudes toward government, law, unwritten law, justice, politics. This list could be extended considerably, but it will suffice to show the wide range of divergent attitudes and folkways with which we are dealing.

Regional Handbooks

It is perfectly understandable that exposure to the folkways of the South will produce dismay and antagonism among newcomers from other parts of the country. But almost any person, once given an opportunity to understand the background of southern ways, the whys and wherefores of southern behavior, will develop a more effective relationship to the South. Sometimes I wonder if our war leadership—which had the foresight to develop special pamphlets for our servicemen going abroad, instructing them in the ways of England, North Africa, or Australia—could develop similar materials for the use of our troops going South. Civilians on the move also might well use some similar handbooks.

Bringing about a better understanding between our two major regions would call for educational statesmanship on a giant scale. And it should be remembered that this job of interpretation ought to cut both ways: explaining the South to the North and the North to the South.

Community Leadership

There is another and somewhat more limited problem: the problem of leadership in southern communities or other communities where the job of day-to-day leadership has to be performed against a backdrop of tenseness and prejudice. There are many professional workers in southern cities who come from other parts of the country. They represent what might be called "imported" leadership. The vast majority of these voluntary emigres are sincerely enthusiastic about the vast potentialities of the Southland and its significant place in the future of America. Temporary or permanent residents of the South, they are eager to contribute to the healthy growth of these regions and to their integration with the rest of the country.

Workers' Dilemma

In the peculiar position they occup in their respective communities, these workers are often beset with doubts and perplexities. They ask themselves such questions as these: Can I do a good job as a specialist in my field without actively taking sides in general community problems? What should be my role in relation to the controversial issues of my community? How far can I go in cultivating positive and accepting attitudes toward my community and its folkways without actually strengthening and confirming them? How can I stay on the side of the line beyond which the habit of making concessions may become an occupational disease?

In trying to find a level which affords both personal satisfaction and professional effectiveness, leadership has a difficult road to travel. At the one extreme are those who withdraw to an attitude of isolationism. At the other extreme are those who practice mimicry to the point where they identify themselves completely with their new community, including its most extreme folkways. And in between are the great majority of workers making accommodations of one kind or another.

Leadership Training

There are several national agencies, public and private, which select and appoint workers for important posts in the South. In most cases, such workers are not given any special preparation to meet the peculiar problems and tensions of the South. Of course there is always the opportunity to learn by the method of trial and error, the hard way. But there are many more who experience failure or frustration. It seems to me that important gains could be made by a plan that would provide special preparation and training for workers who are to function in south-

(*Continued on Page 4*)

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Howard W. Odum ..... *President*
P. B. Young ..... *Vice-President*
Homer P. Rainey ..... *Vice-President*
Carter Wesley ..... *Vice-President*
Charles S. Johnson ..... *Chmn. of Executive Com.*
Guy B. Johnson ..... *Executive Director*
Ira DeA. Reid ..... *Associate Executive Director*
Emily H. Clay ..... *Secretary-Treasurer*

Subscription rate . . . . . 25c a year

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, NOVEMBER, 1944

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

The "Sharecroppers Country"

The National Sharecroppers Fund was established in 1943 in an effort to help the agricultural workers, tenant farmers, and sharecroppers of the South through acquainting the nation with the problems of the nine million people directly affected by the marginal nature of southern agriculture and through supporting those movements working toward the economic and social emancipation of these agricultural workers. The "Magna Charta for Southern Agriculture" published elsewhere in this issue is the Fund's statement of objectives for attacking the "sharecropper system" at its roots while providing land for the returning landless soldier. In attaining these objectives NSF hopes to do more than deal fairly with the returned soldier, as is contemplated by the "GI Bill of Rights." It hopes to erase a great historic blot upon the economic record of American democracy.

The increasing landlessness of the Southern rural population has been greatly accelerated by the War. State governments and chambers of commerce have shown great concern over the impending disaster that awaits a region so dependent upon the soil for its survival. Some of these agencies are advocating and advancing plans for ameliorating these conditions, which plans, along with the "Magna Charta," should invite constructive thought and action.

But over and above the problems of agricultural commodities and infertile soil are the pressing problems of people in the region who are being disinherited by the demands of war, the technological changes, and the social pressures of poverty, illiteracy, race, and coercion. It is fairly certain that all of the farm hands who went to the wars will return to farm under the pre-war system of agricultural insufficiency. It is to be doubted that the rural workers who moved down to the coastal cities of the South to build ships and perform day laboring tasks will return to the soil from which they stemmed. And if the protests similar to one appearing in the Charlotte, North Carolina, *Observer* continue, it is evident that the old system of racial exploitation in agriculture will receive a severe shaking. The protest was a simple one. The Negro schools of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, were closed for cotton picking. The white schools were not closed. The correspondent stated, "I feel that all of us should help in every possible way to relieve the situation for the benefit of all concerned, but should it be one-sided?"

The needed reformation in southern agriculture must not be one-sided. Owners, managers, and tenants, government, banker, and operator, whites and Negroes, all have a tremendous stake in this situation. The only constructive, effective answer is to be found in ways that develop, conserve and use to the fullest the human and natural resources of the region. We need not continue a "grapes of wrath" type of agriculture. We need not continue breeding a region of landless farmers.

The Cotton Textile Workers

They work at a bewildering variety of jobs. They are doffers, slubber tenders, rovers, spinners, slashers, tie-in-girls, weavers, loomfixers, loop cutters, sweepers, bleachers, dyers, and a hundred other familiar things.

Basically, however, they do two things, today as two thousand years ago. They spin the cotton fibres into thread, and they weave the thread into cloth.

Four out of five of them live and work in the South, the rest being mostly in New England.

The nationality pattern is tremendously variegated. In New England, the French Canadians are most numerous, filling the bulk of the jobs, with a top layer of Yankees and Scotch-English holding down the more skilled jobs by virtue of having got in on the ground floor in the last century. Other nationalities crop up thickly in certain places: Poles in Massachusetts and Connecticut; Portugese in New Bedford and Fall River; Italians in Utica, N. Y., and throughout Rhode Island. In the South, this variety yields to perhaps the most complete homogeneity of any major group of working people in the country. Almost all the Southern textile workers are old-line Americans from our last great reservoir of pure Anglo-Saxon stock—the hill districts of the Southeast Piedmont. There are at present only a handful of Negroes in the Southern mills, nearly all of them in low-paid custodial jobs.

Whatever their nationality, all of them, Northerners and Southerners alike, live and work in the two classic "depressed areas" of the United States: the have-seen-better-days New England manufacturing towns, and the not-quite-yet-developed industrial areas of the South. It is also significant that most of them are not to be found in the big metropolitan centers of these regions, but in the "back country" or in smaller cities which tend to be self-contained communities where the textile mills are the only important industrial enterprise.—*"The Story of the Cotton Textile Workers." Textile Workers Union of America.* 1944.

A Magna Charta for Southern Agriculture*

WE PROPOSE that every veteran of the armed services who shall have been discharged under conditions other than dishonorable shall have the right, subject to reasonable tests as to his ability and experience as a farmer, to government aid in securing ownership of a fairly-valued, "family size" farm. The size of such farm will vary in different localities, according to the conditions of the soil, crops, and climate, but in every case the measure will be the ability of the farm, under careful cultivation, to support adequately a family. The inclusion of every item of labor-saving machinery necessary in the operation of the specific farm is envisaged.

WE PROPOSE that the purchase be financed by an appropriate public agency, either through direct loan or through total government guarantee of any loan contracted through ordinary commercial channels. Cheap credit not to exceed four per cent per annum and long-term amortization privileges of not less than twenty years are contemplated.

WE HOLD IT ESSENTIAL that there be no discrimination on account of race, creed, or color, and specifically between Negro and white, in the administration of these benefits.

**Proposed by the National Sharecroppers Fund and subscribed by 65 distinguished citizens.*

Some Questions and Answers

Do you think Negroes have the same chance as white people in this country? Sixty per cent of the whites living in the South said "Yes"; 37% said "No"; 85% of the Negroes believed that their race has unequal opportunities.

These opinions were the result of a nation-wide population sample of public opinion obtained by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver. Persons covered by this poll believed, among other things, that some white people dislike Negroes because of their race and color; some look down on them as inferior; some believe Negroes do not have the capacity to take advantage of educational and economic opportunities; some, that Negroes lack ambition and initiative; some, that the Negro's own aggressiveness is a handicap; some, that Negroes have as good a chance as they deserve; and some, that whites don't like to mix and associate with Negroes.

One person reported: "Negroes are not supposed to have an equal chance to make a living. The Bible says they're the white man's slave."

FROM THE PRESS

Amendment No. 3

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

Why add another amendment to the constitution when we ignore the provision which requires that the basis of representation should be adjusted every 10 years to conform to the changes in population as shown by the census? It is a shame that the people of Jefferson County should humbly and dumbly submit to be defrauded of their rights in this matter.

Some are afraid that white supremacy will be endangered if this amendment No. 3 is made. Instead of attempting to deprive the Negro of his constitutional rights as a citizen by every kind of chicanery, equivocation, evasion and pettifogging device that our magnanimous lawmakers can contrive, we should encourage every citizen, white or black, rich or poor, to take part in political affairs to insure the general welfare. The broader the base, the steadier and stronger the structure.

The Negro population is less than 50 per cent in any Southern state. It is extremely improbable that they will vote solidly and as a unit in any state election in support of any party or policy, even where Negro interests are directly concerned. It used to be supposed that all Negroes would vote only as Republicans. Recently Negroes have attempted to vote in Southern Democratic primaries and have been excluded from them.

In national affairs, the Negro minority is about one-tenth of our total population. It is absurd to suppose that this Negro minority can endanger and nullify the will of the much more numerous white population who are better educated, richer and occupy a position of overwhelming dominance in the courts, in political affairs, in the business world, in social organization and are firmly established by long existing custom.

Bret Hart's Truthful James inquires:

"Do I dream, do I doubt or are visions about?
Is civilization a failure, or is the Caucasian played out?"

We say: No.

We can gratify the laudable ambition of the Negro for full citizenship without the slightest danger to the established order, political or social.—Archibald Leishman. —*Birmingham News*, November 5, 1944.

Not Subject to Law

John M. Daniel, the attorney general, ruled that the primary election the other day to name a successor to the late Hamp P. Fulmer was not an election within the meaning of South Carolina's state law requiring liquor stores to be closed on "election days."

The election was, of course, a primary election and since the general assembly repealed all of the primary laws in an effort to prevent the federal court from holding that Negroes must be allowed to participate in the primaries, presumably primary elections are no longer elections within the meaning of the state laws. It remains yet to be seen whether the special session will actually prevent the Supreme Court's deciding that Negroes may not participate in the extra-legal primaries which South Carolina is now holding.

Already, by the attorney general's opinion, it has succeeded in leaving liquor stores open for primary election days. This probably doesn't matter much now since there isn't very much liquor for sale in South Carolina, but it may be significant after the war.—Columbia, South Carolina, *Record*, November 10, 1944.

Our Health Department

Bleckley County now has a fine new Health Center, with facilities for both white and colored residents. The new Health Center opened this week and is certainly the pride of all Bleckley County.

The new offices, the equipment and furnishings were made possible by the City of Cochran, the County Commissioner, several civic organizations but more particularly by the hard work and determination of the County Nurse, Mrs. Richard Parramore, and her able assistant, Mrs. Bryant Williams.

Mrs. Parramore and Mrs. Williams deserve the thanks of all and both deserve full credit for the new Health Center. This is another example of what can be done to improve our community and county if only we have the DETERMINATION and the AMBITION to really do things and not assume the "business as usual" attitude and become the victims of procrastination.—Cochran, Georgia, *Journal*, October 26, 1944.

The President Speaks

The future of America, like its past, must be made by deeds—not words.

America has always been a land of action—a land of adventurous pioneering—a land of growing and building.

America must always be such a land.

The creed of our democracy is that liberty is acquired and kept by men and women who are strong and self-reliant, and possessed of such wisdom as God gives to mankind—men and women who are just, and understanding, and generous to others—men and women who are capable of disciplining themselves.

For they are the rulers and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our Democratic faith and in the future of our country which has given eternal strength and vitality to that faith.—*Franklin D. Roosevelt speaking in Chicago, Illinois, October*, 1944.

Two More Lynchings

The record has been stained by two recent lynchings. On November 3 Robert Lee, a Negro who had fatally assaulted Arthur Harris, Troup County, Georgia, jailer, was shot to death by a civilian member of a posse near Rock Mills, Alabama. His slayer claimed that when he overtook Lee, the Negro turned to throw a large rock at him, so that he was obliged to shoot in "self defense."

At Pikeville, Tennessee, on November 23, James I. Scales, young Negro trusty at the Tennessee Training and Agricultural School, who was accused of slaying the daughter and wife of the superintendent of the institution, was removed from the county jail and shot to death by a small group of white men on the grounds of the reformatory. Governor Prentice Cooper immediately announced that "there will be a full investigation of both the murder and the lynching," and offered a reward of $500 for arrest and conviction of the lynchers.

Negroes Ask for Postgrad Funds

The State Board of Regents has been asked to make it possible for graduates of the three state colleges for Negroes to pursue post-graduate and professional work at universities which award higher degrees . . .

The petition, signed jointly by H. M. Bond, of Fort Valley State College; Aaron Brown, of Albany State College, and Benjamine F. Hubert, of Georgia State College at Savannah, asked the regents to adopt the principle that they "are liable to provide such opportunities for Negroes as are now provided for white persons."—*Atlanta Journal*, November 21, 1944.

The Chicago Round Table

"We have seen that the color-line problem is a recent problem—not one of long standing in human history. It is a social problem which has become an international problem.

"The problem is urgent now, we think, because of the improvement in communication, the shift in industrial power, and the use of color-line propaganda by great powers in our modern world. It is, therefore, a matter of intense urgency for the American people to think constructively and to strive diligently for further improvements in the matter of race relations and color discrimination within the United States. Only as we solve the problem locally—that is, within our own country—can these United States of America make their maximum contribution in international relations throughout the world."—*Ernest C. Colwell, vice-president of the University of Chicago, closing the Round Table's discussion of "Peace as a World Race Problem." Chicago. August* 20, 1944.

Freedom: Promise or Fact*

By Eleanor Roosevelt

IF I WERE a Negro today, I think I would have moments of great bitterness. It would be hard for me to sustain my faith in democracy and to build up a sense of goodwill toward men of other races.

I think, however, that I would realize that if my ancestors had never left Africa, we would be worse off as "natives" today under the rule of any other country than I am in this country where my people were brought as slaves.

In a comparatively short period of time the slaves have become free men—free men, that is, as far as a proclamation can make them so. There now remains much work to be done to see that freedom becomes a fact and not just a promise for my people.

I know, however, that I am not the only group that has to make a similar fight. Even women of the white race still suffer inequalities and injustices, and many groups of white people in my country are the slaves of economic conditions. All the world is suffering under a great war brought about because of the lag in our social development as against the progress in our economic development.

I would know that I had to work hard and to go on accomplishing the best that was possible under present conditions. Even though I was held back by generations of economic inequality, I would be proud of those of my race who are gradually fighting to the top in whatever occupation they are engaged in.

I would still feel that I ought to participate to the full in this war. When the United Nations win, certain things will be accepted as a result of principles which have been enunciated by the leaders of the United Nations, which never before have been part of the beliefs and practices of the greater part of the world.

I would certainly go on working for complete economic equality and my full rights under a democratic government. I would decide which were the steps that I felt represented my real rights as a citizen and I would work for those first, feeling that other things such as social relationships might well wait until certain people were given time to think them through and decide as individuals what they wished to do.

I would not do too much demanding. I would take every chance that came my way to prove my quality and my ability and if recognition was slow, I would continue to prove myself, knowing that in the end good performance has to be acknowledged.

I would accept every advance that was made in the Army and Navy, though I would not try to bring those advances about any more quickly than they were offered. I would certainly affiliate with the labor movement because there is the greatest opportunity for men to work side by side and find out that it is possible to have similar interests and to stand by each other, regardless of race or color.

I would try to remember that unfair and unkind treatment will not harm me if I do not let it touch my spirit. Evil emotions injure the man or woman who harbors them so I would try to fight down resentment, the desire for revenge and bitterness. I would try to sustain my own faith in myself by counting over my friends and among them there would undoubtedly be some white people.

*Reprinted by permission from the *Negro Digest*, (5619 South State Sa., Chicago, Ill.) Vol. I, No. 12, October, 1943.

The Urban League Resolves

The National Urban League at its Annual Convention held in Columbus, Ohio, September 28-October 3, resolved that:

"The South, while *economic problem* number one, also is *economic opportunity* number one, and is destined to play an increasingly larger role in national affairs. Four out of five Negro Americans still live in southern and border states where the Negro's social problems are found in their most acute form. War-time migration has intensified in other regions racial tensions and social maladjustments which may be traced back to southern origin.

"We believe that basic attempts to meet the social welfare problems facing American Negroes must be based upon preventive, constructive work in the area from which the problems stem.

"We affirm, therefore, our recognition of the need for increased attention to the social problems of Negroes in the South; and urge the development and execution of plans for increased service by the National Urban League to that area."

Edward L. Bernays Award

In February, 1945, the Race Relations Department of the Federal Council of Churches will award to an American citizen, white or Negro, whose efforts in the race relations field have been outstanding, the Edward L. Bernays Award consisting of a Series E, $1,000 war bond and an engrossed scroll.

The purpose of the award is to focus public attention upon constructive, cooperative efforts to remove racial tensions and conflicts and to insure better personal and group relations between white and Negro people of the United States.

The judges are: Virginius Dabney, Editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Virginia; Dorothy Canfield Fisher, author, Arlington, Vermont; William H. Hastie, Dean of Howard University Law School, Washington, D. C.; Leslie Pinckney Hill, President, Cheyney Training School for Teachers, Cheyney, Pennsylvania; and Samuel M. Lindsay, Economic Advisor of the Harmon Foundation and Professor Emeritus, Columbia University, New York City.

A Young People's Institute

The Young People's Institute of the Universalist Convention of North Carolina was held in June at Shelter Neck, N. C. After discussing the racial situation, the members "unanimously resolved and pledged themselves:

"1. To speak with respect of all races and creeds and to discard the use of the word 'nigger.'

"2. To seek acquaintance with the cultural and scientific contributions of great Negroes. (Suggested reading Negro Newspapers—The Pittsburg Courier, the Crisis, The Norfolk Journal, The Afro-American. Read biographies of great Negroes.)

"3. Support political and government issues that will provide better economic and educational opportunities for Negroes.

"4. Treat all persons and groups with appropriate consideration and use terms of courtesy and respect.

"5. To keep these items before ourselves by publishing them in the Tar Heel and the Christian Leader and by sending copies to each member of the Institute.

"6. The unanimous vote to stand as an individual pledge for the carrying out of these resolutions."

Miss Fisher Resigns

Miss Margaret L. Fisher, who joined the staff of SRC on June 1 as Director of Public Relations, has resigned her position. She is now working with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Her address is 939 Piedmont Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Easing Our Inter-Regional Tensions*

(*Continued from Page* 1)

ern communities. The purpose of such preparation would be to equip the worker with certain fundamental insights and understandings and assist him in organizing these understandings in relations to his job. Some of the elements that would help to build the necessary insights and understandings are: a study of autonomous groups; a study of the social and economic backgrounds of the South; a study of history and psychology of the South; and a careful analysis of workers' own attitudes and prejudices.

In the course of this training it might be well to emphasize to the workers that inter-regional tension is not confined to the North-South impasse, but is a many-faceted affair involving, for example, cultural differences between the Far West, the Midwest, and the East, as well. If the problem can be presented as one concerned with harmonizing the relations of all these regions, the old misunderstanding between the North and the South might well be overcome, as it were, on the flank.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

Dec. 5

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TO MEMBERS OF THE
FELLOWS COMMITTEE:

I am authorized by Dr. Goodrich C. White / Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Co-Chairman of the Committee, to call a meeting at the following time and place:

11 A. M., December 5, 1944
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

I hope that you will make every effort to be present.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TO
HONORARY FELLOWS
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Purpose of the Fellowships

The purpose of these Honorary Fellowships is set forth in the by-laws of the SRC as follows:

> ARTICLE III, SECTION 1. Fellows. The Board of Directors may award honorary fellowships, not exceeding one hundred (100) in number, to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership. Fellows shall be chosen in such manner as the Board of Directors may prescribe, provided they are well distributed as to race, sex, creed, occupation, and place of residence. The duties of fellows shall be to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents, and special representatives. Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Board may direct. The term of a fellowship shall be for two years, unless otherwise provided by the Board of Directors, and fellowships may be renewed or withdrawn at the discretion of the Board. Fellows need not be members of the corporation at the time of their appointment, but they shall, during the term of their fellowship, be members with all the rights and obligations of members, except that they shall be exempted from the payment of dues.

The Fellowships, then, offer an opportunity for mutual assistance. As a Fellow, you can help the Council in its program of social interpretation and social action. The Council can help you to gain experience and greater maturity in techniques of leadership. We believe that the cumulative efforts of one hundred young Southerners who are willing to do the little chores in local situations can contribute a great deal to the realization of democracy in the South.

The Southern Regional Council Program

The Council's main objects are to promote "the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South" and "to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." Some immediate problems which the Council wishes to work on are: (1) inclusion of the interests of all citizens in the post-war plans which are now being made; (2) full employment after the

war; (3) fair standards and wages in domestic service; (4) suffrage reform in the South; (5) equalization of school facilities and teachers' salaries; (6) the police and race tensions; (7) housing for low-income groups.

The techniques for working on these problems include: (1) educational work through pamphlets, press, radio, addresses, etc; (2) cooperation with other agencies and use of coordinated organizational influences; (3) personal influence upon key people, such as editors, employers, mayors, chiefs of police, governors, legislators, congressmen, etc; (4) public statements or appeals by groups of influential citizens; (5) constructive political action wherever possible.

How Fellows Can Help

As a Fellow you can help the Council and serve the cause of a better South in various ways. Here are some suggestions:

1. Write us regularly, reporting on trends, incidents, and problems in your local area. We want to discover and advertise good practices as well as combat bad practices. And, of course, we want to know about your own activities in behalf of a more democratic South.

2. Make special investigations. From time to time we might ask you to obtain further details about some situation in your area. For example, we might ask you to investigate a lynching or a prevented lynching, a local health situation, or a progressive community project.

3. Help us make public opinion polls. We hope to develop a system of making reliable surveys of public opinion by sampling.

4. Send us clippings from local papers -- news stories, editorials, letters to the editor relating to the South and Southern problems. We have a clipping service, but it does not give us a complete coverage.

5. Help us to find persons who would make good members of the Council or who might contribute substantially to the financial support of the Council.

6. Stimulate the organization of a local Interracial Committee or Council of Human Relations. If such an organization already exists, try to put new life into it.

7. Make it your task to "educate" one or more public officials or other influential persons to a better understanding of the Negro and of the social, economic, and political issues confronting the South.

8. Write brief articles for SOUTHERN FRONTIER, the Council's monthly paper, and help us to find other contributors to the FRONTIER.

9. Enlist in our Speakers' Bureau. We get many more invitations to speak than our staff and budget can accommodate. It will greatly facilitate our work if we can call upon Fellows to speak in their local areas in so far as their time permits. We will supply literature, exhibit material, film strips, etc., on various subjects.

10. Advise us freely on what the Council might do to improve its program and strategy.

Naturally no one is expected to do all of these things, but we hope that from this list you will select one or more types of activities which you pledge yourself to carry on to the best of your ability.

Direction and Supervision of Fellows

The Council's Committee on Fellows selects the Fellows and decides upon matters of general policy affecting them. The personnel of the Committee is as follows: President Goodrich C. White, Emory University, and Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta University School of Social Work, Co-Chairmen; George S. Mitchell, Atlanta; Dean T. S. Staples, Conway, Arkansas; James T. Taylor, Durham, North Carolina; Clark Foreman, Black Mountain, North Carolina; and President Horace Mann Bond, Fort Valley, Georgia. However, the Executive Directors of the Council will be in direct charge of the activities of the Fellows, and all routine correspondence by Fellows should be addressed to Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, or Ira De A. Reid, Associate Executive Director, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. We hope eventually to have a staff member who can devote a good part of his time to work with Fellows.

As the work of the Fellows develops, we want to issue a regular mimeographed bulletin which will serve as a clearing-house for ideas and activities of Fellows. Furthermore, we plan to hold an annual conference of Fellows as soon as our budget permits. Although the Council's budget at present does not permit the payment of regular stipends to Fellows, it will reimburse Fellows for expenses incurred in connection with specific assignments done at our request.

Please return this sheet to:

Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

HOW FELLOWS CAN SERVE THE COUNCIL

I accept appointment as Honorary Fellow of the Southern Regional Council, and I want to assist the Council in the ways which I have indicated below:

	(Check)		(Check)
1. Regular reports	____	6. Work with local Human Relations groups	____
2. Special investigations	____	7. Personal contacts and "education"	____
3. Public opinion polls	____	8. Writing for the SOUTHERN FRONTIER	____
4. Newspaper clippings	____	9. Speakers' Bureau	____
5. Finding members and supporters for SRC	____		

10. Advice on SRC program ____

(Please double check the item which you expect to make your major activity as a Fellow.)

My place of work is: _____

_____

My mailing address is: _____

_____

My residence address is: _____

_____

My telephone number is: Home _____

Office _____

Date _____ SIGNED _____

SRC BULLETIN

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

No. 2 FOR MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL Dec. 22, 1944

IT WAS A GOOD MEETING!

Seventy-nine members attended the annual meeting of SRC in Atlanta on December 6. All of the states in our area were represented except Oklahoma, Kentucky, and Arkansas. If you were one of those who couldn't attend, you missed a good meeting. It did not solve all of the problems which confront the Council, but it made a good beginning. The meeting was notable for the full participation of those present and for the frank, objective discussion of the problem of the Council's strategy with respect to segregation.

SOME RESOLUTIONS

The Council meeting adopted several resolutions which were given to the press. One of these resolutions called for: (1) employment of all persons on the basis of ability; (2) abolition of the white primary; (3) more use of Negro policemen and firemen; (4) equalization of educational facilities; (5) extension of low cost housing; (6) improved medical and dental care for both races; (7) equal accommodations on all public transportation facilities.

A second resolution enlarged upon the problem of post-war employment. A third dealt with the equalization of educational opportunities, and a fourth condemned the action of the Board of Regents of the University of Texas in ousting President Homer P. Rainey. These resolutions will be printed in full in the December issue of The Southern Frontier.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

Your Executive Directors presented a report covering the activities of the staff since the charter meeting of February 16, 1944. They also presented a program for the coming year, and this program was given general approval by the members. Among the proposals were: (1) organization of state divisions of the Council; (2) a series of South-wide conferences; (3) organization of state civil rights committees; (4) a study of police systems in the South and a series of closed conferences with police officials; (5) a comprehensive study of segregation and discrimination; (6) a legal test of the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case to other Southern states.

AMENDMENTS OF THE BY-LAWS

Several amendments of the Council by-laws were adopted at the meeting. The most important of these were: (1) provision for a regular meeting of the Board of Directors just prior to each meeting of members, and (2) addition of the Executive Directors to the Executive Committee, without vote.

BOARD WILL MEET ON JANUARY 31

The Board of Directors held a brief meeting following the member meeting on December 6. It transacted only the most pressing matters of business and voted to sit again on January 31, 1945. At that time it will elect officers and discuss the details of

the program for 1945. This will be a very important meeting. If you are a member of the Board, please make note of the date. You will receive a formal notice later on.

HONORARY FELLOWS

We have heard from twenty-six of the thirty-two Fellows who were selected by the Committee on Fellows. Twenty-four have accepted appointment and two are moving outside the South and are unable to accept.

Each of these Honorary Fellows has promised to assist the Council in one or more of the following ways: (1) Regular reports; (2) Making special investigations; (3) Conducting public opinion polls; (4) Sending in newspaper clippings; (5) Finding members and supporters for SRC; (6) Work with local human relations groups; (7) Personal contacts and "education"; (8) Writing for The Southern Frontier; (9) Participating in our Speakers' Bureau; and (10) Advice on SRC program.

We want to bring the number of Honorary Fellows up to one hundred as soon as possible. You can help the Committee on Fellows by sending us the names of people in your area whom you wish to nominate.

KENTUCKY GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION

Governor Simeon S. Willis of Kentucky has appointed a Commission for the Study of Negro Affairs. Your Executive Director spent two days in Louisville last week conferring with members of this Commission. This is the first special Commission of its kind in the South, and we are hoping that it will set a pattern worthy of emulation by other Southern states. If you think your state would profit by such a Commission, why not bring the Kentucky example to the attention of your Governor?

NEGRO POLICE

We have a list of twenty-four Southern cities which employ Negro police. Council members might make good use of this list in promoting the further use of Negro policemen in the South. We shall be glad to send you the list on request.

NEWSPAPERS AND NEGRO SERVICEMEN

We have made a list of approximately 80 Southern newspapers with respect to their printing of news and pictures of Negro service men and women, including, in some cases, the use of courtesy titles in referring to their parents. If you want a copy of this list, just let us know. You might make good use of it in educating editors who are not in the habit of publishing news or pictures of Negroes in the service.

WANTED: NEW MEMBERS

Why not make a New Year's resolution to nominate at least ten persons for Council membership? We now have about five hundred members. If you will help the Membership Committee by sending in nominations from time to time, the membership can easily be tripled during 1945. A sheet is enclosed for your convenience in making nominations. Please don't forget!

Atlanta, Georgia
Dec. 27, 1948

Dear Stetson:

One good use I have made of the lax period surrounding Christmas has been a careful reading of your chapter on "Design for Racial Democracy" in your forthcoming book "The Four Freedoms Move South."

I shall have to ask your gracious consideration of the unpardonably long delay in my reply. Perhaps you can at least conceive of certain reasons — or excuses — for this.

Your paper impresses me as, on the whole, a reasonable and sensible approach to and interpretation of the existing situation, with a judicious recommendation of remedies. Being myself a progressive rather than a radical, it meets with my approval.

However, I not only have no fear of, but welcome, the radical because of the preponderant pressure and narcotic power of the reactionaries and their fellow travelers, the middle-of-the-roaders, who are standing still instead of being headed somewhere. Therefore, I would favor your including a statement about the need for

persons like Lillian Smith with the position she takes.

The only other positive suggestion occurring to me was possibly a brief reference to FEPC as a ground-preparer for the greener pastures we hope for.

I have also exercised the temerity to suggest a few grammatical and punctuational changes.

It will be a pleasure to discuss the entire paper more at length personally sometime.

Greetings and best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Witherspoon Dodge

The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

VOL. V DECEMBER, 1944 NO. 12

Report of The Council Meeting

Resolutions

1. General Resolutions

We believe that every effort must be made to prepare the people of the South for the returning Negro and white soldiers. The problems which are arising already as they come back from active service or are demobilized into civilian life, call for prompt and constructive action on local, state, regional and national levels.

With a view to encouraging the returning Negro soldiers to have faith that the democratic principles for which they have fought are to be translated into reality, we recommend:

1. Employment of all persons on the basis of ability, with due regard for seniority rights.
2. Abolition of the white primary where it exists.
3. Extension of the growing practice of employing Negro policemen and firemen in Southern cities and equal treatment of members of both races by the police and the courts.
4. Equalization of educational opportunity and of pay for teachers of both races.
5. Extension of publicly financed low cost housing.
6. Increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis.
7. That equal accommodations for Negroes as provided under the law, be actually provided on all public transportation facilities, and that discriminatory practices now common in travel be abolished.

2. Post War Employment

The Southern Regional Council realizes the importance of encouraging and planning for an effective program of full employment in every Southern community.

We, therefore, urge that such planning include the initiation and maintenance of an effective public employment service which within its ranks and among employers will promote the effective utilization of all workers in terms of their skills and training, without regard to their race, color or creed.

We recommend that equal and effective opportunities for the technical and vocational training of Negroes be made available.

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President Odum's Address

It is a privilege to call to order this our first annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, to recapture something of the heritage and spirit back of its founding, and to look forward to the action which the Council will recommend today and perhaps to hazard what tomorrow and all the days after tomorrow will bring forth. It seems appropriate to look briefly at our Council's first year from three levels.

Our first feeling is one of gratification that we have in the South an actual Southern Regional Council, organized, chartered, and a growing concern devoted to the high purpose of developing, conserving and using wisely the great resources of the South, particularly the human resources, and of so integrating the South into the total fabric of the United States as to achieve a better approximation to the regional quality and balance of America which may be the most important and critical domestic task of post-war planning that will face us. Less than a year ago we gathered together in solemn assembly, conscious of a great heritage and a great opportunity, and we covenanted together to devote ourselves unswervingly to the specific task of doing the most and the best that could be done with reference to one aspect of our post-war problem, namely race relations and development with particular reference to the South's part in assuring the Negro an equitable part in all our democratic processes.

We agreed for the first task to focus our interest and efforts upon this field for several reasons. In the first place, it seems universally agreed that in the total modern world and particularly in America at this time, the problem of race and minority people constitutes one of the most important, maybe the most important, point of tension. Still more specifically in the South it is our *Number One* problem and we recognized that every phase of southern economy and culture is inseparably related to the total life and culture of the Negro and that there is scarcely any aspect of Negro life that in turn is not closely related to the total life and culture of the South. Still more specifically we recognized the impending crisis that might soon face us in the dilemmas of our returning soldiers and the South's responsibility and opportunity here. And still

(*Continued on Page 3*)

Program for 1945

The first annual member meeting of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Exhibition Galleries of Atlanta University on December 6, 1944. This meeting was preceded by meetings of the Executive, Program, Fellowship and Membership Committees at the SRC offices on December 5. It was followed by a meeting of the Board of Directors.

The Executive Directors, in their reports offered several suggestions and recommendations on the program of the Council during the coming year. The procedures authorized were:

1. *The Organization of State Divisions of the Council.* As soon as there are one hundred members of the Council in a given state, they will be organized as a nucleus for action on the state level. The by-laws and policies of such divisions would, of course, have to be in harmony with those of the Council.

2. *A Series of South-wide Conferences.* Within the limits of the budget and with the advice of the Executive Committee, the SRC will sponsor several important annual conferences. One would be a conference for the leaders of the state and local interracial committees. Another would be a strategy conference of the leaders of the major agencies working on problems of the South within the framework of the Council's interests. Still another would be a conference of religious leaders in programs of social action, with particular emphasis, perhaps, on the women's divisions of the various church bodies.

3. *A Series of State-wide Race Relations Institutes or Forums.* Each of these would run from three to five days and would attempt to reach a better cross-section of the public than is usually reached by such meetings. The Department of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association is preparing to promote a series of institutes and has asked the Council to share in their planning and sponsorship.

4. *Special Visiting Committee.* The officers of the Council, or such other groups as the Executive Committee might choose, are authorized to seek private conferences with as many Southern governors as possible in the next three months. Their discussions will not be confined to race relations, but will include the main problems of social and economic welfare in the South.

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THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, DECEMBER, 1944

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

The recent annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council marked a forward step in the life of movements designed to make human relations democratic in the South. Paradoxical as it may seem race relations movements seldom have been democratic in their structure and function. In the past they operated in two ways: first, they relied very heavily upon the one-man type of leadership, one person being a spokesman for each race; second, they leaned very heavily upon the wisdom and wishes of a select few whose actions were either supported or repudiated. Today, more so than ever before, the wishes of the many become the foundation stone of action in the field of race relations. As we have implied, this is a very significant index to the changing character of movements in race relations, and if the Southern Regional Council's Member Meeting may be regarded as indicative of any trend at all it does reflect a growing desire on the part of people to face situations frankly, collectively and fearlessly.

The executives of the Council were heartened by the courage and forthrightness with which chronic and acute problems of southern life were introduced. True, SRC members did not possess all of the information, hold to all of the beliefs, decide on every action that would make living utopian, but they did make a light for ways that have been dark. No phase of relations between the races was ignored in discussion. The members realized, however, the mighty potency of words and stultifying effect of fear in furthering or arresting any program they might undertake. Though our emotions were quickened with reports of "incidents" of sex and race, of injustices, of official lethargy and community inactivity, our reason was challenged with programs of correction, amelioration, even the complete undoing of ways that had perpetuated an undemocratic South. We met to find ways of doing something more about and with all of these people, communities and problems. We stuck to our last.

Above all, perhaps, this achievement seems outstanding—we learned to discuss all of our ills without venom and emotional distress; we made new covenants and resolutions, openly arrived at. And though the SRC's diagnosis of the South is not yet complete, the organization's therapy for what is known continues. There is abundant life in the membership of the Southern Regional Council. That gives us hope.

Resolutions—*Continued*

We recommend the creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee to promote the non-discriminatory use of manpower.

3. Education

In the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which require separation of the races in their public school systems, continuing and substantial differences in the public schools for white and Negro children prevail despite requirements of educational statutes, that separate and uniform school facilities be established and maintained. These differences are reflected in the buildings and equipment, in the length of the school day, in the teacher-pupil loads, in the per-pupil expenditure, in the investments in public school property, and in teachers' salaries.

Recognizing the necessity and continuing obligation to establish equality of educational opportunity for all in order to further the establishment of a sound economy in the Southern region, and recognizing the opportunities inherent in the post-war plans for school improvements now developing in communities within these states, we accept the principles that:

1. There should exist and be available for Negro children the same types of educational opportunities as there are for white children.
2. The teacher-pupil ratio in Negro schools should be as low as that in schools for white children.
3. The length of the school day should be the same for the Negro child as it is for the white child.
4. The same types of physical accommodations and facilities in the public schools should exist and be available for Negro children as are available for white children.

We commend these principles for the consideration of all law-abiding citizens, and responsible school officials in Southern communities, and urge, in behalf of the common welfare, that action be taken to make these principles operative in all plans for public school improvements.

4. Homer P. Rainey and the University of Texas

The Southern Region Council wishes to protest the dismissal of Dr. Homer P. Rainey as President of the University of Texas. The Council believes this is a startling infringement of personal and academic freedom, and a severe blow to those Southern persons and agencies working for democratic rights.

The Southern Regional Council believes in Dr. Rainey because of his long and effective participation in progressive movements. It believes in him because of his long and effective participation in progressive movements. It believes in him because of his close association with us in the formation of SRC which he now serves as Vice-President. The Council commends him for the stand he has taken, and applauds those Texas citizens and those students and faculty members at the University of Texas who gave him such unqualified support.

Program—*Continued*

5. *Civil Rights Committees.* From time to time arise cases which the SRC might well handle for the protection of the civil rights of citizens in the region. The central staff cannot undertake to investigate personally all such cases. Therefore, the Council members approved the establishment of Civil Rights Committees in all our thirteen states. Each committee might be composed of five Council members and a legal advisor who may or may not be a member of the Council, and the duty of these Committees would be to advise the Executive Directors and the Executive Committee as to what action the Council should take in cases involving civil rights.

6. *Youth Work.* The Council authorized the taking of steps that would permit youth direct participation in the Council or the sponsoring of some sort of auxiliary or correlated youth division of the Council.

7. *Study of Police Systems.* One of the most urgent needs in the South is reform of police training and administration. Along with its program of promoting improvement wherever it can, the Council authorized the sponsorship of a comprehensive study of Southern police systems in cooperation with one or more universities. An approach of this sort would permit the Council to embark on a program which would not necessarily be tied in with the race question, yet would permit the treatment and analysis of a problem that is closely allied with race tensions.

8. *Study of Segregation and Discrimination.* The Council authorized the drawing of plans for a comprehensive study to be carried on throughout the South in the field of legal discrimination and segregation. It is proposed that ameliorative action be based upon a study of the facts as to the human and economic costs of segregation and discrimination. Such a study should provide useful material for molding public opinion on the question of equal opportunity. This study would be preceded by a conference on the subject of segregation and discrimination.

9. *Primary Test Case.* The Council authorized the Board of Directors to proceed with a legal test of the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in Smith vs Allwright in the State of Georgia if it appears that no such case is already under way.

President Odum's Address

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more specifically we recognized our opportunity and obligation to take over where the Commission on Interracial Cooperation had left off.

If I understood correctly, we thought that it would be a fine thing if we could have for the first year such a united Council devoting its energies to getting organized, providing adequate offices and minimum equipment, and exploring the preliminary ways and means for seeking direction for a continuing Council worthy of the South and the crisis which it faced.

The main thing was to have a Council united on high grounds of both purpose and strategy, having a sound philosophy and plan commensurate with attainable standards of achievement. We didn't care much what was done the first year in so far as what was done was right. In fact we thought that it might be better not to try to do too much until we were ready, knowing full well that our problem was one which had no simple or total solution but many solutions; our questions of dispute and differences of opinions had no single easy answer but many answers. We knew, too, that we had neither the wisdom for the answers nor the strategy for these solutions. But we wanted above all else for the South to try something first-class within the framework of our American democracy and the ideals of Christianity. We wanted to be American as well as Southerner and we wanted to be Christian as well as Church.

And finally, in venturing into what we believed to be the most important and the most difficult of all American problems, we knew that the hazards would be great and that the criticisms would be many and bitter from almost every level of American and southern life. But we held that when these criticisms came, knowing already that they *would* come, we should interpret them all as increasing evidence of the need for all the more singleness of purpose, hard work, and devotion to the task.

And you remember, we said that we would do our level best *not to be afraid*.

Well, we have such a Council. As I see it, the staff has done a great deal more than these minimum assignments and has more than met expectations. So, too, in many ways the criticisms and attacks have been less in number and in bitterness than I had anticipated, in spite of the extraordinary catalogue which I shall presently mention. The Executive Directors have provided for admirable office arrangements with conditions of working relationships hardly dreamed of a few years ago. The young people assisting there have not only worked with standard efficiency but also with a zeal worthy of a crusade. The Executive Directors and Secretary-Treasurer have not only done well their new assignments but have taken over a multitude of left-overs from a long and eventful record of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. And they have turned out a prodigious amount of hard and important work. In the midst of all this, they have had conflicting demands upon their time; too many things to do, too little time and help to do it with. Yet the net result must surely be one to elicit from us all not only our gratification but our high appreciation for what has been done.

* * *

Our first feeling and reaction, therefore, is very clearly one of gratification for the progress we have made and a new enthusiasm and eagerness to go on now and do the job. Our second feeling and reaction, however, is something quite different. It is one of wide-eyed, perhaps startled, realization of the total realities involved in the catalogue of crises, misunderstandings and criticisms and in the prospect before us there is a new recognition of the hazards facing us.

There is first of all the world situation of war and suffering. With reference to our own Nation, there is mass tragedy in the making and in which there is abounding in all our American families and communities personal tragedy and more to come on such momentous scale as we have ever known. From hazard and sorrow, from personal tragedies and grief, surely we are chastened to a scorn of personal conflicts, trivial quarrels and futile conflict and bickerings and to a determined will to forget self and unimportant details. And maybe we aspire to a national humility adequate to encompass all those irresponsibles who share neither the hard work nor the sorrow of the nation.

And then abroad, the folk conflicts and tragedies are beyond any reasonable comprehension. Here are the noble Greeks again in travail. As if all slaughter and starvation were not enough, there are added now tragedies of civil strife. And the great perennially suffering Polish people; and the little democracies, peace loving and long suffering; the sensitive French and Belgians and the British and the Chinese and the Russians and all that other host of suffering people whose tragedies are a part of our heritage—surely their conflicts and tragedies, their sacrifice and suffering, make ours pale by comparison. Yes, we do have our problems and we set high store on their solution; but in the fellowship of suffering there is challenge to sympathy and patience and understanding.

Back again to our own Country: within the special field of race relations, North and West, a multitude of organizations are working to meet crises. They are differing one with another, conflicting over status and details, issuing ultimatums. From all this the conclusion seems justified that the problem is not only for the South but is among America's first. As instructed, we explored the possibilities of the President of the United States appointing a National Advisory Committee and came to the conclusion that the situation was so complicated that we agreed with "The Chief" that it could not be done to good advantage. The criticisms of the President in his prospective appointments indicated that the net result would be divisive rather than unifying.

Many of the criticisms of the Southern Regional Council have been logical and consistent repetition of the usual charge that the Council lacks courage to face the issues of segregation and that it is committed to the preservation of the Southern *status quo*. So, too, there has grown up a rising tide of bitter criticism of the South whose sweeping total assumes the proportions of a sort of symphony whose crescendo repeats the recurring motif "I hate the South." It is easily conceivable that in specific cases such a feeling would be inevitable, as in the case of Negro youth, but even if it were justifiable, I can conceive of few more important American tasks than so planning together as to eliminate this poison in our American system.

There have been currents more grievous than mere bitterness and criticisms. Some of the efforts to set race against race, to make race conflict the basis for achieving special ends and the engendering of bitterness for bitterness sake come nigh unto treason and some efforts have been treasonable in effect. So wide and so bitter have been these criticisms and so unequal the conditions of American life, that it seems clear that the most important domestic problems of post war planning must surely center around the regional quality and balance of America.

There are also serious problems of definition and of strategy. With reference to the prevailing tendency to advocate Federal coercion for the South in matters of race segregation as being a necessary tenet of American democracy, one point needs to be recognized. The essence of American democracy has always specified the consent of the governed as fundamental in both philosophy and the administration. It follows, therefore, that since the majority of southern people will not give their consent, the only possible way of achieving coercive revision would be through pure fascism or some other type of totalitarian government, insofar as this coercion is extended to the regions where overwhelming majorities will not give their consent. Whatever else it might be, it couldn't be democracy in the way of governmental administration. And so powerful conflicting forces are gaining momentum that needs to be channeled into ways of council more than conflict.

* * *

Now coming on to the South, the hazards and criticism of the Council and its work; the realities and obstacles to be faced are scarcely less sobering; perhaps they are probably more profound and far-reaching. There have been criticisms of the Council of many sorts within and without its own set-up. Some of these criticisms you have read and you have read the illuminating replies by Hancock, Wesley, Johnson and others. Many of the criticisms have clearly ignored facts; many have reflected personal sensitiveness

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President Odum's Address

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not justified in so important work. There have been criticisms of personalities and arrangements as well as of principles and practices. Yet all of this, in addition to affording measures of reality, is a normal part of the democratic process and is symbolic also of the frustration and aggression expected in times that are abnormal. Nevertheless, the test of an abiding organization doing its job in a big way must somehow be in the measure of its unity and its capacity to work together.

It has been stated both North and South that the Council was nurtured in noble words that meant nothing. Yet the reading of our resolutions and of those others stated so clearly at Durham must be convincing that the words are both specific and meaningful. To me there is meaning in the words, "a new declaration of American principles," "a new dedication to our task;" or the positive phrase "this means more specifically as bearing upon the burden of our present counseling that the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunities that every other citizen of the United States has within the framework of the American democratic system of government." All these mean to me exactly what they say. And when we said, "We dedicate ourselves unswervingly to the successful achievement of this task," I translate that to be good English saying something very definite.

The greatest reality which we face, however, is in the total mass criticism and honest fear of both the white South and the Negro leadership. On the one hand there is the sincere fear that the Council aims to do something contrary to the southern way of life as a living part of American democracy. On the other, there is fear that nothing will be done. This is the main series of criticisms that we face and we must respect it and study it. We must find out, if we plan to have an all-regional Southern Council, how many of the people of what sort will go along with us in what ways; and having found that out we must decide which is the way of leadership and which is the way of followship and determine our course accordingly.

The strategy with which we approach our task involves fundamental issues. One of these is whether the South can work increasingly well in the total integration of our national democracy with the rest of the nation. To state the problem vividly, is the South willing to work with a President or a Vice President of the United States in our Council? Or, are we so southern and they so un-American that there is no resolving of differences in practical workable ways of doing things? And equally can the rest of the nation rise to the statures of cooperation with and face the realities of the southern regional problems which are "American" if they are anything? These are profound questions which bring us back to the fundamentals of American democracy, greater than local issues, emphasizing the fact that this thing of southern regional development and the regional balance of the nation is a supreme task.

All this challenges again the Negro to a sort of superhuman wisdom and a superlative strategy through which he can mould a great transitional period in terms of and in the framework of American democracy and can cooperate with the white South and the rest of the nation in doing the most and the best that can be done. It must be clear that this is a noble task but that there is no other way by which the attainment of mastery is possible.

* * *

This, then, is my second reaction. Our third level of sensing the situation is in terms of what to do next and how to do it. They all tell us that we must face the issue of segregation frankly. That is, the several militant groups insist that we must declare ourselves on what they assume to be the one definitive issue. For instance, the aggressively active American intellectuals and agitators, commonly called "The North", continuously push for an exact declaration, specifically bearing upon the philosophy, not the practice, of segregation. So, also, the Negro leadership of the Nation can bring itself to negotiate on no common ground that does not assume the elimination of legal segregation in America and that the very pattern of segregation, even if tenable, by its very definition, negates the whole guarantee of *equal* rights and accommodations. There are other reasons from some sources, but these are not basic to our planning now.

On the other hand, the white South insists upon a straightforward declaration with reference to segregation, also with two basic assumptions. One is that segregation is here to stay, is the only acceptable economy for the South, and cannot be eliminated in any way. Another is that it is time to go to work in what *can* be done—and quit fighting over what can't be done. Within this framework, then, it is urged that the South work straightforward and forthright to bring about more and more actual equality and services guaranteed under the law. Many southern Negroes are on record as being willing to join in such a declaration.

Now we know these demands are real and that we must face both the issues and the situations which give rise to all these assumptions. Yet there are ways and ways of taking important steps in which crisis and emergency are everywhere apparent. There is needed wisdom and maturity, strategy and honesty, science and morality, all pooled together worthy of the America which we build.

There are many evidences to indicate that we do not now have the wisdom or the maturity adequate for the task; that we have not worked long enough on a master strategy and a forthright intellectual honesty; and that we are not prepared to balance the scientific societal facts with the emotional phases or the moral issues involved. It is one thing to agree to work hard and long, faithfully and honestly, within the framework of an existing, realistic order of legal segregation to bring about better and better results, to insist on full equality before the law and in economic opportunity, and above all to leave nothing undone to prevent conflict and tragedy by devotion to this high ideal of doing what we can do. It is something different, however, to go on record as approving the principles and philosophy, the practice and pattern of legal segregation as embodied in the southern way of life. An individual may well rightly so go on record; many individuals may agree; but for an organization of leaders seeking genuine progress, having this field of race relations as one of its major areas of activity and concern, to so subscribe itself would be providing no leadership at all.

What I am suggesting, therefore, is that this strategy of working out on a mature basis the essentials of the Council's platform and program be made the special order of business for one of the special strategy conferences recommended by the Executive Directors. And, for this meeting today we have a day filled to overflowing with a two-fold task. One is to receive the report of our directors and of the committees that have been at work; to act upon their recommendations and to follow up with suggestions, discussions and encouragement. The other, then, in the afternoon, following this rich experience of participating in the first annual meeting's reports, is to open wide the doors of discussion and suggestion, and to provide then specific time and procedures for the formulation of continuing specific formulae and strategy of work.

Life is rich here and full of opportunity and hazard. Yes, we know that practically everything that everybody says is true in all the complicated maze of our interwoven culture and civilization. Yet always we are trying to ascertain what else is true and what is the relation of each truth to each other truth and to the whole. We are always trying to remember that today is not tomorrow and that we have covenanted together to so meet crisis as to let it make us do something better than we would have done without the crisis. Well; we have the crisis; what to do and how to do it, that is our problem. And there is no contradiction in the poet's exhortation "to seek, to find, to strive and not to yield."

Negro Servicemen

A recent survey by the Associated Negro Press discloses that there were 871,010 Negroes in the armed services of the United States as of October 31, 1944. Of this number 701,678 were in the Army and 169,332 in the Navy. The Army figures showed 5,804 commissioned officers; 49,483 in the Infantry; 36,302 in the Coast and Field Artillery; 867 Cavalry; 133,130 Engineers, and 408,160 in other branches. The Navy personnel included 17 officers and 142,628 enlisted; the Marines 15,771 enlisted; the Coast Guard 4 officers and 3,675 enlisted.

SRC

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SRC BULLETIN

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

No. 3 For Members of the Southern Regional Council April 9, 1945

TIME MARCHES ON! It certainly does! The work piles up and our personnel is still the same as it was. We are doing the best we can and we are sorry that we have had to neglect you lately. As usual, we are hopeful of getting more help. We are virtually assured of one new staff member sometime during the present month and we are hot on the trail of another one who might join us on June 1.

WE ARE ESSENTIAL! One bit of good news which you will be interested in is that SRC has been declared "essential" by the Atlanta area office of the War Manpower Commission. We come under the following classification: Performing a service, governmental or private, directly connected with the maintainance of indispensible civilian activities, health, safety, welfare, or security." This ruling will make it a little easier for us to obtain the manpower that we need.

THE BOARD MEETING A special meeting of the Board of Directors was held on January 31 to elect officers for the current year and to conclude the discussion of policy and strategy which began at the annual meeting on December 6. There was a frank and honest discussion of the Council's policy with respect to segregation. Finally one member expressed himself as follows: "I think it is obvious that this group is not going to agree on a statement about segregation which will be satisfactory to the great majority of our members. I have always felt that the Durham statement on this question was sufficient and that we could hardly improve on it. Why not let the Council be known by its works?" This seemed to express the sentiment of most of those present and there the matter rested.

Since Dr. Odum had expressed his desire to retire from the presidency the nominating committee offered the name of Mr. Mark Ethridge, Editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal. The committee had not been able to reach Mr. Ethridge in time to get an expression from him so the Board voted to empower the Executive Committee to elect Mr. Ethridge if he would accept. It developed that Mr. Ethridge felt that he could not accept the presidency because of the pressure of newspaper duties in the absence of Mr. Barry Bingham. Dr. Odum expressed a willingness to remain in office until his successor is elected. President Rufus B. Atwood, of Kentucky State College and Bishop Charles Clingman of Louisville, Kentucky were elected to the Board of Directors to fill vacancies caused by the resignation of Mr. Frances Bridges and Dr. Walter Matherly. Mr. Edmund M. Preston of Richmond, Virginia was elected to the Executive Committee in place of Mr. Bridges. We greatly regret to inform you that Mr. Preston died suddenly of a heart attack on March 21.

CONFERENCE OF STATE COMMITTEE HEADS

On February 1 we had a conference of the Directors of the Southern state interracial committees. There are ten active state committees--Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Texas--and everyone of them was represented at the conference. We discussed the programs and problems of the state committees as well as ways and means of strengthening the working relationship between them and the Southern Regional Council. The meeting was very successful and we plan to make it an annual affair.

CONFERENCE OF CHURCH WOMEN

On February 2 a small group of women who are active in church work met in Atlanta under Southern Regional Council auspices to discuss some of the things that church women might do to prevent racial tensions and to promote interracial tolerance in the postwar period. Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames presided over the meeting. The group adopted a statement of activities which they would like to promote through the various women's divisions of Christian Social Relations. A copy of this statement is available on request.

LAW ENFORCEMENT CONFERENCE

Plans are shaping up for a conference on Law Enforcement and Race Relations--or perhaps several small conferences so that long distance travel will be held to a minimum. In the meantime, with the assistance of Mrs. Henry Havens of Jacksonville and Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta, we are exploring the question as to how the Council can best do something constructive on the police situation in the South.

POSTWAR ECONOMY CONFERENCE

Perhaps you have seen notices in the newspapers to the effect that SRC is sponsoring a conference on the South's Postwar Economy in Atlanta on April 11-12. We have been very fortunate in securing a group of outstanding experts on economic problems to speak at this conference. Among these are Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Dr. August Maffry, Chief of the International Trade Unit, U. S. Department of Commerce: Mr. Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Adviser of National Housing Agencies; and Judge Edgar Watkins, Atlanta, authority on freight rates. Attendance from the Atlanta area will be open to the public but in conformity with ODT regulations, we have restricted outside invitations to a small group of leaders in agriculture, labor, industry, and research. Please do not plan to come to this meeting if you live outside the Atlanta area unless you have been invited !

A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT ODUM

To Members of the Southern Regional Council:

The January 31 meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council was to me about the most inspiring exhibit of the American conference at its best that I have ever seen. It was, however, more than inspiring. It was a realistic fact-finding, sincere group of men and women coming to grips with matters of the highest spiritual, social and economic importance on levels of practical strategy and sound principles.

I would rather have the confidence of this group and have a part in its leadership than any other group in existence or any that I can now imagine.

There is no gainsaying the fact that a region and a nation that can produce the type of leadership and character that was demonstrated there offers tremendous hope for the continuity of American opportunity and democracy. There was rare frankness and understanding of each other at the same time that there was demonstrated the basic American principles of understanding, patience, and the pattern of working together on diverse issues.

There are other organizations and agencies, private and public, that are working admirably toward their specialized ends. I know of no other organization in which the over-all spiritual quality of the South is so involved in its search for the truth and its efforts to attain the most and the best that can be done.

For my part, I want to assure members of the Council that we are just ready to begin and, so long as there is a Council of this sort having the support and confidence of its present members and of a small but increasingly strong constituency, I have complete confidence that its programs, policies, and strategy can be worked out. Of course, we are all making a lot of mistakes, but that is an almost inevitable measure of both the complexity of the situation and our limited time, finances, and personnel.

We are all sorry that Mark Ethridge could not accept the presidency since he is so heavily committed to so many tasks, especially in the absence of Barry Bingham. So, too, many of our other Southern leaders find themselves caught up in the midst of not only the quantitative load of extra work, but in technical and routine commitments that do not permit travel and the devotion of extra time to new projects.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed)
HOWARD W. ODUM

M. MARGARET ANDERSON
Editor

Common Ground

222 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK
ALGONQUIN 4-6440

PUBLISHED BY COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY READ LEWIS, *Executive Director*

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VAN WYCK BROOKS
PEARL BUCK
MARY ELLEN CHASE
LANGSTON HUGHES
ALVIN JOHNSON
THOMAS MANN
LIN YUTANG

November 5, 1945

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

Yes, I have written you - at length. Even if the letter had to be forwarded, you should have had it by the time you wrote me. I sent you a whole raft of letters collected during the process of publishing the Redding and Smith pieces on the Southern Regional Council. Besides that, I sent you proofs of your piece last Thursday, and I hope they will not be held up too long.

We will not actually be on the presses before November 19 or 20, and there would be a slight chance that I could work in additional material in your piece if I hold space open for it on the last page. It would have to go in, however, as a postscript to the article; there would not even be a slight chance of incorporating it within the body of the piece.

Mr. Couch's letter passes comprehension, but I suppose Common Ground's point of view is equally incomprehensible to him. What shocks me most deeply, I think, is his query as to whether anything is right or wrong. If the traditional southern patterns of segregation result in this fuzziness of mind, nothing could be a sharper indictment of the system.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Anderson
Editor

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
610 Birney Street, Apt. 1
Marietta, Georgia

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1945

S
R C

The Members Meet . . . .

The recent annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council marked a forward step in the life of movements designed to make human relations democratic in the South. Paradoxical as it may seem race relations movements seldom have been democratic in their structure and function. In the past they operated in two ways: first, they relied very heavily upon the one-man type of leadership, one person being a spokesman for each race; second, they leaned very heavily upon the wisdom and wishes of a select few whose actions were either supported or repudiated. Today, more so than ever before, the wishes of the many become the foundation stone of action in the field of race relations. As we have implied, this is a very significant index to the changing character of movements in race relations, and if the Southern Regional Council's Member Meeting may be regarded as indicative of any trend at all it does reflect a growing desire on the part of people to face situations frankly, collectively, and fearlessly.

The executives of the Council were heartened by the courage and forthrightness with which chronic and acute problems of southern life were introduced. True, SRC members did not possess all of the information, hold to all of the beliefs, decide on every action that would make living utopian, but they did make a light for ways that have been dark. No phase of relations between the races was ignored in discussion. The members realized, however, the mighty potency of words and stultifying effect of fear in furthering or arresting any program they might undertake. Though our emotions were quickened with reports of "incidents" of sex and race, of injustices, of official lethargy and community inactivity, our reason was challenged with programs of correction, amelioration, even the complete undoing of ways that had perpetuated an undemocratic South. We met to find ways of doing something more about and with all of these people, communities, and problems. We stuck to our last.

Above all, perhaps, this achievement seems outstanding—we learned to discuss all of our ills without venom and emotional distress; we made new covenants and resolutions, openly arrived at. And though the SRC's diagnosis of the South is not yet complete, the organization's therapy for what is known continues. There is abundant life in the membership of the Southern Regional Council. That gives us hope.

Authorize . . . .

The Executive Directors, in their reports offered several suggestions and recommendations on the program of the Council during the coming year. The procedures authorized were:

1. The Organization of State Divisions of the Council

As soon as there are one hundred members of the Council in a given state, they will be organized as a nucleus for action on the state level. The by-laws and policies of such divisions would, of course, have to be in harmony with those of the Council.

2. A Series of South-wide Conferences

Within the limits of the budget and with the advice of the Executive Committee, the SRC will sponsor several important annual conferences. One would be a conference for the leaders of the state and local interracial committees. Another would be a strategy conference of the leaders of the major agencies working on problems of the South within the framework of the Council's interests. Still another would be a conference of religious leaders in programs of social action, with particular emphasis, perhaps, on the women's divisions of the various church bodies.

3. A Series of State-wide Race Relations Institutes or Forums

Each of these would run from three to five days and would attempt to reach a better cross-section of the public than is usually reached by such meetings. The Department of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association is preparing to promote a series of institutes and has asked the Council to share in their planning and sponsorship.

4. Special Visiting Committee

The officers of the Council, or such other groups as the Executive Committee might choose, are authorized to seek private conferences with as many Southern governors as possible in the next three months. Their discussions will not be confined to race relations, but will include the main problems of social and economic welfare in the South.

5. Civil Rights Committees

From time to time arise cases which the SRC might well handle for the protection of the civil rights of citizens in the region. The central staff cannot undertake to investigate personally all such cases. Therefore, the Council members approved the establishment of Civil Rights Committees in all our thirteen states. Each committee might be composed of five Council members and a legal advisor who may or may not be a member of the Council, and the duty of these Committees would be to advise the Executive Directors and the Executive Committee as to what action the Council should take in cases involving civil rights.

6. Youth Work

The Council authorized the taking of steps that would permit youth direct participation in the Council or the sponsoring of some sort of auxiliary or correlated youth division of the Council.

7. Study of Police Systems

One of the most urgent needs in the South is reform of police training and administration. Along with its program of promoting improvement wherever it can, the Council authorized the sponsorship of a comprehensive study of Southern police systems in cooperation with one or more universities. An approach of this sort would permit the Council to embark on a program which would not necessarily be tied in with the race question, yet would permit the treatment and analysis of a problem that is closely allied with race tensions.

8. Study of Segregation and Discrimination

The Council authorized the drawing of plans for a comprehensive study to be carried on throughout the South in the field of legal discrimination and segregation. It is proposed that ameliorative action be based upon a

study of the facts as to the human and economic costs of segregation and discrimination. Such a study should provide useful material for molding public opinion on the question of equal opportunity. This study would be preceded by a conference on the subject of segregation and discrimination.

9. Primary Test Case

The Council authorized the Board of Directors to proceed with a legal test of the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in Smith vs. Allwright in the State of Georgia if it appears that no such case is already under way.

And Resolve for 1945

1. General Resolutions

We believe that every effort must be made to prepare the people of the South for the returning Negro and white soldiers. The problems which are arising already as they come back from active service or are demobilized into civilian life call for prompt and constructive action on local, state, regional, and national levels.

With a view to encouraging the returning Negro soldiers to have faith that the democratic principles for which they have fought are to be translated into reality, we recommend:

1. Employment of all persons on the basis of ability, with due regard for seniority rights.
2. Abolition of the white primary where it exists.
3. Extension of the growing practice of employing Negro policemen and firemen in Southern cities and equal treatment of members of both races by the police and the courts.
4. Equalization of educational opportunity and of pay for teachers of both races.
5. Extension of publicly financed low cost housing.
6. Increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis.
7. That equal accommodations for Negroes as provided under the law, be actually provided on all public transportation facilities, and that discriminatory practices now common in travel be abolished.

2. Post War Employment

The Southern Regional Council realizes the importance of encouraging and planning for an effective program of full employment in every Southern community.

We, therefore, urge that such planning include the initiation and maintenance of an effective public employment service which within its ranks and among employers will promote the effective utilization of all workers in terms of their skills and training, without regard to their race, color, or creed.

(Continued)

We recommend that equal and effective opportunities for the technical and vocational training of Negroes be made available.

We recommend the creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee to promote the non-discriminatory use of manpower.

3. Education

In the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which require separation of the races in their public school systems, continuing and substantial differences in the public schools for white and Negro children prevail despite requirements of educational statutes, that separate and uniform school facilities be established and maintained. These differences are reflected in the buildings and equipment, in the length of the school day, in the teacher-pupil loads, in the per-pupil expenditure, in the investments in public school property, and in teachers' salaries.

Recognizing the necessity and continuing obligation to establish equality of educational opportunity for all in order to further the establishment of a sound economy in the Southern region, and recognizing the opportunities inherent in the post-war plans for school improvements now developing in communities within these states, we accept the principles that:

1. There should exist and be available for Negro children the same types of educational opportunities as there are for white children.
2. The teacher-pupil ratio in Negro schools should be as low as that in schools for white children.
3. The length of the school day should be the same for the Negro child as it is for the white child.
4. The same types of physical accommodations and facilities in the public schools should exist and be available for Negro children as are available for white children.

We recommend these principles for the consideration of all law-abiding citizens, and responsible school officials in Southern communities, and urge, in behalf of the common welfare, that action be taken to make these principles operative in all plans for public school improvements.

4. Homer P. Rainey and the University of Texas

The Southern Regional Council wishes to protest the dismissal of Dr. Homer P. Rainey as President of the University of Texas. The Council believes this is a startling infringement of personal and academic freedom, and a severe blow to those Southern persons and agencies working for democratic rights.

The Southern Regional Council believes in Dr. Rainey because of his long and effective participation in progressive movements. It believes in him because of his close association with us in the formation of SRC which he now serves as Vice-President. The Council commends him for the stand he has taken, and applauds those Texas citizens and those students and faculty members at the University of Texas who gave him such unqualified support.

Reprint from The Southern Frontier, December, 1944.

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

Is the Monthly Bulletin of the Southern Regional Council

The Southern Frontier is also the area in which you and I live and work.

It is a frontier of opportunity to do the best that can be done toward attaining the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

It is a frontier of EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING, DELINQUENCY, AGRICULTURE, POLITICS, INDUSTRY, HUMAN RELATIONS, TRANSPORTATION, AND 40,000,000 PEOPLE.

It is a frontier that should be explored, pushed forward, and cultivated.

You can help!

Your club can help!

Your church can help!

Your business can help!

Your community can help!

For further information concerning membership in the Southern Regional Council or Council publications write

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Regional Council
May 20, 1947

REPORT ON SRC MEMBERSHIP

State	Number members since Nov. 1, 1946	Total number members to May 19, 1947
TOTAL	524	1,903
TOTAL IN 13 S. STATES*	497	1,778
TOTAL OUTSIDE SOUTH **	27	125
Alabama	9	76
Arkansas	3	21
Florida	220	364
Georgia	35	247
Kentucky	57	94
Louisiana	7	77
Mississippi	23	114
North Carolina	32	210
Oklahoma	0	11
South Carolina	55	156
Tennessee	19	135
Texas	17	91
Virginia	20	182
California	2	8
Connecticut	0	2
Delaware	0	1
Illinois	3	17
Iowa	0	1
Kansas	2	2
Maryland	2	6
Massachusetts	1	5
Michigan	0	2
Minnesota	0	1
Missouri	1	6
Nebraska	0	1
New Jersey	3	7
New York	6	34
Ohio	2	3
Pennsylvania	3	10
Washington, D. C.	0	12
West Virginia	1	4
Wisconsin	0	2
Liberia	0	1

*Full Members
**Associate members

Oct. 29 '47
393 - 400 +

In addition, 430 members of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation pay SRC $1.00 a year and receive New South.

There are 298 "individual subscribers" to New South - not SRC members.
104 people and organizations receive complimentary issues of New South each month.
374 people and organizations are on our mailing list.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Membership Dues Delinquency

October 1, 1948

STATE	Owe for 1948	Owe for 1947-1948	Total No. Delinquents	Percent of total Mbrshp.	Dues Losses Represented
Alabama	52	11	63	40.90%	$ 148.00
Arkansas	6	6	12	44.40%	36.00
Florida	256	35	291	61.83%	652.00
Georgia	80	31	111	33.23%	284.00
Kentucky	53	2	55	42.63%	114.00
Louisiana	24	28	52	57.14%	160.00
Mississippi	44	8	52	30.00%	120.00
North Carolina	108	36	143	54.37%	360.00
Oklahoma	4	4	8	61.54%	24.00
South Carolina	75	11	86	31.27%	194.00
Tennessee	41	18	59	38.07%	154.00
Texas	54	20	74	54.81%	188.00
Virginia	61	41	102	43.03%	286.00
Total	858	251	1,108	45.13%	2,720.00
Associate Mbrs Outside the South	46	21	67	31.84%	$ 176.00
GRAND TOTAL	904	272	1,175	44.07%	$2,896.00

S.R.C. MEMBERSHIP - 1948
September 14, 1948

STATE	Membership 10-17-1947	Membership 9-14-48	Delinquents Dropped in 1948	Net and Percentage Incr. 1948	Net and Per. centage Incr. 1947
Alabama	92	154	7	62 - 67%	12 - 15%
Arkansas	26	27	-	1 - 3.9%	4 - 18%
Florida	435	469	9	34 - 7.8%	268 - 159.88%
Georgia	285	334	15	49 - 17.9%	58 - 25.55%
Kentucky	115	129	1	14 - 12.17%	69 - 150%
Louisiana	84	91	5	7 - 8.39%	10 - 13.5%
Mississippi	140	173	1	33 - 23.57%	44 - 45.83%
North Carolina	246	263	13	17 - 6.9%	45 - 22.38%
Oklahoma	12	13	-	1 - 8.33%	2 - 20%
South Carolina	193	275	3	82 - 42.48%	87 - 82%
Tennessee	132	155	7	23 - 17%	17 - 14.78%
Texas	134	135	9	1 - .75%	44 - 48.88%
Virginia	208	237	18	29 - 13.94%	36 - 20.93%
Total	2,102	2,455		353 - 16.79%	696 - 49.5%
Total, Outside the South	174	211	9	37 - 21.26%	34 - 24.28%
Grand Total	2,276	2,666		390 - 17.13%	730 - 47.23%

OCTOBER, 1948
Vol. 3 No. 10

New South
FORMERLY THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

All material presented in New South may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.

SRC Reports for 1948

The fifth annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council will take place in Atlanta on November 10th.

The meeting will begin promptly at 10:30 A. M. in the Exhibition Room of the Library Building of Atlanta University. Registration will begin at 10 A. M.

As was the case last year, the meeting will be largely devoted to planning SRC policies and program for the coming year. In order to eliminate the necessity for lengthy review of the past year's activities, this issue of NEW SOUTH *is given over to reports of the staff and of State Divisions and Affiliates of the Council. Members are urged to familiarize themselves with these reports before the annual meeting.*

By George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

NINETEEN forty-eight is the fifth year of the Council's life. The thoughtful Southerners who launched the Council had a rounded plan for the organization. It was to link up again the activities of the various State interracial committees, tying them in to the Council and to the Council's general program; it was to build a substantial membership throughout the South; it was to provide at its central office a research service which would have full-time professional persons giving guidance to the South in its agriculture, industry, health, education, and welfare, and through its state and local organization was to stimulate action in alleviation of poverty, prejudice, and injustice.

In five years a good deal has been done. We are closely tied to statewide organizations, interracial in character, in every Southern State except three (Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas), and we have active membership and some local organization in two of the missing three. Membership has grown from some 800, who joined in the first year, to 2700, with another 2000 whom we reach indirectly through State Committees.

We have pulled together the main facts about people in the South, and have published them in a notable series of pamphlets. These delimit our problems in the fields of population, industrialization, health, education, our changing agriculture, housing, and the ballot. We have put out many other useful if less comprehensive pamphlets, and we have provided in the old *Southern Frontier* and more lately in *New South* a monthly flow of information and comment on happenings good and bad throughout the region. We have answered questions coming in in every mail for all this while; we have provided speakers for uncounted local meetings; and we have set before local discussion groups the text material which made the meetings fruitful. Still, our research and information job has been way below what is fairly expected of us, and in getting corrective action we have doubtless been disappointing to many of our warmest supporters.

More information better presented is a matter of money. Action is a matter of organization. Therefore our two great needs are more and stabler support and

INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP DURING 1948

State	Number Members as of September 14, 1948	Increase over October 17, 1947
Alabama	154	62
Arkansas	27	1
Florida	469	34
Georgia	334	49
Kentucky	129	14
Louisiana	91	7
Mississippi	173	33
North Carolina	263	17
Oklahoma	13	1
South Carolina	275	82
Tennessee	155	23
Texas	135	1
Virginia	237	29
TOTAL SOUTH	2,455	353
TOTAL OUTSIDE THE SOUTH	211	37
GRAND TOTAL	2,666	390

more of our present kind of useful members.

Since the last Annual Meeting we have built upon the good foundations laid earlier. In getting our work into the States we have seen the Alabama Division, newly launched in November, 1947, achieve status. In Tennessee a new Division is off to a promising start. General membership has grown by a few hundred. With more time and money to spend on cultivation we could have had a larger growth in membership. In publications we have done five significant documents, and are well on the way to getting out three others. The five that have seen print are:

Publications

Housing in the South, by Helen Bridgman.

"To Secure These Rights", a Digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

The Condition of Our Rights. A textlet to accompany the Digest, instancing from the files the kind of problems the South is up against in this field.

Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940, by Luther P. Jackson.

"An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy", a statement by the Executive Committee of the Council, adopted September 15, 1948.

The things now in preparation are:

A Manual for the Small Community Self-Survey.

A Manual for newspapermen on the handling of race in the news.

A Revision of *Economic Value of the Negro to the South,* newly titled *The Negro in Our Economy.*

A review of Southern legislation on tenure of farm land, and recommendations for improvements.

We have during the year printed a number of lesser items, and we have had gratifying proof in newspaper comment of the effectiveness of *New South* in getting public attention put onto particular problems at particular times.

Human and Civil Rights

The Council was principal sponsor to a Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights, which took place in Atlanta in February of this year. Over 300 people came from 11 States and 72 separate communities. The meeting had the cooperation of a variety of church and civic bodies from over the South. It set before those present the task of getting the South informed on a question which it was foreseen would be hotly discussed. Those who came were put through the main items of the Report, were given opportunity for discussion and recommendations, and were urged to make themselves available for follow-up discussion meetings in their home towns. We have received written reports of some 58 meetings on this subject which have taken place since, and in which people who were at the February

(*Continued on page* 18)

A Year of Effort 'To Secure These Rights' in the South

By Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Field Secretary

SERVING on the President's Committee on Civil Rights brought upon me certain obligations and responsibilities and a compulsion I could not evade to become a crusader "to secure these rights" of our Constitution for the peoples of our nation. The Southern Regional Council and the Church have furnished the avenues for the crusading.

The year 1948 has been for me one of travel by auto, bus, train, and plane into thirty States of our Union, teaching, speaking at Conferences, leading forums for college, civic, and church groups. While the travel has been extensive, by far the larger part of my time has been spent with groups in the South — as I wanted it to be.

Just to think back over the thousands of miles traveled, the audiences faced, makes me dizzy. "For work to do and strength to do it, I thank my God."

Southern Evolution

Just what has been accomplished by all this travel, this teaching, and much speech-making, I cannot tell. The South is in the throes of an evolution and in its midst the Southern Regional Council seeks to bring understanding where there is confusion. As one of its representatives, I have tried to carry out my part of the responsibility.

In all groups in the South and elsewhere I have spoken, I have found sympathetic listeners. The opposition only arises when the field of economics is touched. We have seen that the "Right to Equal Opportunity" is an area where "man's inhumanity to man" is most frequently met. After all, our basic problem is one of economics.

Two trips brought about the organization of the Alabama Division of the Council, and it is now a healthy, growing organization.

The Mississippi Division is also becoming stronger. The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, our affiliated committee, has taken much of my time. It is very active against the wrongs that beset the State.

I did not meet with the Texas Committee on Interracial Cooperation, another affiliated state committee, but did have a conference with some members of its executive committee while I was in Dallas this summer teaching a few days at Southern Methodist University.

All of these State Divisions and Committees are hampered in their programs by lack of funds.

Respect and Cooperation

In his speech for American Brotherhood Week, President Truman said, "National unity and strength depend upon the willingness of men of all creeds, races, and national origins in America to respect one another's rights and to cooperate as citizens in all areas of common conviction, concern, and responsibility."

Hard upon this speech came Hodding Carter's statement, perhaps truthfully, that H-A-T-E is Public Enemy Number One of our nation. The task of all of us who make up the membership and the working force of the Council is to endeavor to bring about the cooperation of all citizens "in all areas of common conviction, concern, and responsibility" — and thus transform hate into understanding. To this end I have worked.

DEADLINE FOR RESOLUTIONS

Members are reminded that copies of all proposed resolutions must be submitted to the Standing Committee on Resolutions not later than 12 o'clock noon on the day of the annual meeting. Members of the Committee on Resolutions are Mr. Marion A. Wright, Mrs. W. H. Borders, and Dr. Forrester B. Washington.

Field Work—Past and Future

By Mrs. Henry Havens
Field Secretary

As one of your Field Secretaries, I am again afforded the opportunity of submitting to you an annual report. In my report last year, I presented certain objectives, activities, observations, and conclusions; and I offered a recommendation. In reviewing this past year, it is noted that these remain the same, with few exceptions. It is on these exceptions I will now report, with the hope that you will remember the various routine matters contained in last year's accounting to you; recalling that it is slow, gradual building which will insure a sound, enduring regional structure.

New Division

One of the major objectives accomplished during the year was the organizing of our new Tennessee Division, in April. From the report of the Division Chairman, you will see what a splendid organization has emerged and the promising future which faces them. There is a great deal of work to be done, but already interest is awakening among local groups and other Tennessee organizations. The newly appointed officers of the Division are vigorously prosecuting a membership drive to bring the many people already doing similar work, but not SRC members, into the Division, thereby strengthening the efforts of all in Tennessee. This has taken a great deal of travel, time, and correspondence.

My other activities have been based primarily upon the conclusions in my report of last year; viz, to get local committees together, with specific objectives which appeal to all people. This has meant attendance at all types of meetings, and numerous conference with individuals and planning groups. Our local committees are growing in number, but not yet fast enough. Again, I say to you, it is my firm conviction that the Southern Regional Council cannot hope to succeed in its entirety, until our program is fully recognized, and accepted, on these local levels.

Another project was to seek the support of certain religious groups for our program. This has been done in various ways: by participating in panels, workshops, and conferences; and, by appealing to these groups to give financial as well as moral support to SRC at work in their respective states; and by urging them to use our material in their study courses. This field has only been touched and will require much greater emphasis from the region and states, both white and Negro. The pulpit is often spoken of as the "spirit of the South", and appropriately should be.

After three years of intensive participation in this work, it is my studied conclusion that the time has come when we who have created SRC and carried its message throughout this great Southland should stop and take stock of the situation now facing us. As we stand today, we have formulated an approach to the Southern dilemma, and we know some of the answers. SRC is nationally accepted as a dignified, responsible source of authentic information regarding the intricacies of racial contact and life in the South. To maintain our position and expand our ambitions in this field, we must analyze and recognize our financial situation.

What of the Future?

To date our plans have been made possible through the generosity of foundation grants, aided by the dues and contributions of SRC members and friends. But, what of the future? Reference to our financial reports shows that our grants from foundations are rapidly nearing the end of the road. How can we continue to build this structure? The answer is obvious: we need materiel and personnel. Must this great movement stop? No, most certainly not! Let us look at the patterns evolved by other like eleemosynary groups engaged in similar endeavors, and build our own financial foundation.

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Atlanta Office Activities in 1948

By Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Like a fond parent who measures his offspring against the door jamb each year on his birthday, we in the Atlanta office begin diligently at this time of year to gather our figures on each activity, trying as best we can to measure the growth and development of the Council, to test the extent of its effectiveness, and to assess its progress.

Net membership increase gives the answer to growth, and our 390 increase for 1948 indicates a gain of new members at more than one per day. Total membership is now 2,666.

Information Requests

Requests for information come in at the rate of almost 4 per week, totalling at this point 190. These requests derive from 34 different States (20 of them outside the Region), from the District of Columbia, and from Hawaii, Holland, Germany, and Scotland. Among our correspondents 102 sought information concerning the Council itself. Of the rest, the greatest number were concerned with the problems of prejudice and racial discrimination. Others wanted to know about community organization, education, civil rights, the use of Negro police, farm tenancy, and rural public welfare in the South.

One of our Council members studying in Scotland, and another, temporarily in Hawaii, wanted material for lectures on the South which they had been asked to give.

It is a rare day, indeed, when we do not receive a sheaf of orders for literature. A total of 1,175 such orders has been filled since January 1st, with materials going to all but five of our 48 States, as well as to three correspondents in Canada and one in England. Canadian orders, one of them from the Ministry of Education, were for our anthology of Negro poetry, *Singers in the Dawn*, and for a collection of Negro spirituals. The order from England came from the Science Museum Library at London, and requested a complete set of our pamphlets.

Heaviest orders in this country were for our Digest of the Report of the President's Committee, *To Secure These Rights*. 10,300 of these have been distributed since February, including approximately 3,000 sent to our own members and subscribers. Almost 1,000 copies of our companion study, *The Condition of Our Rights*, have gone out on orders alone. *America's Tenth Man* and *Singers in the Dawn* continue to be favorites, with *Wanted: A Healthy South; Wanted: An Educated South; Machines in the Cotton Field;* the Negro Police issue of *New South; Housing in the South;* and *Race and Suffrage in the South since* 1940 continuing in steady demand.

Following release by the Executive Committee last month of its statement on the civil rights issue, and the wide newspaper comment which it evoked, a steady stream of requests for full copies of this statement is making itself felt here in the office. These are as yet uncounted.

Pamphlet Distribution

The total number of pamphlets distributed this year has reached a peak of 61,175, of which approximately 36,000 went to our own members and subscribers. Receipts for literature reflect this heavy volume of distribution, totalling for the first six months of 1948 almost double the receipts for the same period of 1947.

The foregoing figures indicate the heavy volume of mail which is passing through the Atlanta office; correspondence concerned with orders for literature and requests for information; with members, both old and new; the issuance of dues notices, and notices of meetings; and the shipment of orders and *New South*. 36,000 mailings a year are required for the latter alone. The postage meter registers more than 53,000 pieces for 1948, and, to this, stamped mail adds another thousand or so pieces.

Reaching the Public in the News

By Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

ANY organization which, like SRC, attempts to influence public opinion must hope that its work will command attention from the press. That is not always easy. Calm, objective studies, temperate statements, and everyday efforts to bring about wholesome local change are not spectacular. As *The Christian Science Monitor* wrote of the Executive Committee's recent statement on civil rights: "It is one of the tragedies and failures of communications that thoughtful statements such as this, which deal with solutions, find it difficult to command the attention rendered flamboyant speeches and violent events, which reflect only the difficulties, the stresses and strains, the heat rather than the light."

A Wide Public

In spite of this obstacle, the Council's work during the past year has had a gratifying amount of attention in both news and editorial columns. A great part of the explanation is that many Southern newspapermen have come to know and respect the Council and to recognize the news value of its constructive approach. Newspaper editors, white and Negro, and editors of the major news services have made it possible for reports and activities of the Council to reach a wide public. Mr. Alfred Mynders, chairman of the Tennessee Division, has given invaluable help in this respect. The Council has also benefited from the excellent reporting of Mr. Bem Price of the Associated Press, whose stories about SRC have appeared in hundreds of newspapers in the South and elsewhere. Mr. John Popham, Southeastern correspondent for *The New York Times*, has written some of the most thorough and informative stories about the Council's work ever to appear in print.

Perhaps the publicity which yielded the most direct results was that given the Council's facts about employment of Negro policemen. The findings of our survey last fall were widely carried in newspapers over the South. A number of papers editorialized, on the basis of the findings, on the wisdom of employing Negro policemen in their respective cities. Organizations presented the data to their city officials, to other civic groups, and to influential civic leaders. As a result, the Council was able to help significantly in bringing about an increased employment of Negro officers in the South during the year.

Similarly, the Council was able to contribute to better understanding of human and legal rights, so sorely needed in the region. The Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights, held in February, got remarkably wide and thorough newspaper coverage. The comprehensive statement on civil rights issued last month by the Executive Committee was even more widely played, not only in the South but in the rest of the nation as well. Two Southern papers — *The Chattanooga Times* and *The Birmingham News* — ran the 2700-word text in full. The statement drew excellent editorial comment from such responsible papers as the two just mentioned, *The Asheville Citizen-Times*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, and *The New York Times*.

Periodic Reports

In addition to this major notice, there has been a steady stream of factual reporting of and comment about the Council's periodic reports on the South's needs and progress in the broad fields of housing, health, suffrage, and the community self-survey. These facts have been noted not only in the large daily newspapers but also in many specialized publications — the religious, labor, and race-relations press and house organs of various organizations. It should be mentioned, too, that many of the State Divisions and Affiliates have successfully sought the cooperation of the press in their localities.

With continued good fortune in public relations, we can hope to spread throughout the region a greater awareness of Southern problems and a more earnest desire to solve them.

This Is Kentucky—Legislative Gains

By J. Mansir Tydings
Chairman, Kentucky Division

War-time radio reports beginning with, "This is London," often brought good news of the progress of the War, and, more often than we liked, news that was not good. Now we feel that all such news was designed to improve home morale and strengthen our determination to win.

These are times of war — the War of Ideas. If America's big idea — Democracy — is suffering defeats on its Southern front it may be needful to boost morale by reporting victories of the positive kind. But it would also be dishonest to claim even satisfactory progress.

The Kentucky Division of the Southern Regional Council has some most significant progress to report on the legislative front — particularly as regards Negro education and health.

Negro Education

During the 1948 sessions of the General Assembly, appropriations for the Negro schools operated by the State were substantially increased. Although such gains happily serve the present needs of the present generation, they should be honestly appraised as the result of a common fear and a belief that better schools for Negroes will assuage their desire to enroll in the white university. The real progress in education for Negroes in Kentucky should be measured in terms of a fact, now universally recognized, that the State has a legal and a moral obligation to provide an equal educational opportunity for *all* the children of the State.

The Legislature also granted an increase in the amount allowed Negro students to subsidize their enrollment in courses available in colleges out of the State, if such courses are provided for white students within the State. This was a most welcome relief to many.

In the meantime a contractual arrangement has been made between the University of Kentucky and Kentucky State College for Negroes which has the legal endorsement of the Attorney General. This plan provides that courses offered at the University, but not included in the curriculum of the Negro College, will be offered at the College under the instruction of a qualified professor from the University. Laboratory work will be conducted at the University at a time convenient to the professor. Negro students now making application for enrollment at the University are being requested to accept enrollment at the Negro College under the above plan.

New Plan Resented

There has been considerable resentment to this request because the new plan closes the doors of educational opportunities of proven worth and established prestige heretofore open to Negro students. It is to be hoped that the present sentiment against Negroes attending the University will change as their presence in laboratories at the University becomes a common sight to white students and instructors who seem to be even now more liberally inclined than are the public policy makers.

Just as "all roads lead to Rome", so do all blocks to biracial education in Kentucky lead to the Day Law which requires segregated instruction in both private and public schools. During the 1948 General Assembly, an attempt was made to repeal the Day law. However, it was, by a resolution passed in the House, referred to the Assembly's new Legislative Research Council for study, with a request that recommendations be presented to the 1950 General Assembly. While the controversy over the repeal of the Day law was in process, the Kentucky Division presented a bill (HB 447) which required that the Day law "shall not be construed to prohibit the giving of instruction in nursing, medicine, surgery, or other related courses of graduate grade or on a professional level, within any hospital, if the governing body of the hospital, by a majority vote of its members, so elects." This modification of the Day law was enacted by the unanimous vote of both Houses.

The Kentucky Division has appointed a committee to study ways to implement the new act, and to cooperate in every

way possible with hospitals in the State where nurse training is offered. In Louisville the committee has been joined in its efforts by the Urban League. Now, in less than a year after the passage of H. B. 447, Negro girls, for the first time in Kentucky, are receiving nurse training in fully accredited hospitals, and Negro doctors are obtaining post-graduate instruction. A Catholic hospital in Lexington and another in Louisville were the first to open their doors.

Another act of legislation sponsored by the Kentucky Division, which also unanimously passed both Houses, was an increase in the appropriation for the Red Cross Hospital from $4,000 to $30,000 per year. And this has made their nurse training program possible.

Other attempts at legislative action were not so successful, but are still in the realm of possibility through executive order. These included: (1) more adequate supervision for Negro schools, (2) the creation of an experiment station for Negro farmers, and (3) a permanent Commission to study the needs of Negro citizens.

The Kentucky Division has a Committee on Civil Rights which attended the Atlanta Conference in February. It has been generally felt that effective work for the recognition of civil rights must be approached on the community level. There is a real need for techniques and instructions for local leadership in conducting community self-appraisal clinics. The Louisville Community Clinic, which was sponsored by the Kentucky Division, has been productive of good results. The idea behind the nurse training legislation was originated at the Clinic, and only recently another recommendation was carried out by the City of Louisville, where a course of study in race relations for the Police Department was conducted. Also the Louisville Public Library now admits Negroes for the first time.

The Kentucky Division also has a Press Committee which sends out timely SRC releases to a mailing list of editors throughout the State.

A very valuable innovation has been the Division's Inter-Group Relations Ad-

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Alabama Division Builds Organization

By A. D. Beittel
Chairman, Alabama Division

The Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council came into being at a meeting held October 31, 1947 at State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama. Mrs. M. E. Tilly and Miss Margaret Price from the Atlanta Office attended the meeting. At this meeting the following officers were elected:

Chairman, A. D. Beittel, President of Talladega College.

Vice-Chairman, H. Council Trenholm, President of Ala. State Teachers College.

Secretary, Mrs. J. McLeod, Methodist church woman of Brundidge, Ala.

Treasurer, Robert Durr, editor of the Birmingham *Weekly Review*.

A meeting of these officers was held in Montgomery on December 16, 1947, at which meeting plans were made to set up an Executive Committee and an Advisory Council and a canvass was made of persons to serve on the Executive Committee and the Advisory Council.

A meeting of the Alabama Division was held at State Teachers College on February 17, 1948, with morning and afternoon sessions. The program consisted of the following speakers:

Mr. Nelson Jackson of the National Urban League discussed the various undertakings of the Urban League in the South.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly of the Central Office discussed the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.

Mr. Herman Long of the American Missionary Association Race Relations Institute at Fisk University made an interesting presentation of the Community Self-Survey.

Dr. George Mitchell of the Atlanta Office told of the history, growth, program

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S. C. Division Sets Up Local Groups

By J. M. Dabbs
Chairman, S. C. Division

The health of the South Carolina Division of SRC is indicated, first, by an increase in membership of 82 during the past year. These new members have come both from communities which have local organizations of SRC, and from the State at large.

The amount collected in dues and contributions also indicates the health of the organization. For the past twelve months, this amount is as follows: Dues retained by the South Carolina Division (i. e., one-half of the total dues collected), $178.50; contributions, $628.50; total, $807.00. Among the contributions were one of $200 and three of $100.

Executive Secretary

These achievements were made possible most of all by the devoted work of our efficient executive secretary, Mrs. Alice N. Spearman. At considerable sacrifice to herself, she has, in addition to writing innumerable letters, gone up and down the State visiting individuals, conferring with groups, and in general stimulating an interest in the Southern Regional Council.

This brings us to the work that the South Carolina Division has done in addition to the ground-work of getting new members and soliciting contributions. Perhaps most important were the two meetings held in Columbia on the civil rights issue. The first of these was held in conjunction with the annual spring meeting on April 29; the second as a follow-up meeting, about two weeks later, in conjunction with a meeting of the Columbia chapter of the Southern Regional Council.

The most interesting part of these meetings were panel discussions on the various aspects of civil rights. There were many questions and much discussion from the floor. The most hotly debated question was on the advisability of advocating at the present time an educational requirement for voting. The division on this question was so sharp and evenly balanced that neither of the conferences adopted any resolution upon it. There were probably 100 people present at each of these conferences.

In addition to these two meetings in Columbia, there have been smaller ones at other places in the State. At one of these, a meeting of the Spartanburg unit in October, 1947, J. M. Dabbs, the state chairman, spoke. Mr. Dabbs has also spoken during the past year to the student body of Harbison Junior College, for Negroes, at Irmo, S. C.; to the student body of the Mather Academy, also for Negroes, at Camden; and to the annual convention of the S. C. Baptist Student Union.

Mrs. Spearman, our executive secretary, has worked closely with chairmen of standing committees, following conferences with committee members and widely representative groups of citizens, in developing comprehensive statements of short and long range needs in the fields of education, health, recreation, and law enforcement in South Carolina. These statements were given wide distribution to individuals, agencies, and organizations concerned with some aspect of meeting these needs.

More Local Chapters

Throughout the year, the executive secretary has met and worked closely with local chapters in creating a more active membership and in expanding the programs of these groups. Two local groups are in process of working out affiliation agreements with the State Division, and ground-work is being done in six other counties, which we believe will soon be ready to form local chapters.

In addition to speaking before these local groups, the executive secretary has presented the work of the Council to men's service clubs, women's clubs, and church groups. She participated in annual conferences of a number of Southwide and statewide organizations.

Considerable work has been done by committees, a little of which will be

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The Work for Justice in Mississippi

By H. Brent Schaeffer
Chairman, Mississippi Division

Among its activities of the past year, the Mississippi Division of SRC cites the following:

Distribution in cooperation with the Atlanta office of:

A pamphlet on housing in Mississippi.

A leaflet on employment of Negro police.

A leaflet on *The Negro Press* by Editor Robert Durr of the Birmingham *Weekly Review*.

A leaflet on bloc voting.

2,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled "White Mississippi Citizens Have the Character and the Courage to Give Negro Citizens Fair and Full Rights as Citizens" were printed and mailed January first to every member of the Mississippi Legislature, all public school superintendents, college presidents, newspaper publishers and editors, and county supervisors. (In spite of its apparent ineffectiveness and the hurtful political activities in the state in regard to civil rights legislation, the chairman still believes the title holds true.)

A request for a hearing by the Committees on Education of the State Legislature signed by fifty prominent white citizens for the purpose of emphasizing the need of more adequate provision for Negro education was presented personally to the chairman of the Committee of the House of Representatives. He promised to arrange it. Even though two reminders were sent him, no hearing was granted.

Urge Special Session

Upon the approval of the Executive Committee and a great majority of the membership, the chairman sent a communication to Governor Fielding L. Wright advocating the calling of a special session of the Legislature during the summer or fall "for the purpose of giving full and unhurried consideration to the development of Negro education and related problems of Negro citizenship and taking positive action to establish in attitude and deed the rights which our constitution and laws provide." No acknowledgment was received.

Comments on the present situation in Mississippi:

The efforts of the Division and kindred organizations and groups have been made fruitless apparently over against the rabid and rampant sentiment and turmoil stirred up by the state's political leaders and the great number of citizens who are opposed to giving the Negro citizen fair and just consideration. All who have eyes open to see know the Negro is going to "secure these rights." The persistent, blatant effort to prevent such development fosters Negro antagonism and rivalry which will result in bringing about the very things the white leaders say they are trying to avoid.

Problem of Politics

The personal position of the chairman and his official relationship with SRC prevent any political connection or activity. The subjects of civil and human rights and race relations have been injected into politics to such an extent that efforts in behalf of fair and right solutions, as we accept them, are made difficult.

Negro voting is growing apace, and this is resulting in street paving in Negro sections, promises and activities in providing better educational and recreational facilities for Negroes, etc.

The Mississippi Division has acquired 33 new members during the year and has received $520.00 into its treasury — an increase of $260.00 over the previous year.

At the annual meeting in October, Dean F. J. Welch of Mississippi State College will speak on "Acre Utilization," and Dr. Felix Underwood, Executive Officer of the Mississippi State Board of Health, will speak on the state hospitalization program, with special reference to provisions for Negro patients.

Tennessee Forms Strong New Division

By Alfred Mynders
Chairman, Tennessee Division

At a meeting on April 15, 1948, in Nashville, the Tennessee Division of the Southern Regional Council was formed. President Paul D. Williams, of the SRC, addressed the meeting and Mrs. Henry Havens, of the Southern Regional Council staff, outlined the nucleus which had already been formed for the Division and which has been functioning for some years.

Alfred Mynders, editor of *The Chattanooga Times,* was elected chairman and was authorized to complete the organization for the Division.

A constitution, patterned somewhat on the lines of the constitution for the Florida Division, was submitted to the total membership, now nearly 200, for approval and was declared adopted.

Officers and Board

The organization was announced Sunday, August 29th, by Mr. Mynders and the story was carried in all of the large papers in Tennessee and on the Associated Press.

The following accepted appointment:

Vice Chairman, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, who is also a director of the Southern Regional Council;

Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. C. B. Smith, of Donelson, Tennessee, an officer in the Tennessee Conference of the Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

The executive board members are:

Edward F. Barry, attorney and civic leader of Memphis;

Dr. William E. Cole, professor of Sociology of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, who is also a director of the Southern Regional Council;

Bishop Edmund P. Dandridge, head of the Tennessee Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church;

Rabbi Abraham Feinstein, of the Ochs Memorial Temple, of Chattanooga;

The Very Reverend George J. Flanigen, pastor of St. Peter and Paul Church of Chattanooga;

Dr. Z. A. Looby, attorney, of Nashville, Tennessee, who is also a director of the Southern Regional Council;

Rabbi Julius S. Mark, of the Vine Street Temple of Nashville who accepted membership on the executive board, has since been called to Temple Emanuel in New York City;

Dr. L. L. Patton, physician and civic worker of Chattanooga, who also accepted membership, died after a brief illness late in August.

The chairman of the Tennessee Division regrets that because the Division was formed at the beginning of one of the most bitter political campaigns in the history of the State, he was unable to visit the various units throughout the State. Mrs. Henry Havens, has made several visits to Tennessee since the formation of the Division and her knowledge of the membership and of its functions is gratefully recognized by the officers of the Tennessee Division.

While the state division is new, the Southern Regional Council in Tennessee is not new. It has been functioning with great success for a number of years.

Wide Membership

The membership is scattered throughout the State, in small towns as well as in the large cities. Dr. Cole has helped unify the membership in Upper East Tennessee and Mrs. Smith, secretary and treasurer, has been doing a similar service in her travels for the Methodist Church throughout Middle Tennessee.

The vice chairman of the Tennessee Division, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, conducted another of the nationally known institutes on human relations at Fisk University during the summer. This outstanding institute is one of the most valuable contributions for harmony among peoples now being made anywhere in the United States.

The state division was able to take a part in a notable change in Memphis which came in September. Commissioner

of Police, Joe Boyle, announced that Negro policemen would be tried out in Memphis. The state division of the Southern Regional Council had supplied the Council's admirable data on the value of Negro policemen to Commissioner Boyle and to our executive board member in Memphis, Mr. Edward F. Barry.

We have every reason to believe that this helped bring about the decision of Commissioner Boyle although we would not take away any of the credit from the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* for a fine campaign for Negro policemen in Memphis.

The state chairman considers removal of the barrier in Memphis one of the most important events for better relations that has occurred in the South in several years. It should be remembered that Memphis has the largest Negro population in proportion to total population of any city of the same size in the United States.

Furthermore, there have been charges, whether justified or not, that Memphis police have dealt harshly with Negro citizens in times past.

Interracial Harmony

The state chairman feels that great progress has been made in Tennessee in interracial harmony. The Negroes have enjoyed the vote in white primaries for years, and this is no longer a subject for comment.

There is a real movement on for equalization of teachers' salaries, and this has already been brought about in Chattanooga. Unfortunately, the payment of Negro teachers has not been marked by an equalization of school building facilities. It will require a great deal of money in Tennessee to provide Negro schools as well equipped as the white schools. But there is a sentiment for doing this.

The Tennessee Division was interested in the *New South* for August, 1948, in which there was an article on intercultural education. Progress has been made in the Tennessee Division on this important subject. Chattanooga, for instance, has an intercultural course in its public schools. In this course, both white and Negro pupils are taught the facts about other races.

The course has attracted nationwide at-

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Fla. Division Follows Up Earlier Field Work

By Mrs. Warren Zeuch
Secretary, Fla. Div.

THE work of the Florida Division this year has been a follow-up of the field work done by the Division last year.

The Division has for the past two years worked with the Florida Citizens' Committee on Education, first in getting legislation passed to improve schools in Florida, and later in stimulating counties to seek the maximum aid possible under the laws which were passed. During this past year, members of the Division have continued to work on the county level with the Committee. Dr. William H. Gray, Vice-Chairman, is head of the Negro Division of the Florida Citizens' Committee on Education. He has been in touch with SRC members in counties where work needed to be done.

Division members in Jacksonville have worked on and with the Bi-Racial Continuation Committee of the Jacksonville Survey, helping to implement the recommendations of the Survey Committee. The progress of the Continuation Committee was reported in the May *New South*.

We are proud of the fact that the Florida Division has paid off the $400 debt which it owed the Council last year. Membership dues and contributions have supplied the necessary funds.

Work With Churches

The Division has worked with churches in Florida, especially with the Departments of Christian Social Relations. Mrs. William C. White, of St. Petersburg, SRC member and former field secretary of the Florida Division, taught classes on Civil Rights and Human Needs at a Methodist Young People's Conference at which 300 youths were registered. She also taught classes on civil rights, using SRC material, at each District Conference on Christian Social Relations of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Florida Methodist Conference. The Department of Christian Social Relations of the WSCS made a contribution of $100 to the Council last year. The Division also was influential in getting the Council placed in the budget of both Dioceses of the Episcopal Church of Florida.

Virginia's Progress in Race Relations

By Thomas C. Allen

Dr. R. B. Montgomery, President of the Virginia Council of Churches, recently announced the appointment of the Rev. C. Emerson Smith to succeed Dr. Thomas C. Allen as Director of the Department of Interracial Cooperation. Mr. Smith is a graduate of the University of Richmond and Union Theological Seminary. He comes to the Virginia Council from Hampton Institute, where he was an instructor in Bible and philosophy.

Progress continues to be made in Virginia in the area of race relations. The department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches has served as a coordinating force to give direction and guidance to many groups and organizations interested in the task of building good will and understanding in Negro-White relations. Virginia presents a pattern that is unique in the Southern Region, in that the over-all program of race relations is an integral part of the activities of the Council of Churches.

Health Facilities

The Council for Health and Medical Care is doing an excellent educational job that is beginning to gain wide support and no doubt played a part in constructive legislation enacted by the recent session of the General Assembly. Additional facilities for the care of the mentally ill were provided together with plans for increasing the capacity of the Piedmont Sanatorium (State Institution for Tubercular Negroes) by fifty beds. Plans have also been approved calling for the construction of an entirely new sanatorium in Eastern Virginia for Negro patients that would double the present facilities. Twenty-five additional medical scholarships were made available — five of which are for Negro students.

Law Enforcement

Negro policemen in four Virginia cities continue to do a most effective job. The number of men used is being gradually increased. It is to be hoped that other cities will follow the example and strengthen their law enforcement officers by the inclusion of Negro personnel.

Equalization of Educational Opportunity

The recent decision of Federal District Court Judge Sterling Hutcheson directing county school officials in the counties of Chesterfield, Gloucester, King George, and Surry to provide equal educational opportunities for all boys and girls has focused attention upon the need for larger and better educational facilities. In his decision the Judge pointed out four specifics in which educational opportunity is not equal: providing and maintaining buildings, equipment, bus transportation, and salaries. Efforts on the part of local school officials are being made to remove these inequalities.

It is significant to note that resolutions from some 33 counties and one city have been passed by school boards requesting the Governor to call a special session of the General Assembly to consider passage of necessary legislation to provide funds for greatly strengthening the public school program, and in particular to remove the existing inequalities. Thus far the Governor has been unwilling to issue a call for a special session on the basis that the necessary data to arrive at the actual needs were not available. Currently a 21-man Commission, authorized by the recent session of the General Assembly and recently appointed by the Governor to study the tax problem, is acknowledged to have as its chief assignment the discovery of ways and means of financing the equalization of public school facilities in Virginia. This Commission has set to work upon its task and has been urged

by the Governor to proceed with promptness.

Suffrage

There is an awakened interest among the citizens of the state as to the use of the ballot. A number of factors are responsible, one of which is the realization on the part of those interested in equal opportunities for all people that greater use must be made of the vote. This is especially true on the part of Negro citizens. During the recent city elections in six Virginia cities, Negro citizens ran for the office of councilman. While in only one city — Richmond — was the candidate successful, the others received a goodly number of votes. For the first time since the turn of the century, Negro citizens are filling public offices.

Mr. William A. Lawrence was elected to the Board of Supervisors in Nansemond County during 1947. Mr. Oliver W. Hill was elected to the Council in the city of Richmond, June, 1948. Dr. H. T. Penn has been recently appointed to serve as a member of the school board in the city of Roanoke. It is also true that Negro citizens are asked to serve on committees and commissions at the local and state level.

Use of Public Facilities

The recent session of the General Assembly witnesses the first effort to repeal existing laws that expressly call for segregation of the races in public assembly and in the use of public transportation. Bills were introduced into the House of Delegates by the Richmond member, the Honorable W. H. C. Murray. The bills were referred to the Committee on Courts of Justice, before which two public hearings were held. The bills were killed in Committee. Both public hearings were well attended and much interest was manifested. (In concluding the hearing, Mr. Murray thanked the House Committee on Courts of Justice for the privilege of holding a non-segregated meeting of Virginia citizens in the interest of repealing state laws requiring that such public assembly meetings shall be segregated.)

Civil and Human Rights

Much interest has been expressed in the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Many groups already

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Texas Commission Works For Human Rights

By Mrs. James S. Crate
Chairman

The Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation was organized in 1920 in the office of President R. E. Vinson of the University of Texas. It has continuously endeavored to foster interracial understanding and cooperation.

The Texas Commission is an Affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, and the Chairman was privileged to attend the Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights which SRC sponsored in February. As a result, the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights was presented to and endorsed by the Executive Board of the Texas Commission, and telegrams requesting support of the recommendations were sent to Governor Beauford Jester of Texas, Senator McGrath, and the Texas congressmen in Washington. A review of the civil rights recommendations was given at the annual meeting of the Texas Council of Church Women, and the recommendations were adopted.

Other activities of the Texas Commission were as follows:

The Director of the State Training School for Highway Patrolmen was a speaker on the program of the annual meeting of the Texas Commission. The matter of ill treatment of Negroes on the highways was brought to his attention.

Penal Farms

The Texas Prison Commission was urged to include Negro penal farms in its investigations.

For years the Commission has worked for the establishment of the State Training School for Negro Girls. It is now a reality and one of the best such schools operating in the State. The superintendent gave a report on the School at the annual meeting of the Commission.

The Commission also maintains contact

(*Continued on page* 20)

For Greater Democracy in Georgia

By R. L. Russell
State Director, Ga. Committee on Interracial Cooperation

To list in concrete terms the work of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation is almost impossible. It is difficult to put into words the hours of patient labor interpreting race relations to white groups, and at the same time getting Negro patience with the slow pace of progress.

The Committee has had no funds for legal action. It would have liked to institute suit on several occasions when there was serious infringement of rights of groups and individuals. But, because of a shortage of funds, that and many other tasks have been left undone.

Education in Democracy

Perhaps our best achievement has been in the field of educating the white people of the State to the fact that all are alike citizens and that any and all may be helpful citizens. It is true that we have a long way yet to go, but we must recognize that we have come a long way also.

One of the projects that has been worked at quietly and is now crowned with some success is that of getting white churches to open their doors to interracial meetings. For some years, only one white church in Atlanta would allow interracial meetings; today, there are seven or eight in Atlanta, and others of various denominations scattered over the State.

It took months of patient work with the Georgia Councils of Church Women until they truly became Council women of all races, faiths, and denominations. The Georgia Committee has an organized Committee of Churches on Race as an Issue in Political Campaigns. Through this committee, each denomination in the State has made its pronouncement, followed by similar statements by women's groups.

We have 23 local committees over the State. Although they are perhaps not always doing great work, at least the leaders of both races know each other and make a bulwark against outbursts of friction. We have memberships in over 200 localities in the State and connections in every town and community which we can reach in any emergency.

We have spent a great deal of our funds sending our workers into communities to learn the facts and build up sympathy and understanding for victims of hate and prejudice. When all else had failed, the Committee finally succeeded last fall in securing the release of three Negro children who were being held in jail because their father was suspected of a crime.

Three times this year, a member of the Committee has been in Washington conferring with the Attorney-General's office about the intimidations and activities of the Klan.

The opening of the Training School for Girls, Colored Division, came after long and persistent effort by the Georgia Committee. The Committee cooperated in forming a strong state committee of women from sixteen or more state organizations. Grand Juries were urged to make presentments on the need for the school, a statement was solicited from every juvenile court judge, and the group lobbied through two meetings of the Legislature. The establishment of the school, in the end, was a heartening reward for these efforts.

Recreation Centers

The matter of recreation has also been on our agenda for a long time. The Macon Committee is directly responsible for the establishment of the Booker T. Washington Center in that city. Conferences with mayors, commissioners, councilmen, and others have paved the way for similar institutions in Gainesville, Griffin, and Conyers. The Committee helped also in securing recreational projects in Atlanta and Fulton and DeKalb Counties. In Savannah, a community center will soon be opened as a direct project of the local committee there.

(*Continued on page* 18)

Progress—Actual and Potential—in N.C.

By Cyrus M. Johnson
Director, N. C. Commission on Interracial Cooperation

The noise of battle grows louder as the more crucial points are tested. So it is that as we move towards the opportunity for democratic participation by all of our population in the different phases of their existence, the noise will be loud and long. That is the case in the South today. We are moving into the realm where all are demanding their democratic right to help do things for themselves.

We have been fortunate in North Carolina in having less noise than some of our States. This might indicate that we have not gotten at the crucial points as much as some others have, or it may mean that resistance is less. It is perhaps a part of both. The North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation has attempted to play a part in the educating of our population to realize that democracy can survive only as it moves towards providing satisfactory participation of all its citizens in directing and carrying out public affairs.

Educational Mailings

We have tried to carry on this educational program in a number of ways. During the past year we have acquired about 275 new contributors. The majority of these have been secured through using selected mailing lists, sending these persons material about what we are attempting to do and asking their cooperation. The lists used have been of persons that are in positions of influence in communities, such as ministers, school principals and superintendents, county commissioners, city officials, and other public officials. While often our financial returns from some of the lists have been small, we feel that the informing of these persons of our work is valuable, and we have had some indications to confirm this.

One of our most important educational attempts has been aided by our State Department of Public Instruction. The Commission prepared and printed a pamphlet "Knowledge Helps Understanding—Sketches of the Negro in American Life". Enough copies were provided the State Department of Public Instruction to send to all of our high schools along with a letter suggesting some possible uses for them. Copies were also sent to the public libraries of our State.

Library Material

The libraries have been sent other materials also. A short while before Negro History Week a bibliography of books and pamphlets on minority groups in the United States, with emphasis on the Negro, was prepared. This, along with a letter telling of the dates of Negro History Week and suggesting that a display of books and pamphlets related to the field might be in order, was sent by the State Library Commission to the libraries.

Another mailing during the year was that sent to several hundred ministers for use on Race Relations Sunday. Illustrations, human interest stories, and some facts were given that might be helpful in preparing a sermon on interracial relations.

Our educational efforts through the colleges have been along two lines. We have tried to interest the college presidents in setting up a faculty committee to concern itself with helping the total college program toward further interracial understanding. We have held a conference of the teachers of race relations, or of subjects in which race relations is included, to discuss what should be taught and how.

Radio programs telling of the contributions of our minorities to life in the United States and telling of wholesome examples of interracial cooperation have been used also.

Prodded on by the United States Supreme Court decisions, progress in the use of Negroes for jury duty has been definite during the past year. Several counties have seated Negro jurors for the first time in several decades.

In the use of Negro police we have

inched forward also. At least two more municipalities have, during the past year, found their use satisfactory. Several other cities have discussed the matter, and it would seem to be just a matter of time before they join in this helpful and progressive step. We have aided these discussions by providing statements from city officials where Negro police have been used in our State as to how it has worked out. It is interesting to note that the annual meeting of the Police Association in North Carolina usually has a speaker who touches on the handling of racial incidents.

A small amount of progress is being made in the giving of hospital staff privileges to Negro doctors. Where this has been done, it seems to work out without friction, and there is a good possibility that it may become a growing thing as has the use of Negro police. We are moving forward with a state-wide program to provide hospital facilities for all of our people. It is hoped that all of the new hospitals will allow staff privileges to Negro doctors, and efforts are being made to insure this.

Problem Areas

There are several points in our situation in North Carolina that have caused disturbances during the past year and will continue to do so for awhile, some with increasing intensity. We may expect to have an increasing effort on the part of Negroes and Indians to be admitted to the graduate schools of our State Universities, and we may expect that suits will be instigated to force equalization of physical equipment in our secondary schools. We may expect that more and more persons will test the status in interstate travel as to whether segregation can be maintained or not. We may expect that Negroes in the rural areas and eastern sections, where for them voting is not an accepted thing, will continue to push for this right.

Predictions as to how the total situation will work out vary widely. We do have in our State the possibility of working these problems out without serious antagonism. Our success in doing this depends upon the efforts expended and clear-sighted leadership provided by those interested in seeing progress towards democracy.

South Carolina Division

(*Continued from page 9*)

touched on here. The committee on education, Mr. J. P. Burgess chairman, has been interested especially in the securing of federal aid for education. (It is with great regret that we report the recent death of Mr. Burgess. He was one of the charter members of the S. C. Interracial Committee who through the years continued to give faithful and conscientious service.)

The committee on health, Mr. J. E. Blanton chairman, has been concerned, among other things, with securing in all hospitals the right of Negro doctors to follow their patients into the hospital. It is also interested in seeing that federal aid to hospitals should benefit Negroes as much as whites.

The recreational committee, Miss Adele Minahan chairman, is working on the job of requesting all municipal recreation committees in the State to allot to Negroes a fair share of the funds spent for recreation.

The law enforcement committee, Mr. R. B. Herbert chairman, has been interested in having an industrial school established in the State for Negro girls, and in having Negro policemen employed by as many municipalities as possible.

The churchmen's committee, the Rev. J. O. Kempson chairman, is making a list of those officials or committees in the several churches of the State that are working for better relations between Negroes and whites. The purpose is to aid in the correlation of such efforts and to spread among all the churches detailed information of what the other churches are doing.

The committee on youth, headed by the Rev. Robert Ayers, is promoting use of SRC techniques and materials wherever possible. He hopes eventually to effect greater coordination and cooperation between youth workers and also between youth organizations.

As for the future, many of us are convinced that if the South does not want the President's "Civil Rights," it had better get busy and improve its own. If we don't do it, it will be done for us.

Field Work—Past and Future

(*Continued from page* 4)

It is recommended in the closing of this report that immediate action be taken to set up a committee, with full authority to act, for the creation of the necessary machinery to establish a fund of sufficient magnitude to insure the continuation of SRC. This may be accomplished in several ways: by following the general pattern of the very clear and successful procedures used by the Spartanburg (S. C.) Foundation and the Cleveland (Ohio) Foundation. Other methods will no doubt suggest themselves to the committee charged with this undertaking

This is not only a recommendation, but a challenge to each and every one who is interested in the future of the South.

Executive Director's Report

(*Continued from page* 2)

meeting took part.

Notwithstanding this effort we are painfully aware that the South still has the scantiest of information of what the actual proposals in the field of improved respect for human and civil rights are; but we have at least the satisfaction of knowing that because of the February meeting, and of the work done since by those present, the South does contain many thousands of people who have studied the matter and reached calm decisions about it.

Mr. Jackson's pamphlet on *Race and Suffrage Since* 1940 has put facts and heartening assurance into many corners which before had held only rumor and bitterness. The growth of political participation in the South, by white people and Negroes alike, is one of the fundamental changes of the last decade.

The Council has watched the unfolding of the great civil rights controversy with the closest interest, and we have tried to do our modest part in getting constructive results from it. Our effort is summed up in the statement of the Executive Committee at its meeting on September 15. That document had certainly the widest attention of anything yet put out by the Council. It is too soon as yet to see its results, but we suppose that from the date of its issuance every serious person who ventures into the dispute will do so with a clearer mind, and with the challenge to constructive effort before him.

What has been done this past year has been done on a shoestring, and the string is shorter now than formerly. The South is moving. Its people greatly need knowledge and organization and leadership for the strains ahead. The Council and its State Divisions and affiliated Committees have proven, in the past, that they knew a sound and effective way to help. The immediate problem is money and members to go ahead on.

Democracy in Georgia

(*Continued from page* 15)

To serve as the Negro Boys' Club of Atlanta, for years we could sponsor only a poorly equipped room on Auburn Avenue. Fortunately, we were able to gain the interest and support of such organizations as the Atlanta Council of Church Women, the Atlanta Christian Council, and the Chamber of Commerce. As a result, Atlanta now has a well equipped Negro Boys' Club.

The employment of Negro policemen in Atlanta during the past year was a major achievement, and the Georgia Committee is glad to have had a part in it. Again, in cooperation with the Council of Church Women and Negro leaders, we sent a petition to the Mayor, the City Council, and the Police Committee. There was no response from these officials, but the Atlanta newspapers carried the statement on the front pages. Only later, however, when other major civic organizations had lent their support, did the papers join editorially in the request for Negro policemen. The Georgia Committee arranged many discussions on the subject, sent delegations to the Police Committee, and joined in many meetings before the decision was finally made.

This is but part of the story. The number of miles travelled, the number of meetings, the number of courts visited — these are too numerous to mention. We can only hope that they will finally be measured in terms of a greater, more democratic State.

Virginia's Progress

(*Continued from page* 14)

functioning gave priority to civil rights and at least two new groups came into being — the Virginia Civil Rights Organization and the Richmond Committee on Civil Rights. It was the members of these two groups that gave direction and support to Mr. Murray in the introduction of bills requesting the repeal of existing segregation laws.

The Executive Committee of the Virginia Council of Churches has given its approval to "A Program of Interracial Cooperation for Virginia" formulated by the Department, which will serve as a challenge not only to church leaders but to civic and community leaders as well.

Alabama Division

(*Continued from page* 8)

and techniques of organization of the Southern Regional Council.

At this meeting names of persons to serve on the Executive Committee and on the Advisory Council were presented to the Alabama Division and approved by vote of the Division.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was held in Montgomery on May 25, 1948. At this meeting it was decided to carry on a campaign by mail to secure new members in Alabama, as a result of which campaign a number of new names were added to the membership. The organization of local chapters was discussed and certain members of the respective committees were asked to convene groups in their own communities.

During this first year of its existence the Alabama Division has succeeded in setting up an organization of vitally interested persons scattered over the state of Alabama. Negotiations are moving along whereby the newly formed Alabama Division will take over the assets and good will of the old Alabama Committee on Inter-racial Cooperation, many of whose members are now active members of the Southern Regional Council. The Alabama Division deeply appreciates the cooperation of these former members of the Alabama Committee on Inter-racial Cooperation.

Facing a resurgence of activities on the part of groups resorting to methods of intimidation and confronted with violations of civil rights, the Alabama Division hopes to work constructively on these problems during the second year of its existence.

A joint meeting of the Executive Committee and the Advisory Council will be held at an early date in Birmingham, at which time plans will be made for the activities of the coming year.

This Is Kentucky

(*Continued from page* 8)

visory Committee. It is made up of the executive secretaries of organizations working for the improvement of human relations. The secretaries of the Urban League, the Kentucky Welfare Council, the Council of Jewish Welfare Agencies, the Council of Christians and Jews, and the Louisville Council of Churches (Protestant) make up the group of experts. They advise the Kentucky Division and coordinate the efforts of their organizations.

Very recently the Kentucky Division has made up thirty-six packets of selected Southern Regional Council literature which will be distributed to the social science departments of both public and private institutions of higher education throughout the State, as well as to the State Department of Education.

In Kentucky, as in all other States, there are many unreached people who want to "do something" to make our democracy work. It is therefore our greatest responsibility to enlist such people as fighters for the principles which made the Southern Regional Council the necessary agency through which men, women, and young people who want to think positively may work constructively and live out their democracy.

The need for money for this plan of action is the result of the need for the spirit of sacrifice, for a dynamic conception of true Southern statesmanship, and a genuine conviction of conscience, all born of a well founded fear that if we Southerners don't, somebody else will. Our hope is well founded on the conviction that in the end Right, undergirded by responsibility, will win.

Texas Commission

(*Continued from page* 14)

and interest in the Texas State University for Negroes.

Race Relations Sunday is observed throughout the State, and in Houston the local Commission, with seven other organizations (Negro, white, Jewish, and Protestant), sponsors three city-wide services of worship each year. The spring service was planned and conducted by young adults from the Negro and white universities. As a result of these young people working together, a subsequent conference was held relative to the future organization and continued work of the group.

Negro Policemen

The Commission has maintained active interest in the training and additional assignment of Negro policemen to work with Negro youth. Thirteen new Negro policemen have recently been employed in Houston, two of whom are working with the Crime Prevention Bureau.

The employment of two Negroes on the Harris County staff of the Texas Employment Commission was very gratifying, as interest in this matter was expressed to the local office some years ago and at various times since.

The Fort Worth Commission, through the State Welfare Chairman, is working for a state park for Negroes. The Texas Commission is requesting that an adequate ward for Negroes be provided in the proposed new State Spastic Hospital.

Future plans include:

(1) More systematic inclusion of college students in the Commission.

(2) Establishment of more local Commissions.

(3) Speakers on interracial work at state and district meetings of various groups and organizations.

(4) Proposed radio series.

(5) Legislative program, both state and national.

(6) State-wide Race Relations Institute, to be held in Houston.

(7) Continued activity in community issues and increase in membership of the Commission.

Tennessee's New Division

(*Continued from page* 12)

tention and was featured in the national publication of the PTA's sometime ago.

The Carver Memorial Hospital in Chattanooga has the distinction of being the only Negro hospital in the United States supported by tax money. It has been given an excellent start and is doing a good service.

Tennessee, as is well known, is in the heart of the TVA system. Negro farms are being benefited by the soil cultivation, fertilizer, and rural electrification program of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The income of both races has been raised in the valley and the outlook is for continued advancement.

The state chairman has asked Mrs. Henry Havens to make another trip preparatory to an effort which will be made by the chairman and the board to bring the widely scattered membership in Tennessee into closer union.

The chairman feels that the executive board of the Tennessee Division is composed of outstanding Tennesseans all of whom are devoted to the Southern Regional Council objectives.

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To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.